



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

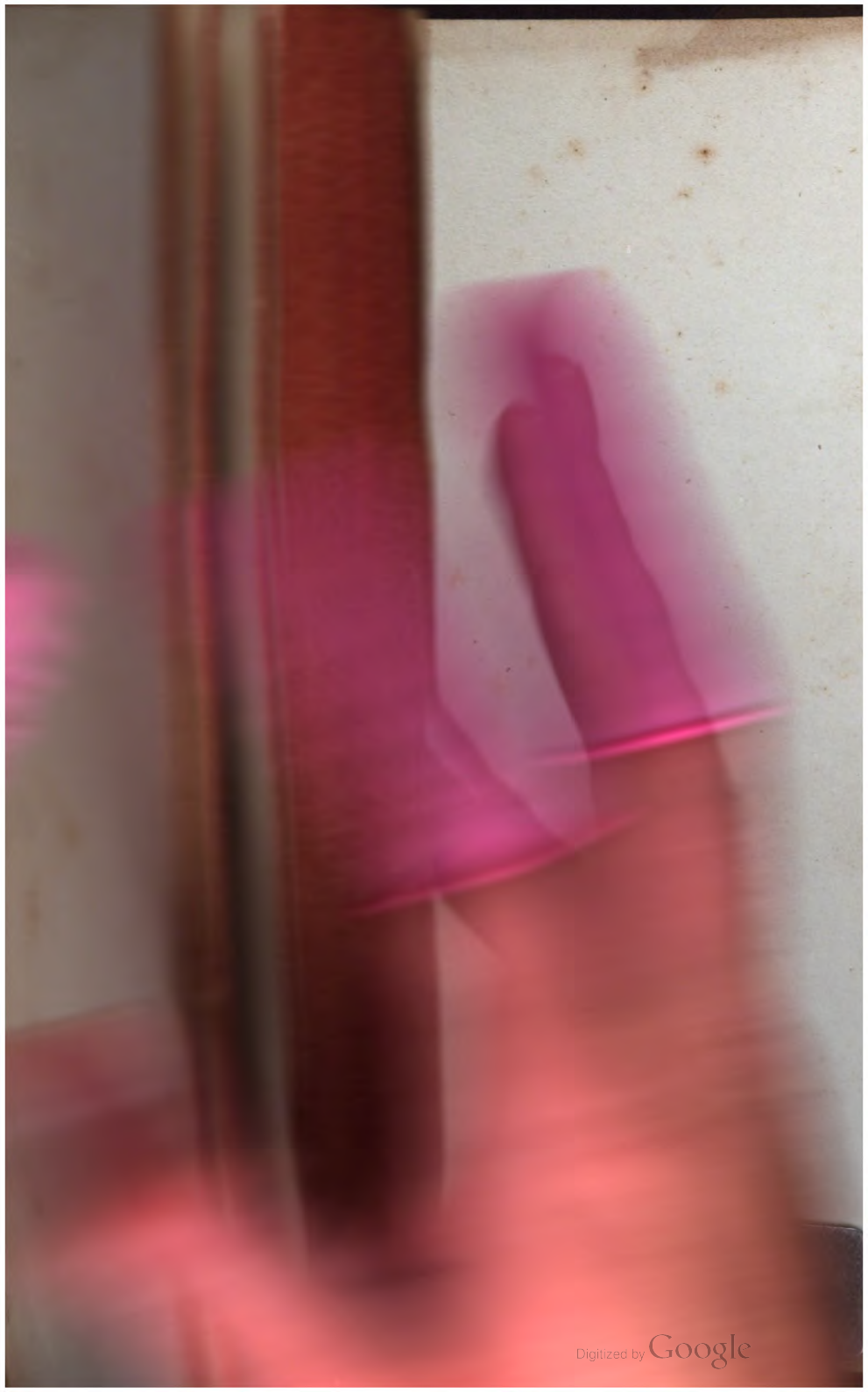
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

7. 171

44
—
N.







Per 971 e. $\frac{44}{N.s. 49}$

Per 971 e. $\frac{44}{N.s. 49}$



Per 971 e. $\frac{44}{\text{N.s. } 49}$

THE
CHRISTIAN
REMEMBRANCER.

▲
Quarterly Review.

VOL. XLIX.

JANUARY—APRIL

LONDON:
JOHN AND CHARLES MOZLEY,
6, PATERNOSTER ROW;
NEW YORK: WILLMER & ROGERS.

1865.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR,
BREAD STREET HILL.

CONTENTS OF NO. CXXVII.

ART.	PAGE
I.—1. The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, and other portions of Holy Scripture: with a correction of Profane and an Adjustment of Sacred Chronology. By W. R. A. Boyle, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister.	
2. Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford; with Copious Notes. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church.....	1
II.—1. A Handbook of Rome. Seventh Edition.	
2. L'Eglise et la Société Chrétiennes en 1861. Par M. Guizot	39
III.—Recollections of William Wilberforce, Esq. M.P. for the County of York during nearly thirty years. With brief notices of some of his personal friends and contemporaries. By John S. Harford, Esq. D.C.L. F.R.S.	57
IV.—1. Memoirs, Miscellanies, and Letters of Lucy Aikin. Edited by Philip Hemery Le Breton.	
2. Cities of the Past. By Frances Power Cobbe.	
3. Italics. By Frances Power Cobbe.....	78
V.—A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the First Four Centuries. By Brooke Foss Westcott, M.A. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge	108
VI.—Nicolai Sanderi, de origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani Libri Tres. Quibus historia continetur maxime Ecclesiasticis annorum circiter sexaginta, lectu dignissima; nimirum, ab anno 21 regni Henrici octavi, quo primum cogitare cœpit de repudiandâ legitimâ uxore serenissimâ Catharinâ usque ad hunc vigesimum octavum Elizabethæ, quæ ultima est ejusdem Henrici soboles. Aucti per Edouardum Rishtonum, et impressi primum in Germaniâ, nunc iterum locupletius et castigatius editi. Cujusque libri argumenta, pagella versa monstrabit. Cum privilegio, et Licentia Superiorum	124
NO. CXXVII.—N.S.	

CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
VII.—Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into certain Colleges and Schools	164
VIII.—1. Jerusalem Explored; being a Description of the Ancient and Modern City, with numerous Illustrations, &c. &c. By Ermete Pierotti, Doctor in Mathematics, &c. &c. Translated by Thomas George Bonney, M.A. 2 Vols. folio.	
2. Le Temple de Jérusalem. Monographie du Haram-ech-chérif. Suivie d'un Essai sur la Topographie de la Ville Sainte. Par le Comte Melchior de Vogüé.	
3. The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus: with a Journal of a recent Visit to the Holy City. By Thomas Lewin, Esq.	
4. Dr. Pierotti and his Assailants; or, A Defence of 'Jerusalem Explored.' By the Rev. George Williams, B.D. With an Appendix of Documents.	
5. The Holy Places at Jerusalem; or, Fergusson's Theories and Pierotti's Discoveries. By T. G. Bonney, M.A.	
6. Golgatha og Christi Grav. Af P. W. Becker.....	182
IX.—1. Manchester Church Congress. 1863.—Official Report.	
2. <i>Guardian</i> for October and November, 1864.—Bristol Church Congress. Mr. Disraeli's Speech at Oxford.	
3. Union Review Almanack for 1865	204
NOTICES OF BOOKS	247

TITLE-PAGE AND INDEX TO VOL. XLVIII.

CONTENTS OF NO. CXXVIII.

ART.	PAGE
I.—Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston. By John Weiss. Two Vols. ...	249
II.—1. Aristotle. A Chapter from the History of Science, including Analyses of Aristotle's Scientific Writings. By George Henry Lewes. 2. Alberti Magni Opera. Studio et Labor, P. Jammy. 21 Vols. fol. port.	290
III.—Children's Employment Commissioners' Reports : Second and Third. 1864.....	332
IV.—Journal of a Tour through Spiti to the Frontier of Chinese Thibet. With Photographic Illustrations. By Philip Henry Egerton, Deputy-Commissioner of Kangra.	357
V.—1. Paper read by the Dean of Westminster, &c. <i>Fraser's Magazine</i>, February, 1865. 2. Speech of the Dean of S. Paul's, &c. <i>Fraser's Magazine</i>, April, 1864	376
VI.—1. A Treatise on the Pastoral Office, addressed chiefly to Candidates for Holy Orders, or to those who have recently undertaken the Cure of Souls. By the Rev. John Burgon, M.A. Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. 2. Directorium Pastorale. Principles and Practice of Pastoral Work in the Church of England. By the Rev. John Henry Blunt	410
NO. CXXVIII.—N.B.	

CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
VII.—1. The Hidden Wisdom of Christ and the Key of Knowledge; or, History of the Apocrypha. By Ernest de Bunsen. In Two Volumes.	
2. Avesta: The Religious Books of the Parsees, from Professor Spiegel's German Translation of the Original Manuscripts. By Arthur Henry Bleek.	
3. Heidenthum und Judenthum. Von Joh. Jos. Ign. Döllinger. Sechstes Buch. § 2, Zoroaster und der Zendavesta. Zehntes Buch. III. § 5, Das Alexandrinische Judenthum. Philo's Lehre.	
4. The same translated into English. By N. Darnell, M.A. late Fellow of New College, Oxford	451
VIII.—Φωτίου Ἐπιστολαί. Ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Ν. ΒΑΛΕΤΤΑ, πρῶην Διευθυντοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σύρῳ Ἑλληνικοῦ Παιδαγωγείου	475

NOTICES OF BOOKS	498
------------------------	-----

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1865.

ART. I.—1. *The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, and other portions of Holy Scripture: with a correction of Profane and an Adjustment of Sacred Chronology.* By W. R. A. BOYLE, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister. Rivingtons, Waterloo Place, London.

2. *Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford; with Copious Notes.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. London and Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker; Rivingtons. 1864.

GREAT and manifold are the sorrows of the Church of God. But of all her chastisements there is perhaps none more fraught with bitter consequences than this: that heresy and schism prevent her giving a devout and concentrated attention to the study of the Prophetic Scriptures. Before her lies the roll containing the yet unaccomplished oracles of God; from which she may come in time 'to understand by books' the number of the years of her visitation. But she must fight and build: and she has no strength beside to break the seals, and meditate on a future teeming with revelations. And thus the powers of the world to come fail to touch and tell upon her. She sinks gradually more and more under the influence of her secular condition, practically wrought upon, not by longing for the appearance and coming of the Son of Man, but by the assurance of the world, 'To-morrow shall be as this day and much more abundant.' The earnest expectation of Jesus has ceased to be felt and acted on. The Church is no longer Israel on the ever-memorable night waiting for the divine command to march out of Egypt. She is no longer the Church of Zion escaping in the twilight from the doomed city through the mysteriously-abandoned lines of Cestius: or, to advert to a well-known incident far lower down in her history, she is no longer in breathless agony waiting for the moment of judg-

ment, as at the completion of the thousandth, or one thousand and thirty-third year after Christ, when Christendom was led to expect, by an erroneous rendering of the Apocalypse, the immediate manifestation of the great enemy of the Lord Jesus, and the consequent consummation. In the practical faith of her several component parts she is coming behind in this gift; she is not a studious expectant of the fulness of the dispensation of the ages. She no longer consciously embodies or gives utterance to the ἀποκαδοκία τῆς κτίσεως. This unconscious abandonment of the expression of her supreme hope has exposed the whole Scripture, but the Apocalyptic part of the Old Testament above all the rest, to the insidious attacks of open foes or of those who, unhappily for themselves, profess to walk with us in the house of God as friends. It was when Diocletian was celebrating in Spain his imaginary triumph over the Eternal Name, and when the Church was passing through one of her most searching ordeals, that Malchus, whose surname is Porphyry—apostate Jew, if not apostate Christian—a man whose genius wrung praise from Eusebius and S. Augustine, directed all the forces of a brilliant and cultivated intellect to destroy the authenticity and genuineness of the Book of Daniel.¹ The Church of God is even now passing through an ordeal which, unmarked indeed by the accident of physical distress, is all the more calamitous and injurious. At a time when the whole Scriptures are being brought into question, and the faith and judgment of all the centuries of Christendom are dealt with as delusive, the Porphyrians of our day—without the genius, the manliness, and the unquestionable sincerity of their founder—while they profess to be Christians, and arrogate to themselves the privileges of believers, have cast Daniel again into the den of lions. After 1400 years, the speculations of Porphyry were revived by the infidel Collins. The present-day disciples of the infidel and apostate have learned nothing, have forgotten nothing. Utterly barren in inventiveness, they can do little more than repeat the well weighed but long exploded formulas of their chief. The precious fancy, referred to in a recent number of this review,² that the Song of Songs was composed for the guidance and education of Jewish women, seems of close kin to the notion that Daniel was written to console Judah under the persecutions inflicted by Antiochus Epiphanes. We have at

¹ In his work, *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, in fifteen books. The most celebrated of these were the twelfth and thirteenth books, in which he attacked the Book of Daniel. The whole has perished. But S. Jerome, in his Commentary on Daniel, has preserved the more important part of the criticisms on that Book.

² No. CXXIII., p. 46.

least a definite issue presented to us. *Enlightened criticism assumes the existence of a Daniel no one ever heard of before, to disprove the existence of a Daniel known to history ; a critic-made Daniel, who contradicts those very Scriptures which he is affirmed to have known, and which he ought to have studied well in order to perfect his forgery.* Truly is it well said, there is nothing impossible for unbelief to believe except what God reveals. This issue involves, in the words of Bunsen, some of the 'highest triumphs and most saving facts of the more recent criticism.' Whatever the triumphs and the facts acquired may be, we protest against their being designated as the results of *the more recent criticism.* It is as old as Porphyry.

But it is not only a record, historical and prophetic, that is brought in question, which professing Christians are endeavouring to discredit and expunge from the Bible ; it is an obvious truth that the book of Daniel is more interwoven with the history of Redemption than any other portion of the Old Testament, not excepting the Psalms. Who are the Wise Men of the East but the descendants of that mystic school over which Daniel once presided? Where did God teach His people to look for that *Kingdom* which the Baptist announced, which the Lord unfolded, which His prayer teaches every Christian yet to pray for? The title of Messiah, the name of Son of God, the name of Son of Man, are authenticated by the Book of Daniel. The generation to whom the Lord Jesus came in the flesh had been taught by Daniel to expect that the coming of Messiah would be with 'a sign from,' that is 'in the clouds of heaven.' And the Lord, refusing it to them then, promises it to them thereafter. The anointing, death, and glory of the Holy One ; the destruction of the nation, polity, and religion of the Jews ; the resurrection and the judgment, are the burden of Daniel.¹ Then there is the whole revelation of the personal

¹ The reader may wish to be reminded that the LXX. Daniel was put aside by Jews and Christians, and the version of Theodotion adopted in its room. Theodotion was an unbeliever, living in the first century. The LXX. Daniel was discovered some years since. What led Jew and Christian to discard it was, no doubt, its general inaccuracy. The Jews must have been offended by the gloss 'of years' added to the prophecy of 'seventy weeks,' for they fixed the date of Messiah absolutely. See chapter xi. The LXX. commenting rather than translating, for 'ships shall come from Chittim,' read 'the Romans shall come,' the very words of Caiaphas. These glosses help us to understand how these prophecies were read in the times of the Apostles. In the article on Daniel, in 'Smith's Dictionary,' the writer observes, on the relationship between the writings of Daniel and S. John, 'without an inspired type it is difficult to conceive how the later writings could have been framed.' We are growing daily more and more familiar with this otiose, but yet semiceptical kind of remark. How about Daniel, who certainly is unique and without any antecedent type? To us it seems axiomatically true and pious to say, and simply presumptuous and irreverent not to say, that the Almighty Inspirer could have enabled S. John to write

enemy of the Lord Jesus, the Antichrist. If the contents of the Book of Daniel be not diviner than the visions of Emanuel Swedenborg, nor truer and more honest than the revelations of the Book of Mormon, how shall we disentangle it from the Gospel History, into which it is so largely taken up? Sceptic as he was as to the authorship of the first half of Daniel, Sir Isaac Newton has not overstated the value of the remainder when he says, 'to reject his prophecies would be to undermine the Christian Religion, which is all but founded on his prophecies respecting Christ.'

Disbelief prepared the way for that feeble and barren criticism which concludes that the book of Daniel is a forgery; a forgery immeasurably blasphemous in itself, and horrible to the thoughts of every honest Jew; yet this notwithstanding, a forgery so wondrously prosperous, that for nearly five hundred years it escaped detection; a forgery that even now, since its supposed perpetration 164 B.C. after 2028 years remains undemonstrated, if we are to judge by the endlessly conflicting and mutually destructive theories of its advocates; a forgery which moulded the ideas of God's chosen people for nearly two centuries; gave form and alarming distinctness to the political fears of heathendom—witness the well-known admissions of Suetonius and Tacitus—and anticipated and popularized some of the very choicest mysteries of the Gospel. It surely is not too much to say that the Pseudo-Daniel, this creation of our critical Frankensteins, out-miracles all that faith believes of God's greatly beloved seer.

In one important respect Porphyry has been distanced by his modern representatives. The thesis which Porphyry, according to S. Jerome,¹ proposed to himself to maintain was this, that Daniel enters so minutely into details that he must be regarded as having written history, not prophecy. Therefore the whole prophetic subject is to be contracted within the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is no *arrière pensée* in the pupil of Plotinus. He did not believe, it is true, in either Moses or Christ. But, unlike his successors, he believed in a God who *could*, he held, reveal Himself. Our modern Porphyrians think of the Deity as the Epicureans did of old. The 'securum agere ævum' is the motto of a Creator who will not, or who cannot, or whom His creatures will not allow to, disturb the inviolable processes of a God-subduing necessity. It was

as he has written, or more, had the earlier prophets never penned a line. The writer supposes that Daniel wrote two separate books, which, by the Authorized revisionists, were united and formed into the present book. We see no fair grounds for such a theory.

¹ Proem to Daniel.

reserved for professing Christians to deny 'the pure miracle of supernatural inspiration.' The school of Porphyry is as much inferior in moral character to its founder, as it is posterior in time. Porphyry, as an infidel, may have been ignorant of the divine words, 'the prophet which shall presume to speak a word 'in my name, which I have not commanded him, even that 'prophet shall die.' (Deut. xviii. 20.) It was of such a prophet, as Christians now represent him, neither sent nor spoken to, a prophet of *lies* (Jer. xiv. 14)—it was of such the Incarnate Lord said, 'Daniel the Prophet!' The Saviour an accomplice! 'involving Himself in the innocent fraud!'

Before proceeding with the discussion of the whole subject, we must bestow a short notice on the two works whose titles are prefixed to this paper. And to enable our readers the more readily to take in the whole critical history, we have subjoined in the next page a table presenting some of the more marked results of the criticism of the Book of Daniel. To a table of Dr. Pusey's (p. 215) we have added a few additional particulars. It is the vaunt of Mr. Jowett, that 'Among German commentators, there is, for the first time in the history of the world, an approach to agreement and certainty.' (Essays and Reviews, p. 240). Mr. Jowett is no doubt a learned man, and deeply read in the history of all letters in general, and of the criticism of letters in particular. But if his studies have found no nearer approach to exegetical harmony than what is shown to the reader in this note, we can only say so much the worse for the literature and the criticism. As far as our knowledge reaches, the critical history of the 'Amber Witch' presents, properly speaking, the first instance in the history of modern letters of anything like a consensus among German critics. Our readers will remember that on that subject they agreed in the wrong; and, like the English at Waterloo, who did not know they were beaten, they would not be convinced that their ingenious compatriot had fooled them, and that they had befooled themselves. But the transcendental school having surrendered itself to the conviction that 'all is everything and everything is naught,' that 'mind and matter,' as Miss Codger says, 'glide swift into the vortex of immensity,' and consequently being unable on this side or that of the waves of time to find a spot for thought to rest upon, or where reason might exercise itself, must be pardoned its inability to distinguish irreconcilable contradictions from a remarkable 'agreement:' or, in the awful words of Him who condemns all debauchery of the intellect, to know light from darkness or bitter from sweet.

¹ Renan, p. 237.

[illegible]

The work of Mr. Boyle, of Lincoln's Inn, inscribed to Baron Westbury, is no doubt a well-intentioned and conscientious work. He is not happy in his method of designating the language in which the first part of the Book of Daniel is written. He speaks of the proper Chaldee as 'of the Shemitic family' (p. 9). There can be no doubt that the Chaldean immigrants, who in prehistoric times dislodged from the regions north of the Persian Gulf the Shemitic tribes, were of Hamitic or Scythic origin, and came from the south, probably Ethiopia. Hamitic dialects (it was these races invented the cuneiform character) can be traced on rock inscriptions in Persia, as far as Lake Van. With the rise of the Assyrian power, thirteen hundred years before Christ, the Shemitic races appear to have recovered their original status in the low lands, while the mountain fastnesses of the north country continued to be occupied by that courageous people the Chaldeans of prophecy, who, at the bidding of the Most High, were to issue forth burdened with 'evil,' and a great destruction' for his unfaithful people (Jer. iv. 6).² That Daniel used the language of diplomatic life so long as he had a Babylonian amanuensis, and that when he was transferred to Susa he was forced to resume the use of Hebrew, is a wholly gratuitous assumption, fails to account for the use of Hebrew in the first chapter, and, falling into the same mistake as Josephus (Antiq. XI. x. 7), confounds a visional with a personal presence in the capital of Cyrus. Mr. Boyle is an advocate for the year-day theory of interpretation. He calls our attention (p. 173) to the fact that the description of Roman power under the fourth beast does not suit the Maccabean age, at which theologians would fix it, because the Roman power had not then 'devoured the whole earth,' and broken it in pieces; what we ask Mr. Boyle is, Had the Roman power fulfilled this condition when the Redeemer was born? Assuredly not. Nay, more, the crowning victory over God's disinherited people was still in the future. We respectfully enter our protest against the inspiration of the book of Daniel being made to rest on the appositeness of historical and prophetic coincidences. No exposition *short of divine*, however venerable by its antiquity, however commended by its wide-spread acceptance, can be admitted in evidence on this point. To concede this would be in effect to concede everything. Mr. Boyle censures (p. 229) Mr. Barnes for differing 'from the two Newtons, Mr. Elliott, and other eminent men,' in referring the little horn (of Daniel viii., it would have been as well if Mr. Boyle had specified this reference, as there

¹ A more accurate designation would be Shemitico-Cushite. None of the proper names are Shemitic.

² Loftus, 'Chaldea and Susiana.'

are *two* little horns) to Antiochus Epiphanes. We have no interest in maintaining Mr. Barnes and his historical inaccuracies; but in applying the 'little horn' of chapter viii. to Antiochus, Mr. Barnes is upheld by the oldest, as well as the most approved of modern commentators; as, for instance, by S. Jerome and Lowth. Mr. Boyle contends that this '*little horn*' was fulfilled in the Romans. He argues the point with considerable skill; and he certainly seems to establish a case for such an *application* of the symbol. But when he says (p. 345) 'In destroying Jerusalem and massacring the people of Israel, the Romans did 'but exalt their own false religion and "cast down the truth to the ground,"' he does not exhibit much acumen, theological or legal. One would suppose a prophetic 'king' must needs be at least the head of the state with which he is connected; and we are at a loss to conceive how Mr. Boyle can fancy he can discover the lineaments of 'the king of fierce countenance' in those two servants of Rome—in the upright, stainless, and unimpassioned Pompey, or in him whose claim to the title 'Delight of the Human Race,' a sceptical posterity has failed to disprove. Mr. Boyle thinks (p. 361) that the words 'broken without hand' (Dan. viii. 25) are applicable to the death of Julian, who perished from the wound of a Persian javelin. He would have hesitated as to this conclusion, we think, had he consented to compare the death of the last heathen emperor with that of Antiochus, whose fearful visitation is accurately described in the death of Herod Agrippa I. The impotency of the Apostate would never have been so evident had he died any other way. It would seem as if a more immediate visitation would have dignified in some measure the meanness of his blasphemy. The 'shortness' of the sufferings under Antiochus which would lead others to regard the persecutions by the Syrian king as certainly within the scope, though possibly it might not be the fulfilment, of the prophecy, induces Mr. Boyle to form exactly the opposite conclusion. The most elaborate and learned part of Mr. Boyle's work is contained in Book IV. chap. iv. where he undertakes 'a correction of profane and an adjustment of sacred chronology,' in connexion with the prophecy of the seventy weeks.

Dr. Pusey's nine lectures on 'Daniel the Prophet' form in truth a monumental work, which will vindicate the integrity of God's Book, and the industry and honour of the theological school of the empire. He has entered the most trying lists, and he shows that there is no legitimate weapon he cannot use. He is as cunning of fence as he is vigorous and irresistible in attack. A sustained enthusiasm, beautiful to witness in the writer, and delicious for the reader to share, breathes throughout the whole, gives buoyancy to the prodigious accumulations of

learned reference, and sometimes wears the semblance of humour, when with courteous and exhaustive minuteness he shows up the ignorance of our pretentious sciolists. The following will illustrate our meaning in this statement. Dr. Pusey, in a note Preface, p. xiv.), observes :—

‘ Dr. Davidson (ii. 338) says, “ the word Massa is not a proper name, because ‘ Lemuel, King of Massa ’ is *not* Hebrew. To make it good Hebrew, *king* should have the article prefixed.” Were there even any such place as ‘ Massa,’ any one knows that what Dr. D. says is *not* Hebrew is Hebrew, and that what he says would “ make it good Hebrew,” is not Hebrew. As matter of history, Dr. D. tells us, “ it is incorrect to say, as Hengstenberg and many others have done, that the series of the opponents to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel was opened by Porphyry in the third century. *Porphyry was not the first impugner of Daniel.* Hippolytus, a Roman Bishop, and orthodox Christian writer, also referred the book to the Maccabean period and Antiochus Epiphanes, as we know from his explanation of his book, partly Greek and partly Syriac.” S. Hippolytus an impugner of Daniel!’

The preface touches slightly on the controversies of the time. The writer points out how the ancient exposition of the opening verses of Genesis, the accurate rendering of the ‘ lights ’ that rule, the announcements that the stars were before the earth was made, that the creative powers of the Almighty, ‘ who worketh hitherto,’ have never been suspended—how all these facts meet and answer all the demands and discoveries of physical science. Then he proceeds :—

‘ The cosmogonies of the ancients were pantheistic, atheistic, or, at best, developments of pre-existent matter. Over and against all these Moses enumerated, as simple and undemonstrated, “ In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.” Men ask us to account for those thousands of years which geology claims, as if our faith were to depend on *our* knowing the answer. Faith asks them in return how they account for the fact, that through Moses that truth of the creation was made known which human reason cannot explain, which even now it relegates as far back as it can, in order to prevent the dread reality of its Personal Creator from pressing so closely upon it, while yet it is constrained to acknowledge the fact of the creation.’—Pp. xxiv.

It has been, he tells us, the deep conviction of his soul for some thirty years that ‘ no book can be written in behalf of the Bible like the Bible itself.’ Where the fact of an objective revelation is denied, where it is maintained that there ‘ cannot be supernatural prophecy,’ it is evidently vain to answer objections to the written word. ‘ While I have conscientiously ‘ read everything which has been written against the book of ‘ Daniel, and have met every argument in those writings, my *own* ‘ conviction is that the point really at issue remains when they ‘ are answered. For the real objection is, that God should reveal ‘ Himself to His creature man in any other way than by the ‘ operation of man’s natural reason, or that He should tell man ‘ anything “ beyond the grasp of eye or hand.”’ (xiii. xiv.)

The first question of all, as it is regarded by the critics, touches the structure and the language of the Book of Daniel. Let us dwell a little upon it. The work was written in Asia, a fact of great hermeneutical importance, which has been almost invariably disregarded by the expositors of the prophecy. There are two parts which overlap one another. In the earlier part you are carried forward as far as the reign of Cyrus; in the latter part you are carried back to the reign of Belshazzar. The anticipations at the opening of what is to come, the allusions in the close to what has been recorded, demonstrate the unity of the book. The earlier part is historical and actual—a record for the heathen world, and written in its dialect; the later part is personal and prophetic. Chap. i. to ii. 4 is written in the sacred language, and forms a kind of preface. The Syriac, or diplomatic language, commences at ii. v. 4, and is continued down to the end of the seventh chapter. The remaining five chapters are in Hebrew, as pure and more severe than that of Ezekiel. The subject matter is varied with great art—visions and judgments, and manifestations of the power of God, succeeding one another in order. The vision of the dream-image is followed by the Divine manifestation in the furnace. Nebuchadnezzar's own dream is followed by his punishment. The vision of the man's hand at the idol feast by the punishment of Belshazzar. The blasphemous assumption of Darius by the deliverance of Daniel. The seventh chapter—the first section of the prophetic part, the last of the first division—is written in Aramaic, and argues the unity of the book as well as the unity of the author, and it may be said that the theory of more than one author has been abandoned in despair. Ezra includes in the book that bears his name a state paper in Aramaic. The Aramaic of Daniel presents some Aryan terms: and it is incumbent on our modern Porphyrians to explain how a Jew living B.C. 163 could be familiar with Aryan designations for officers and offices dead and gone four hundred years. The Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra—the earliest document in the Scribe is six years later than the Prophet's—have only a dialectic difference, and both differ very markedly from the Aramaic of the Targums, which are of the date of the Pseudo-Daniel. The differences between Daniel and Ezra are such as preclude the idea of imitation. It is argued in 'Essays and Reviews' (p. 76) that the use of *Macedonian*¹ words, such as *symphonia*

¹ In his anxiety to disprove the authenticity and inspiration of the Book of Daniel, Dr. Rowland Williams terms *symphonia* and *psanterion* (!) not Greek but *Macedonian* words. He intimates that there are *several* such words, since he gives these two by way of example only. His language is, 'not only Macedonian words, 'SUCH AS *symphonia* and *psanterion* (!), but the texture of the Chaldee, with such

and *psanterion* (Dr. Rowland Williams alone has the credit of this astonishing discovery) argues the lateness of the writing of the book. When it is remembered that Babylon, the metropolis of the world, must, as such, have received into herself the products and usages of all nations; that the Orontes did not yet flow into the Tiber, but that all currents from the east and west flowed into the Euphrates, it cannot but seem a very Quixotic piece of literary chivalry to conclude a forgery from the appearance in a work professing to be written at and in the language of Babylon, some few foreign words. Indian names were current in Jerusalem under Solomon. Commerce with Phœnicia, or the conflicts of Sennacherib with the Greeks, beside many other means, might have introduced foreign musical instruments into Babylon before the days of Nebuchadnezzar. Dr. Williams says that *psanterin* is a version of *ψαλτήριον*, a *Macedonian instrument*, which the Macedonians, interchanging λ and ν, pronounced *ψαντήριον*. But *ψαλτήριον* occurs in the LXX. and other Greek versions of the Scriptures, and in classic authors, while *ψαντήριον* is never met. Of Macedonian instruments and music we know exactly nothing; they were never heard of till the creative fancy of Dr. Williams added one more to the five recognised Grecian moods; and as we have no proof whatever that the Macedonians did interchange λ and ν, the result is that we have, as it is well stated, 'an imaginary dialectic variation to account for an imaginary Greek word.'

Græcisms in Daniel have been created by the critics, and abandoned by all but that forlorn hope of his school, Dr. Williams. Rabbinisms were also invented by Bertholdt, and silently put aside. They were in the end as quietly dropped, as in the outset they were audaciously put forth. Bertholdt then

'Appealed to his own critical tact that the Hebrew of Daniel must be two centuries later than Ezekiel, Jeremiah, or such Psalms as were written during or soon after the Captivity. He himself, he says, "could not support this by proof in that place without taking up the room required for other more necessary investigation."

'late forms, &c. remove all philological and critical doubt as to the age of the book.' Essays and Reviews, p. 76. Yet this hardy assertion proceeds from the same pen which had just before written, 'How unlike is English to Welsh and Greek to Sanscrit, yet all indubitably of one family of languages! What years were required to create the existing divergence of members of this family?' Dr. Rowland Williams thus clearly evinces his knowledge of the affinities between the Greek and Eastern languages. When, therefore, he affirmed the existence of *Macedonian* words in the Book of Daniel, as if this were an established fact, he must have known that he had no authority for the allegation, except, in the case of one of these words, an innuendo of Gesenius, which, in another part of the same work, is contradicted by Gesenius himself. As regards the other, no Hebrew scholar ever dreamt of asserting a *Macedonian* origin; and Meier, one of the best of his own school, declares that it is unquestionably Shemitic. Boyle, 55 n.

'It were an easy but unsatisfactory way, simply to show that the words alleged by Von Lengerke [as proving the Hebrew of Daniel to be of a later date] as far as they prove anything, coincide with the age and circumstances of Daniel. This, however, would only have been an answer to the individual. I have, therefore, expressly examined with this object, every notable word and idiom used in the Hebrew of Daniel, and have set down under four heads—1. What is peculiar to Daniel; 2. What he has in common with the middle period of language (*i.e.* words or idioms not occurring in the Pentateuch, but received in books free from the influence of Aramaic); 3. What Daniel has in common with the later writers (*i.e.* words or idioms which, in our remaining Hebrew, do not occur before the time bordering on the Captivity, or Jeremiah); 4. What, like other of the sacred writers of the same date, he has revived out of the Hebrew of the Pentateuch. The inquiry was simply historical, *where* any words or idioms employed by Daniel occurred in previous or contemporary Hebrew. There is, for the most part, little characteristic in any of this language. In very many words or idioms which do not occur at any earlier date, there is no reason from the nature of the language why they should not. The unchanging East has not our variation of language. The inhabitants of Mecca still speak, in its purity, that same Arabic in which the Koran was written twelve centuries ago. What is characteristic, however, falls in with the time of Daniel.'—Pp. 25, 36.

Daniel freely moulds his language for himself, like all Scripture writers, availing himself of the writings of his predecessors. His style varies as he employs the simple narrative, or soars in prayer and thanksgiving, or transcribes the vision, or sets down a 'condensed descriptive prophecy,' like chap. xi. With the exception of the one naturalized word, *pathbag* (or 'royal meats'), the Aryan words are confined to his *narrative*. The statement of De Wette, accepted too readily by Mr. Boyle (28), that Aramaic is a *patois*, is a mere assertion. The Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra is the Aramaic of Babylonia; that of Jonathan and Onkelos is the Aramaic of Palestine. The Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra is virtually identical. The question is whether these writers are to be regarded as contemporaries, or as separated by a gap of 370 years. We have said that the Aramaic of these two writers is virtually identical. The variations are such as preclude the idea of imitation. A false Daniel would never have been content to half-copy the idiom of a writer whom it was his interest to counterfeit wholly. It has been demonstrated¹ that all the differences between the scriptural Aramaic and that of the Targum are traceable to the Aramaic of the period. That the book is written in both languages suits the times and position of Daniel, and cannot be explained by those who refer it to the age of the Maccabees.

¹ 'It has been alleged by the Essayist that in the Aramaic of Daniel the "*h* had passed into the *n*" in both "*den*" *this* and "*illen*" *these*, and that this "change is an evidence of later language." The major premiss must be that "it is known that in Daniel's time they had not so passed." The *h* does not pass into the *n* at all; *n* is not one of those letters into which *h* ever passes' (p. 53).

'No other book, or portion of a book, of the canon approximate to that date. The last book, Nehemiah, was finished two and a half centuries before, viz. about B.C. 410.'

Not the least important part of Dr. Pusey's book are the appendixes. The first is a note from Professor Max Müller, on the Aryanisms of Daniel. The last is on a very different subject, the 'secular predictions which Dr. Stanley parallels, 'in regard to exactness of fulfilment, with those of the Old Testament;' and in this note, which is very well worth reading, Dr. Stanley sustains that exposure which every one deserves who mixes up his prose with poetry, and draws upon his fancy both for his faith and for his facts. The fifth note is on the wilful variations of the LXX.; the second, third, and fourth are on the language of the Book of Daniel—its Hebrew, Aryan, and Chaldee characteristics. They are all exhaustive. At the commencement of the first of these, B, the writer points out *what the argument of the critics required, and what they have offered*. Their argument required them to prove, for the demonstration of the later date, that the *style of the book was different in character from those written soon after the Captivity*; while the evidence chiefly brought forward is that *it has certain words in common with them*! Daniel revives idioms out of the Pentateuch, as does Ezekiel; and in many other respects he agrees with Ezekiel. Therefore—oh highest triumph and most saving fact of our recent criticism—Daniel is 400 years later than Ezekiel!

Let us proceed to consider the historical contents of the book:—

The royal boy-exile Daniel was received into the university² of the Chaldees when fourteen years of age. During those years he declined feasting on the idol-meats of the palace; and his three years' training completed, he entered on that career of public life which we can trace down to the third year of Cyrus (B.C. 534). How long he survived that date we know not. As Achilles opens and Alexander closes the history of Grecian chivalry, so Joseph opens and Daniel closes the history of God's revelations to heathendom. The rabbinical tradition that he

¹ Mr. McGill's Essay, 'The Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra,' *Journal of Sacred Literature*, January, 1861.

² At Warka and Borsippus the Chaldeans had schools for the study of astronomy, a knowledge of which science they would seem to have brought from Egypt, to which country it was most probably communicated by Abraham at the time of his visit there. Genesis xii. According to Berosus, there existed at Babylon, in the time of Alexander, a record of eclipses from 2234 B.C. the age of Nimrod. It was as president of a body pursuing a grand and wholly unsuperstitious study, combined with moral, social, and political inquiries, that Daniel continued his connexion with the Magi.

³ An observation of Hegel, quoted by Auberlen (p. 24).

returned and ruled in Judea does violence to all the probabilities. Nebuchadnezzar made him ruler of Babylon and chief of the Magi, and one of the privy counsellors of the king; a class not summoned to take any part in the ceremonies at the inauguration of the golden image.¹ His position as chief of the Magi he continued to hold, although he did not appear at the summons of Belshazzar, when called to be present at an idol banquet, with 'the astrologers' of the city. In acknowledgment of the service done in reading the writing on the wall,² he was restored to his political dignities, and made next to Naboneddus, and Belshazzar. He was made 'third in the kingdom.' If Darius the Mede be regarded as the delegated king or viceroy of Babylon under Cyrus, the position which Daniel held under him was still virtually 'third;' for he was first of the presidents who were set over the satraps or lieutenants of the whole kingdom. He tells us himself that he continued to prosper in the reign of Cyrus the Persian (vi. 28). Ezekiel selected him, as a contrast for wisdom, to the Prince of Tyre, eighteen years after Daniel had interpreted the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Later on Ezekiel reckons him with Noah and Job; naming him between them. The first had sought the redemption of mankind; the second had sought the preservation of his own people; the third had prayed for the welfare of his own family. 'Though these three men were there'—(xiv. 14—20)—in the land, 'they shall deliver neither son nor daughter, they shall but deliver their own souls by their righteousness.' The founder, the teacher, the prophet of the human race, they each, with decreasing success, interceded with God for what they loved. Thus Ezekiel proves the historical personality of Daniel of Babylon. All attempts to prove the texts of Ezekiel interpolations have at last been abandoned. 'Ewald is right,' says Bunsen, in declaring that 'Daniel had been carried captive by Pul to Nineveh.' Two centuries afterwards this Daniel appears rehabilitated in the Daniel of Babylon. *For* he prophesied by the Tigris—forty miles from the Euphrates! and the winged lion was a symbol of the Assyrian *not* of the Babylonian empire. But the over-learned Bunsen, in his much dreaming—with that facility of speculation which one may admire in a Polonius—erred in likening the sublime calm benign cherubic symbols of Assyria

¹ Corn. a Lap. and Mald. suppose it to have been an image of Nebuchadnezzar himself, and devised to ensnare the Jews.

² Probably old Hebrew characters, which, in the absence of vowel helps, would seem to those untrained in the language capable of many and contradictory renderings. As it is, the words have a *twofold* meaning—'Numbered' and 'ended,' 'weighed' and 'light,' 'divided' and 'Persian.' Daniel read the writing thirty-four years after he had expounded Nebuchadnezzar's dream.

to the forms which Daniel might have seen in the temples of Nimrud; lions portrayed as the prophet portrays them, full of devouring fierceness and rage. The hypothesis of an earlier Daniel needs 'a securer historical basis.' Nebuchadnezzar was probably the grandest monarch that ever held sway on earth. Nothing can be more touching or more reverential than the demeanour of Daniel towards the king, as indeed also towards the pusillanimous Darius. Had Daniel been influenced by a parœnetic purpose, had he been engaged in moulding possible facts to serve the uses of the hour, he would have given a very different colouring to the history of Nebuchadnezzar; the king's acknowledgment of the Most High would have been more sincere, and his repentance more complete. So in fact it has been represented by one who may have had some such parœnetic purpose in view—we mean the LXX. translator. It would be vain to attempt to depict the sublimity and pathos which breathes around the historical scenes of Daniel. In an uninspired writer, such a sketch as that of Belshazzar's feast, embodying every conception that is endeared to high art, where the magnificence, the light, the revelry, the 'abandon' of imperial pomp fade away before the finger of a man's hand, before the prophet from his cell, into gloom, horror, and despair, would be pronounced unapproachable and immortal for its fidelity, at once tender and severe fidelity to nature. It is true that 'we murder to dissect;' it is the pursuit of truth, and that alone which can justify the violence. The coarse and vulgar industry that hacks and mangles, and so dissects in order to murder, is insensible and dead alike to beauty and to truth. Daniel is a Pharisee because he fasts; and he is a fanatic because he perseveres in and watches unto prayer.¹ The perverse industry of the neologist school has devised several historical inaccuracies in the Book of Daniel. He speaks of Darius the Mede. By whatever name this prince may have been known in profane history, a failure in identifying him cannot really affect the statement of the prophet. It is objected that the Median supremacy did not last till the taking of Babylon, and Daniel expressly states that Darius as a viceroy received the charge of Babylon. Thus the prophet fares worse now than of old in the lions' den. Now it is Scylla or Charybdis. If he is too accurate, he must not be, if he is the least inaccurate he cannot be, a prophet. In the very first verse of the Book Daniel is inaccurate—so much the worse for the Pseudo-Daniel. Yet he only says that Nebuchadnezzar *besieged*, not that he took Jerusalem. This expedition, implied by Berosus,

¹ He retired to his chamber to pray, where his accusers 'pressed tumultuously' in upon him and found him (p. 446).

was in the year before Nebuchadnezzar ascended the throne; where he filled the same position as regards his father that we find Darius subsequently filling as regards Cyrus. Those recently discovered Babylonian cylinders have not done much to back up the cause of the neologians, whose retractions have been as disastrous as a retreat from Moscow. Belshazzar's name—deciphered at the same time in England and Chaldæa—is no longer a 'false name.' But which, it is well said, was the more likely to have known a name unknown to Babylonian, Persian, and Greek historians,—the contemporary prophet in Babylon, or the Jew living four centuries later in Palestine? How Belshazzar came to be related to Nebuchadnezzar, whether his father was adopted into the family of Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabonedus sought to strengthen his position on an uninherited throne by marriage with one of the old dynasty—as Herod did when he married Marianne—concerns us very little. This link, like many others, may in time be recovered. But when the critics of our day know a little more Chaldee, and are a little better acquainted with Scripture, they will understand why the prophet did not put in the queen-mother's lips the term 'grandfather'—Chaldee knows no such word; they will understand how unnecessary, according to the usage of Scripture, would such precision be.¹ But why was not the Pseudo-Daniel more accurate? In the Assyrian inscriptions, Sargon, though only connected perhaps by marriage with his predecessors, speaks of the 'kings, my fathers.' It was easy for these critics to mis-translate Daniel, and make him say what he does *not* say—that he was in Susa—to show that Susa was not then built, nor Elam conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. The 'dura ilia' of these literary reapers were and are equal to all this: but every one of these assumptions is false, while at the same time they display an ignorance that is portentous. Witness the testimony of Xenophon, Herodotus, and Strabo. But the satraps were not Babylonian officers; and how could there have been so many under Darius the Mede? The Sanscrit term Satrap signifies a vice-king, such as Berosus expressly declares existed under Nabopolossar. The testimony of Xenophon only goes so far as to say that Cyrus did not send *Persian* satraps to the conquered nations. And the Book of Esther implies that there were 127 satrapies. Then supposing all this explained, our critics observe, How could the lions have lived in a *cistern-like hole, void of air*? This is Dr. Davidson's dissenting way of putting it. The Jews

¹ Dr. Pusey quotes, on the point, Gen. xxxi. 42, Num. xviii. 2, Deut. xxvi. 5, Exod. xviii. 4, 2 Sam. ix. 7, 1 Kings xv. 13, *ib.* 9, 2 Sam. xiv. 27, 2 Chron. iii. 2, 1 Kings xv. 11, 2 Kings xviii. 3, 2 Chron. xxix. 2, 2 Kings xvi. 2, 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, 2 Kings xiv. 3, &c.

who kept the Emperor's lions at Fez (p. 416) were more happy than Dr. Davidson. 'But to invent absurdities betrays the *'malus animus* of the critic; the prophet remains unharmed as *'he was in the lion's den.'* We may dismiss the charge of ignorance as regards the Magi, whom the Pseudo-Daniel must have had opportunities of being accurate about. Daniel mentions five different *classes* or *kinds* of illuminati. Porphyry mentions the three *degrees* in the highest, that is, the priestly order of the Magi. There is no other way of explaining according to facts what he states, unless it can be shown that the Magi were all priests. The *Chaldeans* were known as the *priests*. Strabo expressly tells us that there were *many kinds* of astronomical Chaldæans. The generic name which Daniel employs is 'all the wise men of Babylon.' The endeavour to prove a threefold division of the ancient Egyptian and Parsee priesthood, like all the efforts of the neologians to be learned, or to seem so, proves an utter failure. Of the Egyptian priesthood all we know is from Christian times, and the division was not into *three* but five. Of the three degrees of the Parsee priesthood we know that the names are modern, and that they are unknown to the Zendavesta.

Inaccuracies are followed by improbabilities. Physiology confirms every feature of the insanity of Nebuchadnezzar. Dr. Pusey quotes, amid other remarkable instances, that of the Père Surin (p. 430) who never lost in his afflicting malady the consciousness of his own personal identity; 'the description of himself is a 'most wonderful specimen of acute mental analysis while 'outwardly he was a maniac.' The improbability urged against his prayer before his restoration to reason implies the greatest want of reason and observation in those who object to it. The very fetters of brass and iron, and the homeless lodging (so in keeping with S. Mark v. 3, 4), mark that unskilful management of the insane only of late years abandoned among ourselves. 'But profane history says nothing of this illness of Nebuchadnezzar.' Yet Abydenus mentions a supernatural state which befell Nebuchadnezzar; and Berosus mentions a sickness of Nebuchadnezzar during which all his mighty works were suspended. Eusebius regarded the passage of Abydenus as referring to the narrative of Daniel. Berosus observes incidentally, that one chief Magus kept the government for Nebuchadnezzar on his father's death until he returned from his Egyptian campaign. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that a like regency undertook a like task until the mental recovery of the great king. Any one familiar with the real history of Constantine will find no difficulty in understanding how, under less convictions, Nebuchadnezzar should, however awed

and solemnized, have remained unconverted. But he felt, and the conviction was a glorious and a blessed one, that he was the object of God's care; and this conviction is expressed in his proclamation. The whole account is so truthlike, that it argues the authenticity and genuineness of the Prophet.

Human nature is the same. Caligula, six centuries later, would be worshipped as Nebuchadnezzar; for Nebuchadnezzar probably learned during his conquests how Egypt and Persia adored their kings. The Persians, borrowing from the Medes, worshipped their kings as the presence of Ormuzd, and so Darius enacts the God. That the statue should want proportion is in accordance with the ideal effect aimed at, and the usage of antiquity, which maintained no human proportion in the images of the sun gods—the Colossus of Rhodes was ten ells higher than the statue of Nebuchadnezzar. It is urged, indeed, that intolerance was unknown to Babylonians and Persians. But as Babylon had robbed Assyria of her gods, and Cambyzes had plundered Egypt of some of her gods; as the Zoroastrian system took its rise in intense hatred of the Vedic worshippers, and was propagated as eagerly by the sword as Mahomedanism itself; we can hardly say that Babylonians and Persians were tolerant. The edict of Darius—commanding men not to attempt anything against the God of Daniel—was very probably, was most naturally, written by Daniel. The objection that it was written by a Jew concedes the fact of the decree itself. In the space of seventy years occurred three miracles. And this is called ‘an *objectless lavishing of miracles*’—‘a prodigal expenditure unworthy of the Deity!’ What miracle in Dr. Davidson’s judgment would not be ‘objectless?’ What number would not be too many? Two edicts were issued by the supreme world-power, designed to extinguish the true faith on the earth; and once an unprecedented profanity and insult was offered to the Most High God. In each case a miracle succeeded: each case was a fitting crisis, a ‘*dignus vindice nodus*.’ Each miracle resulted in a decree in favour of the Jews. Each miracle was calculated to console them in their expatriation. Each miracle must have taught the nations for the time, though it might have only ‘overcome them as a summer cloud’ in the final issue. But if for the time fraught with ‘special wonder,’ these portents, by thus awing the heathen, attained a great object.

‘Daniel wrote of certain events which he was inspired to record in detail. He relates them (which is a stamp of truth) without any explanation, in all simplicity. He alludes in his narrative to kings unknown to Grecian historians, and to the relations of empires; he mentions whole classes of officers, and the names of their offices, partly Semitic, partly of Aryan origin, and gradations of their ranks; wise men in their classes; even musical instruments

of different nations, and names of articles of dress which Hebrews do not use; he assigns dates freely; he describes what was probably a marvellous and very rare disease of the great monarch, and the fact of his praying amid extreme mental alienation, a fact which seems in the highest degree improbable, but is accordant with known facts; he alludes to customs, personages: he gives a scene from the interior of Babylon on the night of its capture, when, contrary to ordinary eastern custom, he mentions the presence of the ladies of the harem, and distinct from these, and not present at the feast, the queen-mother speaking in a tone of authority; he tells even of the plain stucco on the walls of the banquet-room, such as, notwithstanding the prevailing taste for ornament, is still found in the corresponding palaces of Nineveh; he alludes, in one word, even to the custom of eastern kings (such as we find it among Persians and Parthians), to lie at table by themselves, *over against* their guests, probably for safety sake; he gives events of that night which fill it up, adversaries have said, even to overflowing, but for which time is left, since the fact is supplied, that the capture was not until morning; he describes capital punishments under the Babylonian and Persian kings, varying, in one respect, in conformity with their religion; the furnace he describes as one only could have described it who had seen such. In his natural, truthful, and so fearless description, he again and again tells us what for us, who have only an antiquarian knowledge of these things, it requires thought to harmonise; he explains nothing, as writers do at a period somewhat later than the events which they describe, or when they write for a wider or different circle. The accounts are minute, graphic; he accumulates the names of the classes which he mentions, whether of officers, wise men, or musical instruments. Those who have been on watch for his halting, have thought again and again that they have found some flaw which should loosen the whole fabric. Look closer, and you see that the parts fit closely together; that the more closely you press the expressions, the more exactly they correspond.—Pp. 458—460.¹

The profane Jew who ventured to invent Divine Revelations, who was not stoned by his co-religionists and fellow-countrymen, but accepted as the Paraclete of his age, is to be regarded as having, for the most part, shrunk from any attempt to meddle with prophecy, the ‘non imitabile fulmen’ of the Most High. The prophecy of the four kingdoms and of the seventy weeks must come to a close in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. We shall proceed to examine the question of Daniel’s inspiration in the first place as regards these two passages; and in the second place we shall pass in review those points of doctrine and practice which are held to indicate a later date in this Book of Scripture than that assigned by the testimony of the Church.

I. (a) To state the question accurately as regards the four kingdoms of the dream-image, and the beasts, we must bear in mind that the argument is connected with a popular tradition, not with a divine solution. The fifth kingdom is Christ’s; is universally allowed to be so: and this upon the warrant of

¹ Dr. Pusey acknowledges how much he is indebted in this passage to Hengstenberg, whom elsewhere he always quotes with respect. Messrs. Clark would do well to reissue the very valuable work with such additional annotations as will adapt it to the changed state of the controversy, and the advance of antiquarian discovery. They have done a great service in their reprint of the valuable work by Auberlen.

Christ himself, who taking up the prophetic *Key-word*, declares Himself again and again to be *The Stone*. The time of the kingdom of the Stone is *outside*, so to speak, the time of the other kingdoms. It may be at once fitter and truer to say that the Stone was cut out of the mountain in the days of that empire which is commonly regarded as answering in a great measure the description of the fourth kingdom. But the excision of the Stone, and the establishment of its earth-filling dominion, are two things quite distinct, both in symbol and in fact. The kingdom which we yet pray for has not yet come. So far we have a divine exposition, which we cannot put aside. Christendom professes to be waiting for the consummation of the prophecy. Dr. Pusey seems to be much indebted, in tracing out the traditional rendering of the symbols, to the suggestive and minute criticism of Hofmann; and he is in favour of regarding the four empires as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman. 'Even an opponent has said, "it is in favour of 'this interpretation that the two feet of iron can be referred to 'the Eastern and Western empire:"' but it is obvious to remark that, with this arrangement, we have both feet ruling in Europe. The symbols suit the four empires as closely as the words of the Lord's last discourse suit the destruction of Jerusalem. So venerable a tradition, *embodying a legitimate application* of the symbols, and promoting for the time all the purposes of the revelation, can compete without fear of confusion with the fancies of the school of Porphyry.

'Of the last empire, like the first, Daniel sees not only certain characteristics but a history. Intervals of its history are marked. It embraces a long period. The beast appears at first with the ten horns at once, as the third with its four heads. Its characteristic is stupendous strength, as that of the third is manifold intelligence. But although in order to manifest its unity it appears as one whole, the explanation shows that the ten horns belong to a subsequent stage of its existence. These ten horns, or kingdoms, are also to be contemporaneous. They are all prior in time to the little horn which is to arise out of them. *Another*, he says, *shall arise after them*, and *diverse from the rest*; as the whole kingdom shall be diverse from those kingdoms which were before it. Yet the ten horns or kingdoms are to continue on together, until after the eleventh shall have risen up; for it is to rise up among them, and to destroy three of them. The description in itself implies that the ten horns symbolize ten kingdoms, not ten kings only. For in this way only could the two traits be compatible, that the eleventh was to *come up among them*, and yet *after them*.

'So then within the period of the fourth empire, there are these distinct periods. 1. The time until it is divided into the ten portions symbolized by the ten horns, as, before, it was represented as ending in *the ten toes*; 2. The period of those ten horns; 3. That in which the eleventh, diverse from the rest, held its sway; 4. The period after the destruction of that power and of the whole four kingdoms, which is to perish with him.

'The latter part of this, being still future, we cannot explain certainly. Prophecy is not given to enable us to prophesy, but as a witness to God when

the time comes. This prophecy reaches on to the end of time; much of it is confessedly expanded in the Revelation as still to come. It would then be as inconsistent in us to attempt to explain it, as it would in the school of Porphyry not to explain it. For according to them it refers to past facts. They assume the book to have been written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, to relate to his times, and to be intended to influence his times. *Thus* they are bound by their own hypothesis to expound it, if they *can*, of those times. For according to them it represents past facts. The impossibility of pointing out these has since Porphyry's time been one chief rock on which those theories have been wrecked.—Pp. 76—79.¹

In the symbol of the Greek empire (chap. viii.) the fourth horn issued in the little horn. The divine solution of a part of this symbol leaves little doubt that Antiochus Epiphanes is represented here. But the little horn of the fourth beast-kingdom comes not out of any horn, but out of the body of the Empire, and is held to be a mystic symbol of the Antichrist, of whom Antiochus Epiphanes himself was a type. The Porphyrians are wholly unable to fit this symbol to the time of Antiochus. What is said of Antiochus Epiphanes exactly applies to him. What is said of Antichrist does not. In chapter xi. Antiochus is again introduced; and then the Resurrection, with that foreshortening which is a feature of divine prophecy, is described as immediately ensuing. But here the individual appears as a type, and melts at once into his antitype. Between the two there is but one feature in common mentioned, and that one common to all the profane, 'speaking against God.' Antichrist is to perish in the Holy Land; Antiochus died miserably at Tabes, in Persia.²

On the other hand, the endeavour to contract the vision to the horizon of B.C. 170, has proved a very disastrous failure. To make two kingdoms out of the Medes and Persians, contradicts profane history and Daniel, or Pseudo-Daniel. By making the third kingdom Alexander's, and the fourth that of his successors, our critics make the latter more powerful than their founder.

¹ We respectfully demur to the idea, for which we can find no room in the text, that the toes and horns are not congenital with the legs and the body. The little horn is the only after-birth of the symbol. The minuteness with which Hofman investigates the symbols will, to say the least, justify this objection being expressed. 'The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom,' and the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise' when the kingdom rises.

² As in the New Testament we have three designations of the enemy of Jesus—*The Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, and Antichrist*; so in the Old Testament, in Daniel, we have a similar threefold designation. The little horn of chap. vii. and the little horn of chap. viii. exhibit, the former the *spiritual*, the latter the *political*, while the king of fierce countenance of chap. ix. portrays the *personal*, character of the Antichrist. Dr. Pusey holds that the little horns are not identical, and that the passage of the fierce king embraces type and antitype. The second, by fixing attention on Antiochus Epiphanes, the third, by depicting the character of the great reprobate, help to the right understanding of the first.

'There is no tenable way, then, in which the empires of Alexander and his successors, either together or apart, can be made into the fourth empire. Not together; for counted together, they make the third, not the fourth, empire; not Alexander's successors alone, both because they are, in no sense, by themselves an empire, and the theory patently contradicts the symbol in both visions, which it ought to explain. There is no possible explanation moreover, either way, of the tenfold division of the fourth empire, expressed alike in the toes of the image and the horns of the fourth beast, nor any solution, how, if the little horn (the eleventh) were Antiochus Epiphanes, he overthrew three of these ten. But granted to these interpreters, for the time, all which they ask; that the ten horns are individual kings, not kingdoms; supposing too, for the time (what contradicts the text), that seven out of the ten kings need not be contemporaneous with the eleventh, who is to overthrow three of them; still the interpreters cannot make out either the ten kings or the three specified in the vision.—Pp. 147, 148.

All efforts to meet these points have proved wretched and discreditable failures. With the latest of these pseudo-critics, to take ten for 'a round number,' as Herzfeld does, may be very specious; only where are the *Kingdoms* to which the ten applies? There are none such, if we do not accept in lieu of them the twenty-eight *Satrapies*! There is no attempt to meet the testimony of Josephus, who without doubt regarded the fourth Empire as the Roman; nor do the impugnors of the canonical authority of Daniel seem acquainted with, or if acquainted with, they modestly decline every attempt to account for, that Eastern tradition which symbolizes the four empires under the tree of such marvellous root that from it grew the four stems—one of gold, one of silver, one of steel, and one of iron. 'After this kingdom comes, according to the Persian doctrine, Sosiosh, the Saviour' (p. 97). A tradition among the Jews regarded the four empires much as they are counted in the popular tradition of Christendom; and certainly as overstepping the time of Antiochus. A heathen tradition, agreeing with the Christian and Jewish traditions in the conclusions which are admitted by all believers in Revelation, affirms that there are four empires, the last merging into that of the Saviour, marking an epoch that lies beyond the date of 170 B. C. This is the testimony that our Græcomaniacs have yet to encounter and overthrow; the 'non exsuperabile saxum.'

(b) We pass to the other prophecy of Daniel, which resembles that of chap. viii. inasmuch as it is furnished with a Divine solution.

The endeavour to explain the prophecy of the seventy weeks, so that it should end in Antiochus Epiphanes, is a splendid failure. The table which we have already placed before our readers shows how little unanimity there is among these new lights. This is the one prophecy of Daniel to which subsequent Scripture furnishes the solution. Four edicts were issued within

a space of ninety years ; in the first year of Cyrus, in the third of Darius, in the seventh and twentieth of Artaxerxes. Of these edicts, the second and fourth only enlarged and confirmed what was already granted by the first and third. But the first and second relate only to the rebuilding of the temple, while the third expressly authorizes Ezra to restore and build Jerusalem. Ezra's mission began Nisan, 458 B.C., and the date, 483 years, determines Nisan, A.D. 26, and also coincides with the beginning of the mission of the Baptist and the anointing of the Holy One, promised by Gabriel to the Blessed Virgin Mary, when the Prince became Messiah. The seventy weeks are divided into four parts: 49 years + 434 years (= 7 weeks + 62 weeks = 69 weeks) + $3\frac{1}{2}$ years + $3\frac{1}{2}$ years = 1 week. At the close of the former term of three, and a half years, or 'in the midst of the week,' He shall cause 'sacrifice and the oblation to cease.' The last term of three and a half years does not appear again in Scripture till reproduced by S. John as the measure of the days of Antichrist. The whole term of 490 years is broken by the subtraction of a term—the square of seven—at its beginning, and seven at its close; and these two terms, according to the well-known import of the number, imply two periods of revelation. The time of restoration exhausted the forty-nine years, under Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi; the last seven years, including the final *ἀποκατάστασις*, mark the whole revelation of the Incarnate God. Between these, the sixty-two weeks, or 434 years, are interposed—'a number altogether without relation to the significant fundamental numbers.'¹ A period, therefore, is implied, insignificant and troublous, as devoid of divine revelation, but closing in *Messiah the Prince*,² who as Prince rejected, and as Messiah cut off, was then to cast off His people; while another prince was to come, whose people, against his wish, would destroy and bring to an end and scatter that untoward generation. Thus the sacrifice was done away, the everlasting righteousness was inherited by a remnant, and the covenant of life was confirmed with many.

Our critics, judicially blinded, assume that Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years' captivity was not fulfilled in Cyrus's decree, forgetting that with the contemporaries of their Pseudo-Daniel it was '*de fide*' to believe that it had then attained its fulfilment. To convert this definite prophecy into a period of 490 years; to represent the decree to build and restore Jeru-

¹ Auberlen.

² Cf. Auberlen on the change in the use of these titles, Dan. ix. 25, 26. S. John (Rev. i. 5) in a remarkable way reproduces the designation of prince in reference to this text.

saalem as requiring 434 years for its fulfilment; to transfer the numbers, and arrange the 49, 434, 7 in the novel order 434, 7, 49; to halve the whole 490, are the efforts of a dishonest and desperate criticism. Eichhorn tried to make the theory go on all fours his own way: six years might do for seven; three years for three and a half; sixty-two weeks, or 434 years, *would go back* from the beginning of the reign of Epiphanes, when Onias was deposed, B.C. 175, to B.C. 609, three years before Jeremiah prophesied. But 'two years cannot be reckoned in septennia;' hence, as he said, 'a round reckoning never troubles itself about a trifle.' *Counting forward* from B.C. 536 we arrive at no marked year. Messiah the Prince must be a persecutor, and Xerxes will hardly be proved so bad. *Counting backward*, we have forty-nine years, only two (really three) years short of the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Jeremiah meant 490 years. It was only forty-nine years to the end of the Captivity. Count, therefore, 490 years, and deduct from them forty-nine years. Then he will have it thus: from Cyrus's command to build Jerusalem, to Nebuchadnezzar the prince, are seven weeks; and during sixty-two weeks, *from the same prophecy of Jeremiah*, street and wall shall be builded. Would such delirious fancies be tolerated for a moment in the criticism of any other ancient book than the Scriptures? But as bad is yet to come. Bertholdt, who is extolled by a writer in Smith's 'Dictionary,' decides that the seventy weeks of years are a round number, not meant to be counted—a mere 'parody on the seventy weeks of Jeremiah.' This saving criticism is, as South would say, a means of saving a deal of trouble, if nothing else. This is scientific theology, and these *ægroti veteris somnia* are its happiest achievements. Wieseler held that the seventy weeks when first named by Daniel are weeks of days; when last named, are weeks of years. Lengerke supposes Daniel to have divided the seventy weeks mentally into sixty-two and eight, although neither the sixty-two weeks which are named, nor the eight which are not named, can be made to coincide with an unnamed event. To accomplish this mystical computation, the writer, dividing 7, 62, 1, is to be supposed to have placed the 7 where it is not to be counted, and to have placed the 62 between it and the 1, with which it should be counted; while it is not to be counted with the 62 with which it stands connected. We are assured that this unprejudiced exposition of the sacred text is 'uncontrovertibly certain.' The lecturer sums up the argument on the whole subject thus:—

'Antimesianic interpreters place at the end of the first three and half years, and they must place in it the utter destruction of city and temple, and (as they will have it) the destruction of the destroyer.

The prophecy says, that at the end of the three and half first years, all sacrifice was to cease; it implies it was to cease altogether; the temple where alone it could be offered, was to be utterly destroyed; no word is said as to its restoration. Antimessianic interpreters have diverted attention from the first three and half years, at the expiration of which all sacrifice was to cease, to the last three and half years, after which they supposed it to be restored. Of these there is nothing in the text; and the desecration of the temple lasted for three years precisely, not for three and half years. Again, counting back the seven years from the only date which these interpreters can make out for themselves, the death of Antiochus (if it was so) in the spring of 163 B.C. we arrive at the spring of 170 B.C. in the middle of 142 A.S. This was two years and nine months before the desecration of the temple, but it was itself absolutely no era at all. It was eight months before even that first passing storm, when Antiochus plundered the temple of Jerusalem, as he did so many besides. It was a happy, eventless year for the Jews, when they were living every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, with no signs even of that first hurricane; much less of their long desolation. Onias, too, the exiled high priest, having been deposed by Epiphanes on his accession towards the close of A.S. 137, in the middle of B.C. 175, had been murdered three years subsequently, B.C. 172; consequently, two years before this date. Lastly, the heathenising party of the Jews also applied to Antiochus at the very beginning of his reign. Even then, on the Antimessianic theory, that "The confirming of the covenant for one week," was meant of the encouragement given by Antiochus to the apostates who applied to him, this also was prior by four years to the week, or seven years, of which it was to be a characteristic. Not a fact, then, or a date coincides. Granting these interpreters all which they ask for; allowing, which is utterly unnatural, that it should be said of one and the same earthly king, that he should destroy the city and sanctuary, confirm a covenant with many for one week, and that after half of the week, he should make sacrifice and oblation to cease, and this, in the sense that he showed favour to apostates and deserters, and made war upon the city and people; even supposing all this granted, they can give no account of those very dates in which all these things are supposed to have taken place, and which are to be the key of all the rest. Antiochus did not continue any covenant for seven years, nor did he make sacrifice to cease for half of these seven years; nor was any Messias, or any one alleged to be a Messias, cut off during those seven years; nor was the temple destroyed; nor were there any seven years in the period selected of one uniform marked character. Rather the seven years selected were of a most chequered character; first, nearly a year of entire peace; then horrible and cruel treachery and bloodshed; then nearly two years more of peace; then three years of intense persecution; then a respite, at least from the general of Epiphanes, for a year and five months, and victory over the petty heathen nations who assailed them. And yet the writer, living, according to these hypotheses, in Judæa, writing, as they say, to encourage their countryman, "in their great struggle against Antiochus" (*Essays and Reviews*, p. 76), could not be mistaken about what he is to have seen with his own eyes.—*Ibid.* pp. 220—222.

If there be one point clear to demonstration, it is that the Jews at the return from the Captivity had not, in the time of Epiphanes had not, before the eve of the Incarnation had not, any expectation of a Deliverer. They needed not, therefore, the writings of a Pseudo-Daniel, to console them for a disappointment which they had never experienced.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ καὶρὸν ὄριζεν. So the phlegmatic Josephus, warm-

ing with his theme, describes the special characteristic of Daniel. It is this very definitiveness that condemns him with the critics of our age. Yet this definitiveness is not so peculiar to Daniel, as that instances of it are not to be found in other parts of Scripture. For instance, Balaam prophesies of Rome 700 years before its foundation; its maritime power, the direction, success, and final overthrow of its arms. The very office of the seer implies continual minute prediction; and Israel lived in the constant experience of the fulfilment of the blessings uttered by Jacob and Moses. Not to mention the minute predictions of other prophets; of Ezekiel and Jeremiah, of Jeremiah and Isaiah, as to the destruction of Babylon; of Jeremiah foretelling the death of the false prophet in the seventh month of the then current year; we find Isaiah foretelling the spoiling of Syria and Israel in one year; the breaking up of Ephraim in sixty-five years; the recovery of Tyre in seventy years; the overthrow of Moab in three exact years, of Ashdod in three exact years; and, again, the prolongation of Hezekiah's life for fifteen years. A vast volume of prophecy exhibits this chronological minuteness. The assailants betray their weakness by making their attack on one outwork only. The captives at Chebar, at Babylon, in Egypt had each their prophet. Of these, Daniel served as a transition-link between the Old and New Testaments. Daniel's book served the double purpose of teaching Israel fortitude under the coming troubles, and dependency on God alone for their eventual triumph. The same feature which characterises Old Testament prophecy, and Daniel particularly, 'the larger distance, and the nearer earnest,' is the most remarkable characteristic of the New Testament prediction, and demonstrates the Book of Daniel to be an integral part of the inspired word.

But what was the position of Daniel in the canon of Scripture? and when was the canon formed? The Jews of Josephus's age believed the canon to have been formed about 400 years B.C. The latest date that opponents can bring the Son of Sirach down to is B.C. 180. But this is before Antiochus, and the canon witnessed to by the Son of Sirach; and this canon contained the book of Daniel. The very existence of the *Wisdom of Sirach outside* the canon argues that the canon was closed; argues that there was no inspired authority living to include a work so framed, written in Hebrew, written in Palestine, in the canon. The tradition respecting Nehemiah, referred to in the letter at the beginning of the 2 Macc. ii. 13, how Nehemiah founded a library, bears testimony to this: that 100 years before Christ the existence of the canon was supposed. It is evident that this tradition could not have attained general acceptance in a

generation which we are to believe was itself engaged in forming the canon.

Dr. Pusey takes a rapid but instructive survey of the history of the formation of the canon, as intimated by Scripture itself. The Pentateuch, from the first, was recognised as one whole work. To this Joshua added: to this again Samuel. The Prophets, by references to the Book of the Lord, by the use they make of the writings of earlier prophets, attest the progressive formation of the canon. What historical records were required after the days of Samuel were supplied by Nathan and Gad. The contents of the Books of Kings are from the pen of Jeremiah. The Psalms were gradually formed in like manner as the first part of Scripture. And the absence of any psalm of a later imaginable date than Nehemiah, the entire absence of any Maccabean psalm, demonstrates that this part of the canon, to say the least, was closed before that age.

‘The canon then was almost completed before the return from the Captivity. Of the books of the former prophets, or historical books, the Kings, at most, had yet to be formally added to it. Of the later prophets, there remained, perhaps, the formal reception of Ezekiel; the last three prophets only had not yet been sent. Of the Hagiographa, there remained the collection of some later Psalms. Some in the last book of the Psalms were not yet written; Daniel was then formally added; the historical books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. The Chronicles alone were as yet unwritten.

‘In no one of these books is there anything which requires a date later than that which Josephus probably meant to fix the date of Malachi; and of the second visit of Nehemiah.’—P. 328.

We must forbear following the learned lecturer into the discussion of the internal proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of Ezra and Nehemiah, where again, in exposing the presumptions of a narrow and ignorant criticism, Dr. Pusey thrice slays the slain. The abuses which Nehemiah set himself to remedy are just the abuses and vices which Malachi denounces. The examination of the later book fully sustains the statement of Josephus. And with this agrees the tradition of the Talmud, that ‘the men of the Great Synagogue wrote [*i.e.* inscribed] ‘Ezekiel, the twelve [minor prophets], Daniel, and the book of ‘Esther; Ezra wrote his book and the genealogies of the ‘Chronicles down to *lo*. Rab says Ezra did not go up from Babylon ‘until he wrote his genealogy, and so he went up. And who ‘finished it? Nehemiah.’

Daniel’s *place* in the canon is just that place where we ought to have expected to find his book. He had the gift, but neither the *mission* nor the *office* of a prophet. Accordingly he ranks with David and Ezra, being, as Josephus says, ‘one of the greatest prophets;’ one who, according to the Talmud, ‘alone outweighs all the wise of the nations.’ The likeness in senti-

ment between the opening of Daniel's prayer and the two prayers in Nehemiah; the likeness in symbol to Daniel, in Zechariah's two visions, that of the *four horns*, and the four chariots followed by the prophecy of *the Man who is the Branch*; the likeness between the prayer of Daniel and the prayer of Baruch; the rendering by the LXX. of Deut xxxii. 8; the third Sybilline Book, of the date confessedly 170 B.C. which quotes the prophecy of the ten horns and the little horn, which, though the work of a fanatic, and of the age of Antiochus, omits Daniel's Messianic prophecies; the exact and simple reference of the accurate writer of 1 Macc. to the Book of Daniel: upon these points Dr. Pusey dwells successively. According to 1 Mac. the Jews 'expect a prophet hereafter.'

'The prophecies framed [by the Pseudo-Daniel], as is alleged [in order to awaken an expectation of a supernatural Deliverer], are to have been received largely and at once, and are to have been placed unhesitatingly at once among their sacred Scriptures; they are to have been referred to thenceforth as prophetic truth, and yet there is not one trace of their having the slightest influence on the minds of the people, in inspiring those hopes which they have been forged to create. The history of the Maccabees, as the authentic history of those times, contradicts the unbelieving theories as to Daniel.'—P. 375.

Other proofs that the Book of Daniel was written before the time of Antiochus may be found in the additions made to it, which supposes the book to be already known in the age of the LXX. and the course pursued by the LXX. translator. He does what the Pseudo-Daniel ought to have done. He makes Nebuchadnezzar's madness a visitation for his sacrilege against the House of God. He shows himself ignorant at every step of the history. The knowledge which Porphyry had was not—though this was his hypothesis—possessed even by the LXX. translator in the age of the Pseudo-Daniel. He does his best to fit in the seventy weeks to Antiochus. In the original numbers he substitutes twice seven, seventy, and sixty-two, and makes the number 139, and he obliterates the name and hope of Messiah. No one comments, but on an ancient work, and that a work of authority. Daniel needed to be falsified to serve the purposes for which a false Daniel was improvised. But as it is admitted that some time elapsed between the composition of the original and the translation, this compels the book to be placed before Antiochus; *where if placed, it contained prophecy of events utterly indiscernible by man.*

The last proof which Dr. Pusey discusses is that furnished by the Book of Enoch, which contains many unquestionable references to the Book of Daniel. Its date, at lowest B.C. 130—109, does not leave sufficient room after B.C. 163. This important part of his work Dr. Pusey closes in the following solemn words:—

'I cannot, as some religious and eminent defenders of the Book of Daniel have done, add to these human evidences the testimony of our Lord, or use Divine authority as a makeweight to human proof. There we are altogether on different grounds, in a different atmosphere. What I have proposed to myself in these Course of Lectures is to meet a boastful criticism upon its own grounds, and to show its failure, where it claims to be most triumphant. The authority of our Lord stands alone. It is all in all, or we should have nothing. It is the word of Him, Who being God, spake with a Divine knowledge, Perfect, Infallible. If His knowledge could have failed in any one thing, if He could (God forbid) have set His seal on one thing which is not true, Divine authority would be gone. Hesitate how men will for the while, it was truly said by one of the most powerful intellects of the day (Dr. Newman) "There is but one choice, infallibility or infidelity."—P. 393.

II. The latest and poorest argument of the Porphyrian school is that based on the assumption that Daniel exhibits a form of doctrine not met with earlier than the Sybilline Books. Messiah appears as superhuman; no traces of His divine nature are to be found in the prophets. The doctrine of the last things, and the doctrine of angels, are so largely developed as to prove the book to have been written in the latest time possible.

But is it not in the very nature of the case that a prophet, a receiver of revelation, may as the last of the line, communicate truths more, and those more fully, than his predecessors? The critics tacitly assume that there never has been a revelation, just as they assume, when they object that some miracles are objectless, that miracles are impossible. But they assume also that the belief was *not* derived in the Maccabee times from the book of Daniel.

In point of fact there are no traces of the divine nature of Messiah in the Sybilline Books; but there are such traces in the book of Enoch, in language confessedly derived from the book of Daniel. The Lord as the Interpreter of Scripture has shown the force of Ps. cx. The Holy Ghost has expounded Ps. ii. and Ps. xlv. 7. The eternal dominion of Ps. lxxii., the attribution to the promised Child (Isaiah vii.) of the title *God*, which (used 225 times absolutely in Hebrew, and always of God) in union with the attribute of *mighty* here, proves the promise to be that the Child shall be God Almighty; the prediction by Micah of the birth of Him whose outgoings have been from eternity; the prediction of Zachariah of the sorrows of Him who is *God's Fellow*; such predictions contrast strangely with the statement that 'traces of the divine nature occur nowhere besides in the Prophets,' as Dr. Davidson affirms.

The eschatological objections tell equally against Isaiah and S. Paul. In Daniel the 'last things' are foretold without any reference to time. On this point, as on so many others, the critics misrepresent him. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, we know by the quotation of Psalm xvi. and of

Exodus iii. is taught in the Old Testament. And David and Asaph and Job knew of the beatific vision and the judgment of the Last Day. It is well known that the Zoroastrians knew nothing of the resurrection of the body until after the Christian era; and the critics have been compelled to abandon the notion that the books of the earlier Parseeism contained it. That the Zend writings speak of continued existence after death, of 'the perpetuation of life' then, is not denied; but the doctrine of the *resurrection of the body* we know was at once new and intolerable to the wisdom of heathendom.

The objections against Daniel, because of his statements respecting angels, tell alike against the New Testament and the Old. In Genesis and the Apocalypse we have the cherubim. There is that supremest of all created intelligences, the Angel of the Lord—*Angel as to his actual nature, but representing the Divine, the Angel-interpreter, one of a thousand, who sheweth unto man his righteousness, and is gracious unto him, and saith, Redeem him from going down to the pit, I have found a ransom* (Job xxxiii. 23). Thus, in fact, the teaching of Daniel is that of all the rest of the Old Testament. Dr. Pusey examines at length the charge of Herzfeld, that the doctrine of Angels was borrowed from the Magi, and proves if there was any borrowing, the doctrine was borrowed by the Magians from the Jews. Into this discussion we cannot follow our author. He is here as exhaustive and as conclusive as elsewhere. In a religion of dualism, where the Supreme God prays to the genii, and the genii are dependent on man, one is not likely to find the source of those scriptural ideas respecting angels in which we have been educated. Indeed, the assumption is utterly futile that at any time the sacred writer borrowed ideas from heathendom. The objection raised on the ground of Daniel's teaching respecting fasting, prayer, stated times of prayer, and alms, are also examined by Dr. Pusey and refuted, and with his answer to these he regards his work as done.

In these solemn and affecting words he draws to a close:—

'Of the objections I believe, that no one would have been thought of, but for the necessity of getting rid of the miracles and prophecies of Daniel, unless people would believe them. Certainly no one objection seems to me even plausible. I have answered the objections. To convince is the office not of man but of God. Gibbon enunciated a larger truth than he was aware of, when, unable to escape from the contemporary evidence for a fact, or from its miraculousness if it were true, he said, "They all [all the witnesses of the fact] lived within the compass of a century; they all appeal to their personal knowledge or the public notoriety for the truth of a miracle which was repeated in several instances, displayed in the greatest theatre of the world, and submitted, during a series of years, to the calm examination of the senses. But the stubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by a secret incurable suspicion," incurable save by God.

"S. Paul had said the same before, "*the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God*;" only it is man's own fault if, encompassed with the Gospel, he remain in, or apostatise into, a state of nature. Yet to see (as I believe) a solid answer to those objections, although it cannot give faith to one who has lost faith, may aid in beating off unbelief, or may predispose for faith. It may put a person in the position in which he will either not admit unbelief, or will seek for faith from Him who gives it to all who seek Him. It is not inquiry, but non-inquiring acquiescence in doubt which is the peril of this day. The temptation of this age is to try to find a middle path between faith and unbelief; to say "that there is much to be said on both sides;" to think that all things must be uncertain in themselves, because many of the persons around us are at sea as to all things, as if one thought all things to be in a whirl, because they seemed so to our neighbours who had dizzied themselves; to be browbeaten out of belief; to shrink from avowing a steadfast adherence to that which must be old because it is eternal, and which must be unchangeable because it is truth; to pick something out of revelation which it thinks will not be gainsayed, and to relegate all else to be matter of opinion; an indolent, conceited, soft, weak, pains-hating, trifling with the truth of God.

'It is not, for the present, a day of naked blasphemy. The age is mostly too soft for it. Voltaire's "*Écrasez l'Infâme*" shocks it. Yet I know not whether the open blasphemy of the eighteenth century is more offensive than the cold-blooded patronizing of the nineteenth. Rebellion against God is not so degrading, nor so deceiving, as a condescending acknowledgment of His Being, while it denies His right over us. Be not, then, imposed upon by smooth words. It is an age of counterfeits. Look not only at what is said, but look for what is suppressed and tacitly left out of the Creeds. The rationalism of this day will give you good words as far as they go, but will empty them of their meaning; it will give as plausible a counterfeit as it can, but *the image and superscription* is its own. It will gild its idols for you, if you will accept them for the Living God. It will give you sentiment instead of truth, but as the price at which you are to surrender truth. It will praise Jesus as (God forgive it!) in fact an enlightened Jew—a benefactor to mankind, and it will ask you in exchange to consent not to say that He was God. It will extol His superiority to Judaism, and include under "Judaism" truths of God. It will praise His words as full of truth, and will call them, in a sense, divine truths, and will ask you in exchange, not to say that it is *the* infallible truth. It will say, in its sense, that "*the Bible contains the word of God*," and will ask of you to give up your belief that "*it is the word of God*." It will say, in *its* sense, that the prophets spake by the Holy Ghost (*i.e.* as all which is good and true is spoken by inspiration of the Spirit of God), and will ask of you, in exchange, to drop the words, or at least the meaning, of the Creed, that God the Holy Ghost "*spake by the Prophets*." It will say to you that the prophets were "*elevated by a divine impulsion*," and grant you an "*intensified presentiment*," but only in the sense common to the higher conditions of humanity, even unaided by the grace of God. It will acknowledge a fallible inspiration, fallible even as to matters of every-day morality, and will ask of you to surrender the belief in the infallible. It will descant on the love of God, if you will surrender your belief in His awful holiness and justice; it will speak with you of heaven, if you, with it, will suppress the mention of hell. It will retain the words of revelation, and substitute new meanings, if you will be content with the sound, and will part with the substance of the Word of God.

'The battle must be fought. It is half won, when any one has firmly fixed in his mind the first principles that God is All Wise and All Good, and that man's own wisdom, although from God, is no measure for the Wisdom of God, and cannot sound its depth. The criticism of rationalism is but a flimsy, trans-

parent veil, which hides from no eye except its own (if indeed it *does* hide it altogether from its own), the real ground of its rebellion, its repugnance to receive a revelation to which it must submit, in order that it may see.'—Pp. 560—563.

We have reserved for the close of this paper some few remarks on the (1) prophetical and (2) ethical uses of the book of Daniel in this our own day. If under the former head anything shall seem to be advanced savouring of modernness, the responsibility will attach to the present writer alone. Our sole object is to serve the cause of sacred truth. We do not aim at disparaging the traditional interpretations which we have inherited, but we must with all solemnity protest against their being accepted as exhaustive.

1. The elder Apocalypse differs considerably from the later in this respect, that around the former there is gathered a venerable body of recognised exposition, while as regards the book of S. John, albeit saints have written fully on it—as, for instance, Irenæus and Hippolytus,—none of the expositions in whole or part have passed into and been united with the 'consciousness' of Christendom, if we except the one point that Babylon is an apocalyptic designation of Rome. Each Apocalypse consists of two parts—an historical and prophetical. The foreground in Daniel is laid in pagan times and climes; the foreground of S. John in an age that witnessed the trials of the Church. By parity of reasoning we might conclude that we can know no more with certainty of the earlier than of the later prophet. Time and sorrow in the case of the prophetical parts of both books will unfold to the Church the secret of the mystery—the number of the years, and the travail they will bring. The very fact that S. John has woven into his own book the substance of Daniel's visions, should warn us against concluding that there has been any large or final accomplishments of those predictions. The long chapter describing the dealings with one another of the northern and southern kings: shall we regard this as finally and exhaustively fulfilled? We mean so much of it as had an early realization in the history of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ. To us it seems to be 'in contempt of question' that of even this prophetic passage the *ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν* will not be recorded till it is verified by the Eastern Antichrist, of whom Antiochus Epiphanes was only the feeble and far-off shadow. If we turn to the much more serious question of the visions and revelations touching the four empires—'the kingdoms that were to come,' as Origen expresses it, 'from the time of Daniel down to the destruction of the world'—it must on reflection appear to every thoughtful reader passing strange, that the Church should have allowed

the old tradition to become almost *de fide*, which sees in the four kingdoms the four old world-monarchies, every one of which has come to an end centuries before the end of the world: that were disintegrated centuries before the Stone yet unfallen could have fallen to crush them. In the Apocalypse respecting the overthrow of Jerusalem which the Redeemer gave to His four apostles, and respecting also the destruction of the world, the Christian consciousness, so to speak, after first identifying, soon learned to distinguish the figure and the fact; and the Church refused any longer to regard the smouldering ruins of Jerusalem as answering the description of the wreck and ruin of a demolished universe. The progress of the ages forces on us the same distinction with regard to the revelations of Daniel. We must separate in our thoughts, as God in history has separated in fact, the *application*, which may be recurrent from the final fulfilment of the vision. It is trifling with the sanctity of history, as well as of revelation, to reckon the kingdoms 'down to the destruction of the world' as only the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. It is mere quibbling to affirm that the Roman empire continues to this day, because the nations of Europe, or of European origin, continue to call the months of the year by Roman names, and have moulded their jurisprudence on the principles of the Perpetual Edict. Prophecy forewarns us of what will in time become history, and time interprets the language of the future. The Roman empire, which centuries ago had ceased to be a fact, about sixty years ago ceased to be even a figure of speech, when the emperor sunk into an Emperor of Austria. Time, the divine expositor, thus frees us from the influence of two traditions. In the first place, the ὁ κατέχων and the τὸ κατέχων cannot have been the Roman empire; in the second place, the Roman empire, as the supposed fourth kingdom, having ceased to exist in any legitimate or recognisable sense of the term before the final coming of the Son of Man, cannot be the Roman empire of the prophecy. Whether existing as political or spiritual antagonists, the old empires were not, either in succession or combination, annihilated at the first advent of the Son of God. In what sense at this day the Collect in the Missal, praying for the Roman empire, is offered up, we cannot say. The territories which for the most part formed the original dominion of republican Rome remain to this hour united under the sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff. So long as¹ the Roman

¹ The notion that S. Paul, for prudential reasons, kept back the name of the Roman, when speaking of the "letting" power, is flagrantly out of keeping with the decorum of Scripture. The ruin of Italy and the empire was an idea familiar to the thoughts of men as early, at least, as the days of Horace. Suetonius and

Church remains faithful to her divine deposit, so long will the truth she embodies and represents be too much for the insurgent powers of evil that surround her; and it will let and will continue to let. When a bishop of Rome, abandoning the faith—as more than one of his predecessors have done—and making his league with the powers of the world, shall be ‘beginning to sink,’ Christendom may then be called to witness the rapid construction and development of the last world-empire, spreading in the strength of demon power, and exhibiting as its dread ruler the enemy of the Lord Jesus. In this sense, then, and to this extent, the Church may well pray the prayer of the Missal in the Good Friday collect for the Roman dominion; that it may be preserved, and that it may be purified. We have tried exposure and denunciation long enough. Instead of weeping a sister’s fault, bewailing our own frailty, and importuning the erring loved one to return, we have only steeped our thoughts in wormwood, we have hardened ourselves against the instincts of our better nature, we have clothed our lips with vituperative and rancorous declamation. Suppose that now, in addition to prayer to God for her, we beseech that Church herself to consider the perils of the age, which touch her so much more nearly than they do any other part of Christendom; suppose that, urging her with the conclusions of her own most cherished expositors, we implore her to think of her latter end, and by a timely reformation delay, at least, the crisis of apostasy. We might, it is true, fail to weary her into acquiescence, but at least this consolation would be left us, we should know that we had at last discharged the long-delayed debt of love.

If these remarks possess any weight, we can see at once how far we may accept that human exposition of the prophet’s visions which the Church has too unquestioningly received from the synagogue. That political and territorial organization which—the *débris* of foregone imperial constitutions—will constitute the *materiel* of the kingdom of Antichrist, will appropriate to itself and eventually style itself by the name of Rome. The four kingdoms, as they are popularly regarded, are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek, and the Roman. The Apocalyptic significance of the kingdoms is wholly derived

Tacitus, not long after the martyrdom of S. Paul, communicated to their reader the pretensions of the Jews to supersede the sovereignty of Rome, and the Psuedo-Sybilline oracle anticipated by half a century the hesitating guess of Irenæus. The reserve of Josephus, on the like topic, was dictated by a seasonable timidity, which we cannot bring ourselves to believe could have been experienced by S. Paul; which, with him, would have been *unseasonable*, as the secret in the main was, if not already, yet in a few years was to be, proclaimed in the ears of the Roman power.

from their having been employed as instruments to work out the will of God, in the chastening of the chosen people, and the demolition of the chosen city. Nation and state fell under the judgment of God. *Until the coming of the Stone* only one of the three kingdoms scourged the people of God, and laid waste the sanctuary. A representative and distant successor of Alexander, long after the disintegration of the Greek empire, tormented the people and polluted the sanctuary for a term of three years.¹ The third kingdom was to 'bear rule over the whole earth.' The whole earth must be at least Asia. But the Euphrates was the frontier of the Roman dominions, and the Indus was the frontier of the ephemeral empire of Alexander. The power of Babylon scattered the Jews, and destroyed their place for seventy years. The power of Rome, a kingdom that arose as Babylon declined, was the next to scatter the nation and keep Jerusalem desolate; and this she did for six hundred years. Thus the Old and New Babylon stand side by side, in historical as well as spiritual juxtaposition. What kingdom succeeded the Roman? The empire of Mahomet, as an empire possessing dominions in Asia, has existed longer than the Roman; it has survived the Roman—a great part of the Roman empire has merged into it; it has held for 1,200 years that foredoomed city of Zion, over which it watches at this hour. Indirectly and directly the Arabian power has proved itself the last great public tormentor of the Jews: indirectly, by originating the Crusades; directly, wherever they were reached by its conquering arms. The historian tells us how the obstinacy of the Jews converted the partiality of Mahomet 'into implacable hatred, 'with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last 'moment of his life; and in the double character of an apostle 'and a conqueror, his persecution was extended to both worlds.'² We do not read that the high priest gratified his victorious visitor with an exposition of that part of the dream-image which is popularly interpreted of the Greek empire. From the inference that he did not, we conclude that he believed he could not extract, with any truth, anything to flatter and gratify Alexander from the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. And yet, if the third part of that image does apply to Alexander, how much more

¹ In the eighth chapter of Daniel the vision of the ram and he-goat is expounded by the Holy Spirit. Can we, then, with due regard to the method of Scripture, believe that *unexpounded* parts of the image symbolize again, in breast and arms, and belly and thighs, these same kingdoms? Are we not rather led to conclude that, inasmuch as these empires were not persecutors of God's ancient people (but rather were its patrons and protectors), and are fully represented in a later, they cannot be supposed to form a part of the earlier vision, which still remains uninterpreted?

² Gibbon, chap. i.

encouraging and inspiring is the oracle, which says of that kingdom, it 'shall bear rule over all the earth.' All the characteristics of the kingdom, on the other hand, meet in the Mohammedan dominion. To this hour the liege subjects of Mahomet are encamped throughout all Asia, and occupy what might be the very paradise of Europe. Now we do not forget that we are not writing an exposition. Our aim is to free the Book of Daniel from 'a band of iron and brass,' which keeps it unfruitful 'in the tender grass' of the Church. Our attempted application may be in itself no better than, or not half as good as, the old; but it has this one advantage—instead of relegating to the past, it lifts up, to the interest of the present hour, one of the most marvellous of all the revelations of God. It is calculated to fix the attention of the Church on two important objects,—upon Rome, every political vicissitude of which (and the immediate future is thronged with such) is portentous and full of warning: upon Mohammedanism, which never, save on Good Friday, engages the prayers of the Church; and which, now that it has resumed its missionary labours, may be expected to break out at any time in all its desolating fanaticism. And, lastly, this application of these visions—let it be no more than application—enables the thoughtful Christian to read aright all the political secrets of the world. He knows how the first kingdom merged into the second, and the second into the third. He knows that the third will be continued on into a fourth, which, incorporating all the rest, and readjusting, will equip itself with the old imperial properties, which in their present dismembered condition lie scattered over the surface of the political world: he knows how, directing all its earliest energies against the 'Eternal City,' it will clothe itself with the Roman name, and shall prosper till the Stone descending grind it to powder, and it be swept away 'like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors.' Thus Daniel ceases to be the mere historian of the past; he becomes what he is, the seer and prophet of the present and the future, one to keep alive the mind and reason, and the whole regenerated intellect of the Church of God.¹

II. As to the ethical uses of the book of Daniel, it is not overstating it to affirm that no book of Scripture dwells at greater length upon, or exhibits in a plainer light, the godlessness of the world, the congenital corruption of earthly power. Warnings

¹ In the richness of His mercy God has given to His Church two seers, S. John as well as Daniel. But we must not leave out of sight the interest in the book of Daniel, which will be possessed to the last by the unevangelized remnant of the disinherited Israel. In the final travail of that afflicted race we may well believe that Daniel, consummating the type-likeness to Joseph which he already bears, will fulfil the type-likeness he also bears to Moses, and will lead back to the Mount of God the long-alienated tribes.

scattered through the rest of Scripture against mistaking created and permitted force for Divine authority, are concentrated and intensified in the teaching of the book of Daniel. It is a beautiful and consolatory lesson which the prophet gives us, showing us the love of God to His exiled Church, and the tender solicitude of the Most High devising means that His banished be not expelled from Him. There are many noble examples of unperturbed sanctity and inviolable faith sketched by the pen of the prophet. But the distinctive lesson of the book is this: that neither the glare of temporal splendour and success; nor occasional acknowledgments of Him that is invisible; nor even revelations of the Most High in visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man—none of these things can regenerate human greatness. Earth-born magnificence is of the world; and continues worldly to the last. Human power, as regarded by and as acting on the world, may differ as much in character and interior worth as the iron and the gold; but to the purged vision of the seers of God it evermore appears as a living organization, indeed, but essentially bestial in itself—without a spirit, without a conscience, without a God. This truth all the Churches of Western Christendom need to have constantly enforced upon them. Latin Christianity, in all its branches, has been subjected to laws and usages of mere human origination. Every apostolic Church of the West is bound up or identified with secular institutions and territorial securities, and so obviously fenced, established, and upheld by temporal laws as to keep out of sight, and so unhappily too often out of mind, the foundation laid once for all in the Rock of our salvation. We believe our own Church suffers less from this evil than any other of the Churches of the West; but still she suffers very grievously from the encroachments of that state which, by her union with, she consecrates, and which she saves by her holiness from moral and political decomposition. Our empire may boast of its military prowess, of its immense area, and its intelligent and well-ordered populations. But God's Church is no longer maintained as conterminous with its rule. The profession of the Christian faith has come to be regarded as an accident, not as of the essence of the Constitution. The notorious compact theory, which denies the '*jus divinum*' in the State, is as old as Ulpian, is 'false in itself, and slavish in its consequences;' and its recognition among ourselves has paved the way to the denial of the '*jus divinum*' in the Church. Take away that 'letting power,' and the deluge of ungodliness will succeed. What the powers of the redeemed Nature should be, what they shall be, we are taught in the cherubic splendours of Ezekiel. The wild beasts of Daniel reveal the true nature and the certain

destiny of all the political organizations of the world. The peculiar temptations of all the Western Churches give an especial emphasis to the warning thus conveyed. Where the Church is content to derive her strength and defence from the State, and devoid of higher yearnings loves to have it so, there we shall be sure to find the State coercing and obstructing the Church. There we shall be sure to find the Church full of fears, and ripe for compromise, and ready to commit fornication with the kings of the earth. Enough. The criticism of infidelity indirectly does the faith a great service by calling the Church to the defence of forgotten strongholds, and thus bringing her face to face with the records of her destiny; and thus the inspired Magian will remind her afresh of the cross she is called to bear, but has scarcely yet in our day learned to understand, and the true character of the world in which she spends her exile. The purple in which governments array her is but a robe of mockery. She is a Bride without her Lord, a Queen without her crown. But through the clouds of sorrow she can look up with Daniel, and descry the everlasting firmament, glowing with her risen saints. One in sorrow and rebuke with her Lord, she can drink in with a higher longing the assurances of eternal hope. 'Non semper pendebit Christus inter latrones. Resurget aliquando Crucifixa Veritas.'

ART. II.—*A Handbook of Rome.* Seventh Edition. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1864.

L'Eglise et La Société Chrétiennes en 1861. Par M. GUIZOT. Paris. 1861.

THE Roman Question is as old and garrulous as any of those many other questions which shed stars and ribbons on diplomatists and desperation on the readers of the daily papers. But even the dullest drama of life is sure of one true tragic touch at dying; and if the issue and catastrophe of any subject can exact attention, our attention may well be attracted, now at all events, to Rome. But, indeed, the Roman question, unlike its Scandinavian or Turkish contemporaries, though worn, is not threadbare, nor well can be. Not a page of history but bears upon it the name of Rome; the works of Rome, past and present, are a permanent cause which we can never eliminate from the acts of any European nation, and which, it may well be supposed, will remain a cause or a condition in the history of the future, as they have been and are in that of the past and of the present. There is one clue leading us from the old to the new ages, not of Christendom, but of the world,—one chain, and one only, which, older than Christendom itself, makes us feel ourselves inheritors of all the past. There is a unity in the history of Rome, imperial and papal, which binds thousands of years together. When Rome has slipped, if ever it is to be, from the relaxing grasp of the Papacy, when the popes (for Papacy, though there planted, has other roots now than at Rome) shall fulminate from Avignon, from Malta, from the Balearic Isles, or from Barcelona, then the last link of the chain joining the ancient world to the dark ages of Christendom, the dark ages to the era of steam-engines and steam-ploughs, will have snapt at last, and the European consciousness will be certainly feebler and poorer by a treasury of then meaningless associations closed to it for ever; but who can predict that it will be freer and franker by the need of looking only to the future, or watching only over the present? The change or revolution when, if ever, it does come, will be great indeed; so great, that every one, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, ought to prepare his mind for its advent, and, considering what destruction it will cause to old ideas, to ponder what substitutes can be found in the new.

The time ought to be full ripe for the solution of this vast

question. The Schleswig-Holstein question is dead and decently buried, but not the more decently for the fact that Europe suffered it to drift on to quicksands, and thus break up. The stage of Europe is now free from that gloomy, dimly outlined drama, and the managers of such spectacles for the European public seem to have determined that the Roman question must next make its appearance. Two small parties are ready and prepared for it, with their opposed quotas of alternate denunciation. But what will the great mass of Christendom do? Which side will it take? Does it know what the problems are which are proposed for its solution—how many in number—of what gravity and moment? Does it see that it is a local Italian question—that, again, it is a great question of European morality and international law? That it is a secular question, *pur et simple*—that it is a religious question, *pur et simple*—that it is both together, and neither *pur et simple*? Was there ever such a many-headed hydra as this—ever such a question which shifts and shifts about, with a pertinacious idiosyncrasy of its own, yet capable of being turned at the touch of any dexterous partisan, so as to show to any possible foe the aspect which is least likely to awaken his hostility or even his interest. Men at large seem neither to know the phases of this mysterious question, nor generally to feel disposed even to *wish*, much less to *will*, in the matter.

It is not only Protestants who have as yet been slow to marshal their opinions on this great Roman question: foreign Roman Catholics themselves still hold aloof from either side. They have hitherto regarded the question as political only, as one affecting the relations of different Italian states, and not of European nations. *They* have been in the habit for centuries of distinguishing the diverse characters of the pope, as a spiritual and as a temporal prince. It remains to be seen what attitude they will assume when they find, as a consequence of political revolution, the head of their Church either an exile, or else turned into a courtier of Victor Emmanuel. Yet, for all the Roman Catholic world is doing, this is the alternative. For consider what the victory of the Italians implies, unless indeed the pope and cardinals should change their minds and quietly abdicate on conditions. Consider also what it equally implies if they refuse to abdicate, and, interposing, not to say an active armed resistance, simply a dogged obstinacy, take refuge behind a steadfast '*non possumus*.' In the former case, those whom Catholic Europe and America recognise as oracles, as the centres of religious pomps and pageants, will themselves occupy, and without the glory of voluntary martyrdom, the position of refugees ever plotting to recover their lost possessions. In the other case,

what an anomaly at one and the same time to be the ecclesiastical officers of a constitutional kingdom, and to arrogate the ecclesiastical sovereignty over a score of other nations.

The fact is, that the loud rumours of the actual results of the papal temporal sovereignty at Rome are a terror and a bugbear in the path of Catholics with ever so feeble a consciousness of men's rights to honest government, which, whatever the truth, scare candid minds from an inquiry which they fear might end in forcing them to choose between playing the friend of tyranny, or the foe to their own Church. Really these reports of misgovernment have been exaggerated. The pontifical rule, at least as compared with that of its neighbours, has usually been neither *very* good nor *very* bad; its position, as the centre of Christendom, having preserved it in some measure from those sudden alternations of administration to which states, like Tuscany and Modena, preserved by their very pettiness from dependence on the public opinion of Europe, have always been exposed. It has always been remarked, even in busy England, that ecclesiastical estates have been less liable to change of management than those of laymen. Exactly the same causes, viz. the incapacity for strict and regular superintendence, the carelessness about advantages which would be reaped, not by themselves, but by their successors; and, finally, the engrossing of the active powers of the mind by different pursuits, which appear the real labours of life, have ever operated to keep the States of the Church in that sort of galvanized vitality which now rouses the wrath and indignation of Italian patriots, as much as ever did the regulated tyranny of the despot of Naples, or the mad Mimo-Neronism of Duke Francis of Modena.

The real defect and vice in the pontifical government is one which, unfortunately for the permanence of that *régime*, cannot be removed by virtuous self-denial on the part of its administrators, or be much aggravated even by a bad election. Its weakness is inseparable from its very essence as being a government owing a twofold allegiance, to the public opinion both of the Catholic world, and also of its own states. It must, from its nature, be dependent for its duration either on the help of foreign countries, or on the indulgence, rather than the loyalty, of its native subjects. It is impossible that such a sovereign should represent his people even in the same vague way in which the Czar of all the Russias is the impersonation of his vast empire; for in one, and that the grander aspect of his character, he is not specially the lord of Rome, but of a dozen other lands. What security can there be for the sympathy of a people with a ruler whose subjects and constituents range over half the globe?

How can such a power ensure obedience to its policy from subjects whose demands for reform and legislation it is obliged to repel by the excuse (and a valid one, too, in its position) of its double character? And when discontents arise, as arise they will at times in all governments, how can such a potentate reconcile the meekness and unworldliness of its priestly *persona* with the need for the haughtiness of a monarch and the craft of a diplomatist? How, lastly, should the popular requisitions prove irresistible, can an infallible priest condescend to own himself a fallible and confuted prince?

This preliminary question respecting the character and possibilities of the Papal temporal government seems to be something beyond which many minds find themselves totally unable to pass. It appears to them a thing unquestionable that it is the infeasible right of the Roman States to be under an administration which shall be their own, and not an administration with aims and needs, it may be, more exalted than theirs, but at any rate not theirs—an administration which, in deference to its character of Italian prince, sends an army to the gates of Milan, and then, as one of its most violent partisans glories in relating, declares that its sovereign cannot, being pontiff, proclaim war against any Christian Power. Candid and liberally nurtured minds, though sturdily Catholic, do not like to deny it to be the right of any country to have its resources developed to the utmost, and to see the profits of that development, whether great or small, spent on itself, and on itself alone, except so far as it may itself consent to their employment on more extended objects. But Roman Catholics, with these convictions, are confronted by the apparent certainty that the effect of carrying such premisses to their legitimate conclusions will be a convulsion and revolution in the whole of their religious system; they can discover no clear alternative to a disastrous theory which would seem, as often handled, to imply, however strange and astounding the doctrine, that Providence has set apart and marked out one division of Europe as a scapegoat for the benefit of collective Christianity.

So long as the champions of the two extreme parties keep in their own respective positions, each is impregnable. But, at the same time, neither advances his own cause a single step. The friend of a free and united Italy, so long as he is drawing from his copious store of facts showing that there has been direful misgovernment and mismanagement at Rome, cannot be dislodged from his position that a system, of which such are the fruits, is entitled to no man's sympathy, or, at all events, to no man's aid. But unfortunately for his cause, so long as his adversary, the champion of the temporal powers of the Papacy,

likewise shelters himself behind his ramparts, and can point to the dearest pledges of Catholic Christendom's traditions, faith, and piety, which, whether with propriety or dishonesty, but, at any rate, with much worldly wisdom, he has managed to entrap and detain within his camp, and thus to expose to the very same dangers and terrors which threaten himself, his cause also is for the time safe. While the former bids the liberal Roman Catholic remember that, in assisting actively the Papacy, he will be warring against others' freedom, for which, if menaced in his own person, he would fight to the death; the latter appeals to him—Your strength may turn the scale and drive us out, but your own religious instincts will then be homeless too. Thus each side is content with evading destruction, and exultant in a reprieve which ought to be more shocking to them than death. Each is too prejudiced, too vengeful, too little generous, to feel that its opponent's chief security consists in the pity and perplexity which third parties feel at the very certainty of its destruction if once dislodged, and that, accordingly, its own endeavour should be to build a bridge of gold for the enemy to flee across. Instead of M. About and his Italian admirers, such as Signor Petruccelli della Gattina, on the one side, striving to demonstrate that every pope must be, *quâ* pope, a tyrant and a bigot, and every cardinal, *quâ* cardinal, a tyrant and a debauchee, and instead of the Ultramontanist urging that the Court and heart of the Roman Catholic Church should be not national but European, it would far more promote their respective aims for the one to show that ecclesiastical independence is compatible with deprivation of temporal sovereignty, and for the other to prove, if possible, that it has been the mere accident of circumstance that the spiritual supremacy in Europe has appeared to involve the ruin of the happiness of three millions of Christians. As it is, the arguments of the two opposed parties make clear to us two points, and two only, viz. that it ought to be impossible for Christians to sympathize either with the compulsory sacrifice of the three millions of Papal subjects to the alleged good of Christianity, or so long at least as the Roman Catholic Church is to remain a Church, with the sacrifice of the freedom of communication, the European, non-provincial, non-national tone of the head and centre of the Church with its branches. We feel the grandeur and splendour, the magnificence of the idea of the King-Priesthood, the independence (alas! only in theory) of all selfish pecuniary motives in the relations between the pontiff and foreign Catholics which his rich States ought to, but hitherto never have, secured to him, and the noble field he has in them for exhibiting before the eyes of Europe the spectacle of a sove-

reignty free from earthly motives, and administered without any reference to the balance of trade or the balance of power. But if the conscience of ecclesiastical sovereigns is so sensitive that it forces them to do all the government themselves, and to keep their subjects in leading-strings, lest with the energies of manhood they should display some of its vices; if the real objects of their temporal administration are Austrian concordats, Rhenish mixed-marriage laws, Irish Repeal, Poland, the Sandwich Islands, anything, in short, but the malaria steaming up and stealing up from the Basilica of S. Paul to the slopes of Frascati,—anything but the sewers of Tivoli, the brigands of Ceprano, or the nightly brawls and midnight murders in the very shadow of S. Peter's,—then, indeed, whether the silent buffalo-driver know or not what a death in life his existence is, whether or not the curiosity-shop keeper be enthusiastic for pope and cardinals, whether or not the bankrupt prince, with his eyes on the cardinalate for a younger son, be fierce against changes, yet, all the same, changes ought to come, and changes must come. And so with the other side of the picture—if the Italian patriot desires for his country a national Church, and not one common to him and all European Catholics; if he is resolute to remain a Roman Catholic and not to turn to Protestantism; if he is determined to keep the luxury of a *Supreme Pontiff* for Italy, and have him, in fact, the Minister of Public Worship in the Ministry of the King of Italy; then, whether or not such a state of things would be better for Italy than the present, whether or not, as an Italian, he demand that to which he has theoretically a right;—at any rate, he demands an impossibility, an incongruity, a change which, if thorough enough to satisfy him, cannot fail to dissatisfy the rest of Catholic Europe. A result according with either hypothesis is equally absurd; one result is not a jot more absurd than the other. For think of the scandal of the alleged paternal rule of the pontiff spurned at and abhorred by the nearest spectators of it in action, of men made moral and virtuous by the help of the rifle and the bayonet. What an encouragement is *there* for all despots over the world, from the military governor in Poland to the tyrant-pedant mandarin in China: think, above all, of the devouring cancer in the breast of that Church itself, teaching patience and resignation abroad, but never practising it at home. But then, again, would not the results be equally eccentric on the second hypothesis; with what gratitude might we picture welcomed at Schönbrunn the arrival of a Bull with the imprimatur on it of the Cabinet of Turin or the Pitti!

But we have said it ought to be impossible for Christians to sympathize heartily, and without reserve, either with the en-

forced submission of Roman citizens, or with the Procrustean cutting down of the world-wide aims of the Papacy to the standard of Italian policy. That English Churchmen, equally with, or even in a greater degree than Roman Catholics, might find the former impossible, is apparent enough: but there are reasons why it should be so with them in the latter case also (though let them not expect that aid in return, to which M. Guizot looks). Exeter Hall may, perhaps, feel a serene satisfaction in the incongruities and inconsistencies of Italian Catholics: that so many towns are lost to the pope may appear, in the bold logic which is ventilated within those highly excitable precincts, but another form of saying that just in the same degree the territories of Protestantism are enlarged. This is a very common, but a most extraordinary delusion. It would be well, indeed, for Italy, could it be persuaded on religious and theological grounds to change Romanism for Italianism: but, at present, any changes which it has subscribed to have been due to political motives alone. A member of the Church of Rome is playing with edged tools when he contemns and spurns at the character and authority of the pope: it is worse than foolish for the members of other Churches to triumph in a state of things which makes brother Christians outlaws from their own Church without bringing them one step forward on their difficult way toward any other. The disease, too, in this case of Italy, exhibits itself in an aggravated form. It is not as though the whole nation had resolved upon a change of its relations to its priesthood, and had carried out the revolution so far and so far only as it had predetermined. In such case, things would have gradually accommodated themselves, and the old sanctions would have been accepted in reference to new conditions. As it is, not merely is the Italian land divided by the quarrel respecting the temporal sovereignty of the popes, but it is the same with every city, and almost with every house. The casual tourist, though he visit churches, not to worship, but to gaze on pictures, knows this well. It is not proved by the fact that in the towns a man is but seldom seen in a church, while women crowd there—for the same phenomenon is apparent in any part of France, except Brittany—it is that the deadly feud which rages between the educated classes in Italy and the Head of their Church, seems not to have made the slightest impression on the women of cities, or the men of the country. When class is thus separated from class by an utter discord of hope, feeling, and sensibility as to the infinity of ideas and motives comprehended in religion, there is anarchy in the very life of a nation. The wife looks upon her husband as a cast-away; the peasant, on his periodical visits to the city fair or

market, regards the burgher as one without religion or honesty; while, on the other hand, the father, husband, or brother, suspects those dearest to him of being unconscious traitors in the bosom of the family, and the citizens despise the farmer and look on themselves as the only true Italians.

If the breaking up of homes and of provinces in Italy be not judged a valid pretext why Englishmen should interest themselves in a Continental question, at least the consequent menace of great European convulsions must be accepted as a sufficient excuse. The very same species of discord and mutual antipathy, or, at any rate, want of sympathy which is distracting Italy, is radiating in every direction throughout Catholic Europe. Nations become suspicious of each other—orthodox Austria of quasi-heretical Italy and France. In any one nation, too, there is the same sort of disunity as in any one Italian province; and everywhere alike in Catholic lands, women and men, peasants and burghers, the uneducated and the educated, get drawn into two different camps. There can be nothing worse than such a state of things which thus, while not being of a nature to bring persons within the pale of another Church, excommunicates and makes pariahs of them within their own; which, based on a quarrel respecting the temporal rights arrogated by the ministers of religion, induces these latter to intrench themselves, and those temporal rights, behind their sacred functions, tempting in turn reckless opponents to lead a storming party over the carcass of their own faith.

The worst of the matter is, that either side has a real grievance. Though we could pick and cull circumstances at our pleasure to suit any theory we might select, still the victory of either party could not fail to imply the meting out of a large portion of something like injustice to the other. In Italy at large, men have an abstract right to a free circulation of ideas throughout the whole of a nation which has vindicated its nationality by vitality through its many centuries of political disunion: in the Roman States in particular, men have a right to a government which shall sympathize with the common life of mankind, which shall not have the interests of two diverse characters to reconcile, and which shall use the resources of the country for the development of the country itself. But, on the other hand, in Italy the priesthood and their adherents are equally entitled to refuse to become mere functionaries of a State which will expect them, the members of a society which knows no nationalities, to take for enemies those who are not *their* enemies, and for friends those who are not *their* friends; and, in other Catholic lands, it may be in France, it may be in Austria, the Catholic party are equally entitled to murmur at the Italianizing and isolating of

the heads of *their* Church, at the poisoning with suspicion of political intrigues the very fountain of Catholicism. Which of the opposed grievances will be finally relieved, and which will remain to fester and to corrupt the body of Europe and Christendom, must be long uncertain. At present it appears as though the States of the Church were drifting into the sea of Italian nationality: for if the French troops once leave Rome, it will be hard to persuade the French people of the policy of recalling them, whatever the liberty reserved by the Emperor of intervention in case of an internal revolution in the Papal capital. But the cession to the Italian kingdom of that wondrous city, which not so much nature as the tyranny of History has marked out for its capital, is a Cadmean victory, unless with it are bent in willing submission the stubborn wills of prelates, cardinals, and pope. Unless a far deeper revolution than there are at present any signs of, rage throughout the mind of Italy, there is no hope for religious peace in that country, unless under the auspices of Roman Catholicism. Such religion as yet lingers there, having escaped the storms of prejudice and political partisanship, is still Roman Catholicism; and for the Italian Government to accept Rome without the Church of Rome would be like taking an empty eagle's nest, and thereby scaring away the parent birds to some more inaccessible fastness.

But should this peril be avoided, should the approaches of the Italian Government be so guarded, so wary, that the Papacy should suddenly wake up to find itself transformed into the State Church of Italy, then how would it fare with the rest of Roman Catholic Europe? What Italy would gain (and it would, we confess, gain much), just so much, for the time at any rate, would France, Austria, and the rest lose or think they lost. A Colonna might in bygone ages lord it over a supreme pontiff; and yet, without any apparent absurdity, that pontiff's mandates be received as very oracles of Heaven in the Court of Warsaw, or the *Ultima Thule* of Britain: but it would be a ludicrous caprice of fancy to picture to oneself a French bishop, even him of Orleans, asserting against the representative of French nationality the ecclesiastical pre-eminence of an ecclesiastical courtier of a foreign king, perhaps one who was, with his twenty millions of subjects, a successful combatant of French ideas in the councils of Europe. It seems, it is true, that some sanguine persons fondly hope that the conversion of Rome into the Italian metropolis is compatible with the Papacy's independence of Italian nationality. The hypothesis is, that the Italian Parliament may jubilantly debate in the Capitol on the secularization of monasteries, or war with Austria, and, at the

same time, cardinals and pope hold independent council in the Vatican on the promulgation of new articles of faith, the founding of new orders of monks, or the excommunication of the despoilers of the old. What an inconceivable chimera would this appear, only that it has been conceived! And yet, if the hopes of Italians be fulfilled, as in all probability they will be, this impossible event is the only possible alternative and chance of escape from one of two great evils. For else either must Italy, on the one hand, become for years, it may be for centuries, should the Papacy exile itself from the land of its birth, a land in which religion would be a thing but half recognised, and a deliberate plotter against the established constitution in things political; or, on the other hand, must the rest of Roman Catholic Europe, should the Papacy not so exile itself, but be persuaded to accept the same sort of character which Henry VIII. imposed upon the English Church, hazard falling into the condition of the faithful in the Ten Tribes after Jeroboam's revolt had made the Temple foreign soil, and the priesthood strangers and foes.

A third course once was possible: probably it is so no longer. The temporal sovereignty of the pope seems doomed, and, we frankly confess, rightly so, not because it has always hitherto been conspicuously behind other Italian States in energy and moderation—for on the whole, taking a couple of centuries together, it has, we must repeat, been less corrupt, more paternal than its neighbours—but because its very principle is that it should be at once paternal to the full extent of that, for governments, terribly false analogy, and at the same time persistently careless of developing the resources of its territories, because too lavish of energy abroad to care for anything but rest at home. Thus, now, the world seems to have settled down into the unalterable conviction that the temporal power of the Papacy must cease. It is not clearly the fact indeed that its subjects themselves demand their freedom, or incorporation into the Italian kingdom with anything approaching unanimity: the noblesse, and a considerable part of the bourgeoisie and plebs of Rome, are even vehement adherents of the Papal rule, while the peasants are careless of opposing it: but it is clearly the fact that every step towards the fuller realization of Italian unity will, from the mere force of commercial interest, and the contagion of neighbourhood, produce an increasing desire at all events for self-government, and for a constitution analogous to, and in sympathy with, that of the rest of their country. But it was not always, whatever it may now be, a necessary consequence, that the remnants of the States of the Church, or at any rate, that the City of Rome and its dependent Campagna and

hills, should, because they cannot but pass from the direct sovereignty of the popes, be therefore incorporated into the as yet ill-fused Italian kingdom. There was, and indeed still is, in these States, a machinery by which an intermediate result might have been arrived at by way of compromise. All over Italy, from wealthy Bologna down to the smallest shrunken town perched half way up some spur of the Apennines, there has ever existed, lingering even to the present day, and defying the attacks of cardinals and dukes, of a Napoleon and of a Metternich, the obstinately ineradicable *municipal* spirit. The Papacy, finding that it could not extirpate it from its dominions, has always recognised it more or less, and has even utilized it. This spirit might have been encouraged and developed, and, finally, have had the temporal sceptre of the pontiff handed over to its guardianship. From such a stake-holder there could neither have arisen, nor have been feared, any peril, either to the Italian kingdom, lest it would be a dangerous neighbour, or to Italian unity, lest it should impede the free current of trade and sympathies throughout the entire length and breadth of the land. Finally, Catholicism at large could not have dreaded that such a potentate would be powerful or wilful enough to tamper with the cosmopolitanism and independence of the Papacy as an ecclesiastical sovereignty, or to make it, or suffer it to be made, into a tool and instrument of any political party.

Such independence is all that the Catholic world has in its own interests a right to demand for the Papacy; and it is in effect only because the temporal rule has been hitherto, in the actual condition of Italy, the readiest way of securing such independence for the Church, that the dogma "*Il faut que les deux pouvoirs soient confondus dans l'État Romain pour qu'ils soient séparés dans le reste du monde,*" has been recognised as containing any truth. It is *not* as though the interest of the Church demands, or ever did demand, that its Head should have a toy state wherein to play at realizing an impossible ideal of a material sovereignty over the conscience, or that the right to tax three millions of Italians (with the result of producing a clear revenue, Mr. Maguire says, of £1000 only), is the single specific for maintaining the dignity of religion in the person of its chief. Again, such a levelling of all barriers between the sympathies of the Roman States and the rest of Italy as might be effected by the medium of this municipal independence, a grant of liberty to all Roman citizens, Italians in their character, to feel themselves members of the same nation, though, while residing in Rome and its environs, chancing to live under a rather more independent municipal

constitution than that enjoyed by Turin, or by Florence, is all that, as a matter of abstract right, or of fact, the Italian nation on its part is entitled to require. That because Parma, and Florence, and Naples, and Milan, have chosen to resign their provincial independence, and to adopt one identical constitution, therefore *they* have a right to demand that Rome should be given up to them for their capital (and their position, it must be remarked, assumes such right totally independent of any wish to that effect being expressed by the Romans themselves whatever the case in this respect may be), is simply and absolutely preposterous. What can be a stranger distortion of reasoning than to argue that, because once Rome had a right to the rest of Italy, therefore now the rest of Italy has a right to Rome? The whole is a novel demand, a novel idea, a sort of Rip Van Winkle-like ignoring of their own long denationalized lethargy, and the result of a picturesque though rather ridiculous fancy that the Roman Commonwealth has never come to an end, and that it has been simply in trust for Italy—that the metropolitan character of Rome has been nursed through the long centuries since Attila and Alaric by the king-prelates, whose personal pretensions are now so indignantly spurned.

It is, in fact, an historical blunder to suppose that the other provinces of Italy have any title to determine on the political future of the Roman States; at least any right beyond the right, based on the law of self-preservation, to a material guarantee that the constitution and *régime* of those States shall not be such as to make them a firebrand or a pesthouse in the centre of Italy. The only *necessary* parties to a convention which should involve the resignation by the popes of their temporal sovereignty into the hands of a native Roman secular municipality, entitled to stand in the same relation to Italy as Hamburg or Frankfurt to Germany, would be the Papal Court and the Romans themselves. To such a compromise, as the only resource at hand against dependence on the Italian Court on the one hand, or hopeless exile on the other, with the additional bitter reflection that, in the latter event, it, the spiritual Head of Catholic Europe, was endangering the religious convictions of many millions of Italians, it might reasonably be expected that, however reluctantly, the Papal Court would at last consent. That the Romans should, on their part, acquiesce in an arrangement which would preserve for the tradesmen their ecclesiastical customers, for the nobles their ecclesiastical traditions, court, and patronage, for the middle-classes their rights of self-government immensely developed and well guaranteed, and which would secure for the peasants some relief from the ever growing weight of taxes, levied as they are, to keep off an ever present and ever growing danger, without

terrifying them by any too apparent or sudden changes or innovations, might as reasonably be expected.

The material advantages which would result from an arrangement which would give the Romans most of the personal benefits of political freedom, while securing them in some measure from the burdens of foreign wars and of diplomatic complications, in which the rest of Italy, as now become an important member of the European council, will surely have (though with the compensatory satisfaction of having a voice in imposing its own burdens) to bear its part, and in the first place to pay its footing, would probably be accepted, after some coy reserve, as no insufficient substitute for the Florentine's or Neapolitan's costly consciousness of full Italian citizenship.

In considering this question it is immaterial whether it be the fact, as alleged by Mr. Maguire ('*Rome, Its Ruler, and Its Institutions*'), and other Ultramontanist writers, that no city in the world surpasses Rome in the number and efficiency of its public charities and endowments, the energy of goodwill with which the government endeavours to provide against deception and indolence on the part of subordinates, and, in general, in the signs of sympathy with all the wants and sufferings of humanity. It is even immaterial whether or not the object of Italian liberals would be in effect attained by the fall of the great power of the Papacy. Grant that they are mistaken; grant that the kindness of public administration is not merely great at Rome, but great relatively to other States, and that a defender of the worst possible governmental system in Europe would not be enabled to make out a numerical catalogue of philanthropic institutions (the necessary and spontaneous growth of any form of European civilization) which would overwhelm the memory and almost the reason of the most confirmed liberal; grant, finally, that it can be perfectly well explained why this exceptionally wise, and sagacious, and painstaking government has been so singularly unfortunate in results—why it has not brought the Trastevere to moderate its addiction to assassination, or its nobles, that trace their lineage to the mighty Republic, to live as though life were not the one sole object of life; yet, assuming all this to be, as it is argued, a proof that the Papal rule is the best rule which the Papal States could enjoy, it does not go in the least to the real root of the question, which is, whether the people themselves for whom the government is needed are satisfied with it, and not, whether they would be temporally wise to exchange their right, as subjects of Papal Rome, to the awe and veneration of Christendom, for the position of the Washington of the Italian kingdom.

If their submission be not voluntary, but enforced, it is the obvious policy of an institution with so lofty a character as the Papacy, to endeavour to escape from that tyrant attitude which, compromising even to great England in relation to petty Corfu, is scandal to the faith of entire Christendom in the case of the Pontificate. On the other hand, to regard the matter from the side of the Romans, it is equally immaterial, if the peace of the Roman Catholic Church, as we believe on the whole it does, require the independence which it could enjoy completely nowhere so well as in its old home of the Vatican, whether or no the Roman States would be happier, spite of all the risks and burdens to which the Italian kingdom may be liable, in identifying themselves with it, than in preserving their individuality through the medium of a municipal constitution. If the question had to be answered, we should not, perhaps, be quite easy in asserting that the position of any member of the British Cabinet, other than its chief, is inferior to the indisputable pre-eminence of even a Mayor in *his* Cabinet. But no such question has to be answered: it may be argued that a people like the Roman people has a right to something of self-government, and yet be consistently contended that such right does not imply any title whatever to demand union with some particular country. None would assert such title in cases where the union of two states would compromise the balance of power; and danger to the religious peace of Europe and the balance of religious power is as valid and powerful a reason for refusing consent. At all events, even though it should be contended that a European state had a right to demand the consent of Europe to its incorporation with another European state, it could not be contended that it would have a right to require the latter to consent to such incorporation, or the rest of Europe to refrain from using its influence, in the interests of its own religious peace, to prevent such consent being granted.

There are persons who have thought yet another course possible, and that, one very different to the exchange of the pontifical for the municipal *régime* as here recommended. The Papacy might, according to their hypothesis, yield to the force of circumstances with grace, and bidding farewell to the Cæsars' palaces and martyrs' tombs, drift away into the wide Catholic world, quitting once and for ever at the same time its temporal Italian sovereignty, and its special Italian primacy. Refusing to be the metropolitan of the Peninsula, since no longer left free to be a prince among princes, it might cease to be Italian and become purely Catholic. From some Malta, or Corsica, nay, from some Baltimore or Quebec, or, if we wished to give the rein to our imagination, we might conceive from the Mosque of Omar

and the heights of Zion, it might issue its bulls and decrees untainted by any suspicion of Philo-Austriacism or Philo-Gallicism. What a fair ideal we might imagine realized then; a council of all the most spiritual minds in Christendom, unbiassed by national prejudices, because as much at home in one nation as another; a power all pervading, and, from its very ubiquity, unassailable anywhere! The one only peril would be that its spiritual powers would be too vast and vague to be consistent with the proper operation of the conterminous secular powers. Such a hypothesis of an ecclesiastical sovereignty, the locale of which should be the centre of the religious instincts of every nation, of a dominion incapable of rousing the jealousy of any temporal power, because having no object to gratify which could come in the way of any pet secular ambition, has often found favour with persons comprehending sufficiently acutely the actual vices of the Papacy, yet also eager to preserve the benefits of ecclesiastical unity. It is a fair conception, provided this ecclesiastical power thus pictured as endowed with right and ability to give the tone to the religious feeling of Christendom, without ever presenting a vulnerable side to the secular powers which might desire to control it, should have the force to remain pure, incorrupt, and without *arrière pensée*. Nor, even supposing this spirit, thus supposed to have been appointed to sway the undercurrent of the religious life of Christendom, to become dark and treacherous, jealous of its own privileges, a foe to the rights of other persons, would the conception, though not fair and beautiful, miss a certain solemnity and mystery which would still be almost fascinating. But in fact such a conception in any aspect is utterly incapable of realization. In the first place, a supreme independent ecclesiastical influence, not identified with the specific national character, would soon strive to create for itself in any nation a new set of feelings and objects in which it might develop itself and expatiate as in its own peculiar province and home. Its pretensions would be too lofty for it to be satisfied with the position which we may suppose a diplomatist to enjoy at Paris or St. Petersburg: it would arrogate the controlling influence, and right to insulate itself and its belongings, which appertains to an ambassador from Christian Europe at Constantinople. If too active in its attempts, secular governments would band together throughout Europe to worry and hunt it out of existence, as they did in the Middle Ages the Templars, and, in the last century, the Jesuits; while if indolent, whether from choice or from the force of circumstances, it would gradually, having no special sphere for the exertion of its energies, sleep away its vitality and reality, and dwindle and perish from mere inaction. In the second place, the very nature

and origin of the Papacy and its surroundings make it impossible to realize such a conception as the Head of the Roman Catholic Church denationalizing himself and his court altogether. The traditions and history, the tastes and tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church, are all Italian : its forms and ceremonies, its riches and power are all connected with, and referable to, its original position as the national Church of Italy, as well as of united Christendom.

Italy itself, though so loud in reprobating the Papacy as it is at present, would be as unwilling to let it take up its permanent abode in a foreign land as the Papacy would be reluctant to leave the soil it loves so well. Indeed, the schemes and requisitions of Italy in respect to the Papacy are exorbitant, unreasonable, and almost self-contradictory. It is incessantly inveighing, even to the verge of calumny, against the Church, and those schemes of ecclesiastical ambition which stretch far beyond the Peninsula ; but it betrays no inclination to give up the prestige and glory which, whether or no attended by more than compensating evils, the location there of that gigantic and mysterious institution brings upon the name of Italy. But Italians ought to understand that, if the Church of Rome is reduced to become merely the national Church of Italy, Catholic Europe will no longer recognise in Italy the centre of its ecclesiastical system. Nothing, however, is more clear than at present such is not the belief of Italian patriots. When they talk of Rome for the natural capital of Italy, they mean men to understand that it is the Rome of the Gracchi and the Cæsars that is before their imagination. They will not see how alien to the facts is such a picture, nor will they be persuaded to trace back the Rome of their consciousness to the acts and policy, the energy and enthusiasm, of Hildebrand and Julius the Second, of Paul the Third, and Sixtus the Fifth. Of these recollections and glories the patriots of Turin and Naples are not the legitimate heirs. With such plans and plots as they foster, they have no more title to these traditions than has the American squatter to trace his lineage to Hiawatha. And if Rome, as it at present exists, is thus the creation of the Middle Ages and Papal rule, the doubt ought sometimes to rise cold and menacing from forth the boiling whirlpool of modern Italian aspirations, whether after all it is so very self-evident as they pre-suppose whence the Italian State derives its title, or whether it has any title at all, to the possession of that which it and its secular predecessors have had no hand in forming. At any rate, they must not be amazed at seeing their ideal somewhat smirched and dimmed when at last realized ; and let them be prepared to find many of those fairy images, beauteous hybrids compounded so cunningly

of traditions really the offspring of secular and ecclesiastical despotism, however fantastically clothed for the occasion in patchwork ribands borrowed from images of liberty and freedom of thought and action, dissolving beneath the touch as tantalizing as did the Ninevite sculptures of ivory and gold.

And if the Italian patriot, if finally triumphant to the very limit of his hopes, when he comes to take stock of his gains may, perhaps, be a little sorry that he has swept his house so very clean of all that made it once so very dear; what a surprise and shock, quite independently of questions of high politics, independently even of ecclesiastical embarrassments, will the utter change in the status of Rome and of the Papacy be sure to strike to the heart of universal Europe! To the members of the Church of Rome, Rome is the sacred city, the Christian Mecca. Its legends and its traditions—some true, some false, but even the false ones with the sanctity of the faith of many centuries upon them, and all together effectuating a certain continuity among themselves—to such persons annihilate time, and make them find no discord and incongruity, but, on the contrary, an absolute identity of idea and spirit, between the creations of the genius of Michael Angelo and the legends of the Santa Scala, between the gorgeous Basilica of S. Paul and the lonely catacombs of Calixtus.

If a change do come, whether the effect of it be to exile the Bishop of Rome from the scene of his patriarchate, or to convert him into the mere primate of a brand-new united Italy, the shock to the sentiments of Roman Catholics who are not, and perhaps to many who also are, Italian patriots, cannot be but terrific. To their sentiments it would be, perhaps, almost worse to find the Pope serenely domiciled in his own city, a near [neighbour and obedient subject to an Italian Court, resident, it may be, at the Quirinal, than to visit the holy places of Rome, as pilgrims once did Mount Zion, almost by stealth, with the feeling that their natural guardian was a refugee and an exile. But in either case there would, or we may perhaps say there will, be something repulsive to such in the garish light of common day which the new Italian secular spirit will convey from the huge reservoirs of Turin, and Milan, and Florence, into all those dark sanctuaries of old memories. In a less degree the English Churchman will feel bitterly the same contrast between those past days so recent, when what was and what is seemed to be the same thing, and the new era of renovation and political enlightenment with which he could have satisfied himself to his heart's content in Liverpool, London, or Paris, without facing the mosquitoes and malaria of Italy. We do not say that it will not be a good thing for the Roman citizen,

whether prince or artizan, to have springing up in his town a different school of architecture than that which has been in vogue for the last thousand years, and under whose auspices so many generations have burrowed as happily in the ruins of the metropolis of the Cæsars as any lizard does in an old wall. But it is not all so manifestly an advantageous thing to the casual visitor. A different spirit will then brood over the Campagna, at last, perhaps, no longer silent; those gloomy ugly alleys in which, at every step, some memento of the Dark Ages, when Christianity alone was light, seems to have got entangled ages ago, and to be for the first time detected and uncovered by your accidental wanderings, may come to be penetrated by thoroughfares without that idiosyncrasy which makes the present ones always lead you back to the spot from which you set off; and, finally, a score of churches may be transformed into granaries. Then, at length, too, even the Ghetto may lose its strange squalor; and it may cease to be regarded as a mark of gratitude for our own Christianity to tell the Jews, in words of Latin and Hebrew, that 'all day long God has stretched forth His hands to them, a stiffnecked and backsliding people.' All this may happen and, doubtless, will happen, and to the good of the Romans themselves. But when Rome has thus become a healthy, and neat, and unpersecuting city, alas, for travelling Englishmen!

ART. III. — *Recollections of William Wilberforce, Esq. M.P. for the County of York during nearly thirty years. With brief notices of some of his personal friends and contemporaries.*
By JOHN S. HARFORD, Esq. D.C.L. F.R.S. London:
Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1864.

A VOLUME which, like the present, neither forms a complete biography, nor contains much of the correspondence of an eminent man, should contain a warrant for its appearance by some special and peculiar merits. Either the additional anecdotes narrated should be entirely new and pointedly striking, or the reputation of the person commemorated should stand so high, that the smallest ray of fresh information on his character and actions must be generally acceptable. Mere 'Recollections,' even of very important persons, of those who have stood high in the public opinion of their day, of those who, rarer still, have left a mark on the history of their country, are apt to display a desire rather to preserve the memory of the narrator than of the great man himself. The reminiscences of the eminent person commemorated, enveloped in a few phrases of common-place conventionalism, are too often employed only as a buoy presumed to be sufficient to keep afloat the memory of the otherwise-utterly unknown man whose name is attached to the book; who, under the flimsy disguise of respect to his friend, selfishly seeks the attainment of an unmerited reputation. From these defects this little volume is greatly free, and if the work cannot claim the right to rivet our attention by the freshness of the information imparted, most of which had been employed before, it is still well worthy of consideration, from the importance of the position that Mr. Wilberforce held in his day. The author has throughout adhered to the plan laid down in his preface. 'The illustration of Mr. Wilberforce's private qualities,' was the theme proposed. Other labourers, closely connected in relationship, closely allied in feeling, had long ago undertaken the pious duty of the biography; but it was still open to one who must be amongst the few survivors of those who, as grown men, were, in any measure, the contemporaries of Wilberforce in his prime, to collect in a permanent form those scattered reminiscences of conversation and habits which so often throw great light upon character, and which would otherwise have been speedily lost. The autumn is fast closing in, the full harvest has long been gathered, but there were still, so

to say, in the corners of the fields, a few half-forgotten ears of that abundant crop of brilliant memories of a man eminent by station, by intellect, and by character, to reward the labours of a diligent searcher well acquainted with the ground.

'It is hoped that the additional authentic data here presented, and collected chiefly from Mr. Wilberforce's own lips, may add to the veneration and esteem with which his name and character are regarded. They will also give some slight idea of him as he was seen in the retirement of the country, among a select circle of friends, whom he daily delighted by his wisdom and wit, by the charm of his colloquial powers, and by the attractive influence of his religious and benevolent affections.'—*Preface*, p. vi.

There is another reason also why the appearance of this work is particularly well timed; it is well for us now, when other objects than those for which Wilberforce laboured are more prominently before the public, to be reminded of the struggle in which he contended with such disinterested heartiness, and with so thorough an honesty of purpose. It is well for us now, when the craving after place and power and material prosperity fill up so large a proportion of the time and thoughts of men, to be presented with the portrait of one who was a politician, but not a place-hunter; whose ambition was untinged with any suspicion of selfishness; who lavished his time, his abilities, and his wealth, in the endeavour to benefit those who could never make him any return. Another reason also makes such a work with its descriptions of Wilberforce's domestic life the more welcome to us at this present time; his influence as a social reformer is probably far more actively influential in England than even the effects of any of those anti-slavery triumphs, to the success of which he contributed so largely. We would not underrate Wilberforce's influence over the politics of his day; more than once or twice, as we shall have occasion to show further on, the part he played was of considerable importance; more than once or twice the respect due to his judgment, the deserved weight of his character swayed the tottering balance of public opinion in the direction which he favoured. The memorable instance of his first election for the county of York is a sufficient instance of this. The impetus given by his return there to the supporters of Pitt in the House of Commons, was great and lasting.

'"Numbers of members have confessed to me," writes Mr. Duncombe, "that they owed their success in their own counties to the example set by "ours." By it, and nearly two hundred other victories over the adherents of the coalition party, Mr. Pitt became as strong in the House of Commons, as he had been hitherto in the affections of the people. He was then able, says Mr. Wilberforce, if he had duly estimated his position, to have cast off the corrupt machinery of influence, and formed his government upon the basis of independent principle.'—*Wilberforce's Life*, vol. i. p. 64.

The parliamentary history of England during great part of the most eventful half century, perhaps, in the annals of our country, would be incomplete without a notice of the history of the abolition of slavery, and of him to whom that cause owed more than to any other single man. But these events are now amongst the memories of the past. Other struggles, even more keenly contested than those between slave-trader and abolitionist, have succeeded to their place in the debates of parliament. Among contests for reform and for free trade, the remembrances of the earlier discussions of this century are almost obliterated; but the influence of Wilberforce still subsists among us, even where least suspected, flowing steadily on in the quiet channels of English domestic life. Who can say how many who were contemporaries, perhaps opponents, of the brilliant speaker, the active debater, were stirred up to better things by beholding the practical goodness of the man?—how many more in this generation to whom his fame is scarcely known, by the example of those who were urged on to emulate his high-minded course of life? As we read the letters of advice and of warning and of reproof contained in the appendix to the Biography, one thought more than another rises to the mind:—these religious practices thus strictly inculcated, then noticed as novelties, stigmatized as the marks of a sect, this deeper feeling of the duties of those in high station, this consideration for the feelings of others, and the qualities which now mark, we may thankfully say, the common life of countless families in England, but then rare and unusual;—is not much of this reformation owing, however unwillingly we may confess it, to the noble pattern set by Mr. Wilberforce, conjointly with the influence of those to whom his bright example was a rallying point in times of doubt and trouble?

Mr. Harford, in a few words, and with the aid of a characteristic letter, explains the way in which he first made acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce. He was supported in the endeavour to attain this honour, as he evidently felt it to be, by powerful credentials. The good offices of Henry Thornton laid the foundation, which was strengthened by a letter of introduction from Hannah More. Perhaps there were no two persons whose good opinion would have had so much weight with Mr. Wilberforce. But Mr. Harford did not repose merely on the recommendation of others. Congeniality of pursuits cemented the friendship, and the doors of Mr. Wilberforce's house were soon opened to him, as to a familiar friend. Mr. Wilberforce, during the whole of his career, was eminently a hospitable man; nor would it have been easy to him to have lived the life of a recluse, even had he been inclined to attempt the part. Thus

we are told at an earlier period of his life than that to which we are at present referring, Mr. Wilberforce resorted to Bath for the sake of the waters, a journey frequently rendered necessary by the maladies which continually assailed his fragile constitution. Disliking the immediate society of the 'Pump-room circle,' he sought the 'right to be quiet without offence,' by purchasing a villa near the town. On this vain effort at seclusion his old friend, H. Thornton, remarked :—

'Wilberforce has bought a house near Bath, which I a little lament on the ground of the bad economy of it ; for he is a man who, were he in Norway or Siberia, would find himself infested by company : since he would even produce a population for the sake of his society, in the regions of the earth where it is the least. His heart also is so large that he never will be able to refrain from inviting people to his house. The quiet and solitude he looks to will, I conceive, be impossible, and the Bath house will be troubled with exactly the same heap of fellows as the Battersea Rise one.'—*Life*, vol. ii. p. 350.

Few are, we may add, the survivors of those who remember that hospitable neighbourhood in periods so remote from the present, but a genial warmth of feeling long haunted the spot—a habit, so to say, of kindness become indigenous to the soil. This readiness to extend his social influence was one of the marked habits of Wilberforce's character. The same point is curiously illustrated by one of the detached papers in the appendix to the Biography. In this memorandum, headed 'Friends' Paper,' the names of some eighteen or twenty families are jotted down, and the method of procedure with each carefully noted. Some are marked to be called on, some to be looked after by others, some to be asked to dinner, some to receive other attentions ; for some, books are to be provided, with others, the more difficult task is to be attempted of grafting on them suitable friends. But all are to be kept well in hand, and some kindness shown to each and all. Mr. Harford was soon brought within the influence of the benevolence which prompted all these efforts for the benefit of others, and found himself speedily placed on the most complete footing of intimacy. Mr. Wilberforce, at the time when Mr. Harford thus formed his acquaintance, was between fifty and sixty years of age, and it is in itself a proof of the geniality of his disposition, that a man so much younger than himself should obtain a place in his friendship. It may assist us to remember how long, at that date, 1812, Mr. Wilberforce had been in public life, by recalling to our memories that he had been first returned member for Hull in 1780. More vividly, perhaps, shall we appreciate how far back his connexion with the past extended, by the fact that though this volume of reminiscences was only published in the present year, one of the most characteristic sketches both of Wilberforce's appearance and his abilities, has been preserved

to us by no less classic an authority than the Biographer of Dr. Johnson. The occasion was a memorable one. We have already alluded to it above; it was immediately before Wilberforce's first election for Yorkshire. A vast assemblage of the freeholders of that, the largest county in England, then undivided in its representation, was gathered in the Castle Yard at York, to decide on the merits of the rival candidates. It was a cold day in the month of March, the hail came down in sheets. Such was the inclemency of the weather, that men of the greatest physical powers had scarcely succeeded in making themselves audible. The meeting had been a protracted one, and the listeners were weary when Wilberforce came forward.

"I saw," said Boswell, describing the scene to Dundas, "what seemed a mere shrimp mount upon the table, but as I listened, he grew and grew until the shrimp became a whale." Such was the magic of his voice and the grace of his expression, that by his very first sentence he arrested, and for above an hour he continued to enchain, the attention of the surrounding multitude. "Danby tells me," writes Pepper Arden, "that you spoke like an angel. That, indeed, I hear from many others." The disadvantage under which his figure had at first appeared, from the scale and construction of the hustings, was soon forgotten in the force and animation of his manner.—*Life*, vol. i. p. 53.

The great ability which Wilberforce then displayed, fixed his position for life. The admiration of his auditors hailed him already as member for the county, a position which had hitherto been held by the nominee of the great families of the district. Wilberforce, who desired the honour above all things, still considered success so doubtful, as to have secured his seat for Hull, though, as his journal records—

'I had formed within my own heart the project of standing for the county. To any one besides myself I was aware that it must appear so mad a scheme, that I never mentioned it to Mr. Pitt or any of my political connexions. It was undoubtedly a bold idea, but I was then very ambitious. However, entertaining it, I carefully prepared myself for the public debate, which was soon to follow in the face of the whole county; and both at the public meeting, and in the subsequent discussions, it was this idea which regulated the line, as well as animated the spirit, of my exertions. All circumstances indeed considered . . . my mercantile origin, my want of connexion or acquaintance with any of the nobility or gentry of Yorkshire . . . my being elected for that great county appears to me, upon the retrospect, so utterly improbable, that I cannot but ascribe it to a providential intimation, that the idea of my obtaining that high honour suggested itself to my imagination, and in fact fixed itself within my mind.'—*Life*, vol. i. p. 57.

This honourable position he retained for twenty-eight years, having been returned six times, and invariably without any opposition; and when he withdrew from the laborious duties involved by being a member for the largest county in England to the less onerous post of the representation of Bramber, one

of the nomination boroughs which was swept away by the Reform Bill—

‘I have every reason to believe,’ Mr. Wilberforce wrote at the time to a friend, ‘that I never should have experienced another opposition. But I began to perceive traces of infirmity, which, from considerations alike of duty and prudence, determined me to retire from my dignified station, and to accept the friendly offer of a seat in parliament which would absolve me from the obligation of constant attendance. Several of my Yorkshire friends were for the first time dissatisfied with me; and the letters which I received from various quarters were such as could not but be gratifying to any liberal mind. And here I cannot forbear mentioning a trifling anecdote, which is not without importance in the proof it affords that the general course of a public man may be approved by many who may not concur with him in his political opinions. On my way to the House of Commons, one day soon after my having exchanged my seat for Yorkshire for the borough of Bramber, I met Mr. Sheridan. After we had exchanged salutations, “Do you know,” said he, “that I was near writing to you some little time ago?” On my asking the occasion of his intended letter, “Why,” said he, “I read in the newspaper your farewell address to the freeholders of Yorkshire, and though you and I have not much agreed in our votes in the House of Commons, yet I thought the independent part you acted would render your retirement from parliament a public loss. I was about therefore to write to you, to enforce on you the propriety of reconsidering your determination to retire, as I supposed, from public life, when I was informed that you were to come into parliament for Bramber; this information made me lay aside my intention.”’—*Life*, vol. iv. p. 69.

Wilberforce in his early parliamentary career was an ardent supporter of the policy pursued by Pitt, and, consequently, an opponent of the ministry then headed by Lord North. His abilities soon caused him to take a prominent station. Of his early correspondence with Pitt, a few specimens are preserved showing the easy footing of familiarity to which he was admitted by that generally reserved and shy man.

‘Their acquaintance grew into close intimacy. Pitt lived much in what may be termed a select club of his personal friends, young men of great talent, most of whom looked to him as their political leader. They were about twenty-five in number, and met at the house of a man named Goostree, in Pall-Mall. Among them were Pratt (afterwards Lord Camden), Althorp (afterwards Lord Spencer), Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), Robinson (afterwards Lord Rokeby), Smith (afterwards Lord Carrington), Lords Duncannon, Euston, &c. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Wilberforce, &c. &c. Mr. Pitt had the reputation in after life of being remarkably distant and reserved in manner, and he was apt to be so amongst strangers. “I remember,” said Wilberforce, “being present at a dinner when Mr. Ryder, afterwards Lord Harrowby, was one of the guests, and was first introduced to Pitt, with whom he subsequently became officially connected and lived in terms of friendship. Pitt was very silent throughout the afternoon, and I knew that Ryder’s presence was the real cause of it; but when amongst his friends he was one of the most agreeable of men, full of wit, playfulness, and vivacity. Bankes and I were already in possession of our fortunes; therefore his house in town, and my villa at Wimbledon, were the scenes of our frequent meetings.

“Pitt’s delight was to sleep in the country, and therefore,” said Mr. Wilberforce, “he and I, when the House did not sit very late, were in the habit of

driving to Wimbledon together; and on one occasion he lived thus with me for months. Often and often have I called him in the morning, and the capacities of the villa were frequently put to the utmost stretch to accommodate our various friends.'—*Harford's Recollections*, pp. 144-5.

Together with him and Mr. Eliot, Pitt's brother-in-law, Wilberforce made a short tour to France in the year 1783. Two of the notes written by Pitt on the occasion have been preserved. They are full of the sort of remarks naturally to be expected at such a time from a person who anticipated vast pleasure from the short ramble proposed, and are interesting as proofs of how cordially he valued Wilberforce's society. The object of the journey was to obtain fluency in the French language. The narrative of this little foreign tour, besides being curious as marking one of the very few occasions on which that hard-working statesman Pitt ever appears, according to his 'Life,' as indulging in such a thing as a six weeks' holiday from his duties, is interesting as showing the friendly footing on which he and Wilberforce stood towards each other. It is interesting to us besides from the curious picture of French manners and habits which it presents. The France of that period was as unlike the France of twenty—of even ten—years afterwards as if the country had been situated in another planet. Rheims, where they fixed themselves for a time, was governed by the Archbishop, who still maintained considerable state. The only letter of introduction the three friends possessed was to a M. Coustier, to whom, with some fear and trepidation, they transmitted their credentials.

'The next day he called. He was a smart-looking man, with a bag wig and sword, and his manners were easy and polite. After conversing with them for some time, and offering his best services, he took his leave. They quickly returned his call, and expected from the appearance of their new acquaintance to have found him living in one of the best mansions of the town; but to their no small surprise and amusement they found themselves at the door of a little grocer's shop, where behind the counter stood their friend with his apron on, doling out pennyworths to his customers. Not at all abashed, in an instant he doffed his apron, showed them into an inner parlour, and talked away with French ease and vivacity. He frankly told them, on their inquiring whether he had any acquaintances amongst the gentry of the city, that he had none; but, he said, he would go to the Commandant, and apprise him of their arrival. He did so, and the intelligence was soon after communicated to the Archbishop, who, on hearing that three Englishmen, members of Parliament, and one of them calling himself Mr. Pitt, were in Rheims, was incredulous as to the fact. However, he sent a Monsieur de Lageard (who had been in England to give evidence on the Douglas cause) to call and report the result. This gentleman quickly found that all was right, and was so pleased with his new friends that he spent some hours in their company. After this the Archbishop paid them great attention, as did also the principal families of the place. The story of their *début* at Rheims soon got wind, and it so amused Marie Antoinette, that after they were introduced at Court she seldom failed, on seeing Mr. Pitt at her parties, to inquire whether he had heard from his friend the *épiciier*.'

Another droll anecdote connected with their stay at Rheims was as follows:—

‘Supping one evening at the house of one of the gentry, they observed a large space left vacant in the middle of the table, which was in other parts covered with delicacies. The party was large, and a mysterious smile and whisper circulated amongst the guests. Presently the door of the apartment flew open, and two servants entered, bearing between them a huge dish of roast beef, which was put down with an air of importance in the vacant place. The beef was cut, and the Englishmen invited to fall to. It proved to be almost raw, and they could none of them touch it. As to Mr. Pitt, he never ate any meat which was not thoroughly well done. The French appeared much disappointed, and it was clear they thought their guests were ashamed to display their national tastes before strangers.

‘From Rheims they proceeded to Paris, and thence to Fontainebleau, where the Court then was. Here they received great attention. Marie Antoinette shone amidst the brilliant assemblage—that star of grace and beauty described by Mr. Burke with such chivalrous feeling. Though Mr. Pitt was shy of talking French, he expressed himself when he did converse with great correctness, and left behind him some impression of his wonderful powers.’—*Harford's Recollections*, pp. 147-9.

Some slight variations occur between the account given of this visit in Mr. Harford's book, and in the ‘Life,’ which may be easily accounted for by the time which had elapsed, and the effect of it on Mr. Wilberforce's memory. In the description given there, the friends appear at first to have imagined that the redoubtable M. Coustier was playing at selling groceries, as M. Jourdain's son endeavoured to make out that his father had kept a shop. ‘Lui, marchand? C'est pure médisance; il ne l'a jamais été. ‘Tout ce qu'il faisait, c'est qu'il était fort obligeant, fort officieux; ‘et comme il se connaissait fort bien en étoffes, il en allait ‘choisir de tous les côtés, les faisait apporter chez lui, et en ‘donnait à ses amis pour de l'argent.’ They were, however, soon undeceived on this head. The remembrance of their visit to Rheims lasted long. The Archbishop, ‘who gave us two very ‘good and pleasant dinners, and would have had us stay a week ‘with him (N.B. Archbishops in England are not like *Archévêques* ‘in France; these last are jolly fellows, of about forty years of age, ‘who play at billiards, &c. like other people,)’ two and thirty years after, in 1815, was able to look back on these merry meetings with a friendly warmth. At the later date he became the channel of communication between Wilberforce and the King of France (Louis XVIII.), conveying, with many assurances of goodwill, the desire of the former with regard to the Slave Trade. We find him then expressing the

‘King's intention of making himself completely master of a subject with which he was already in some measure acquainted, “par les différentes motions que vous avez faites au parlement sur cette grande question, et les discussions auxquelles elles ont donné lieu.” “Pour moi,” added the

Archbishop, "j'y ai trouvé, Monsieur, les sentimens de bonté et d'humanité, que j'avois reconnus en vous lorsque j'ai eu le plaisir de vous recevoir chez moi, et je vous y temoigner, ainsi qu'au célèbre ministre votre ami, que je retiens toujours tous les sentimens d'estime que j'avois pour l'un et l'autre."—*Life*, vol. iv. p. 223.

Many entries in Wilberforce's diary show how close the connexion between Pitt and himself was. Early in date among them is that curious one, which describes with such simple genuine satisfaction the glorious achievement of having persuaded Pitt and Pepper Arden to Church. The same feeling is shown to have endured to the last, by the statement in Mr. Harford's 'Recollections' that, to his latest day, Wilberforce seldom mentioned Mr. Pitt's name without some affectionate epithet. The same feeling is evidenced among those outpourings of tribulation which record the wrestlings of spirit which convulsed his career, when that mighty change in his inner man came on him which marked the rest of his life. Many of Wilberforce's friends appear to have dropped from him then, unable to imagine an adequate motive for his conduct, or unable to imagine that his society would be desirable after the flame had thus passed on him. Mr. Pitt, almost alone, with characteristic greatness of soul, appears to have been able to accept at once the genuineness of the call. His conduct was full of kindness and good feeling, and no political difference afterwards could destroy the tie, though at times endangering it.

'I wrote to Mr. Pitt,' said Wilberforce, 'frankly communicating to him the great change that had taken place in my views, and the effects which this change would probably produce upon my public conduct. I told him that, "although I should ever feel the greatest regard and affection for him, and had every reason to believe that I should in general be able to support his measures, I could no longer act as a party man." Pitt's reply was most kind. He assured me that nothing which I had communicated to him could ever alter our friendship, and that he hoped I would always act as I thought right. I had said to him that, perhaps, it would be as well that we should not, when we met, enter into any discussion upon the topics of my letter. To this he replied, "Why should we not discuss them?" He thought I was in low spirits, and proposed to come and spend the next day with me at Wimbledon. He came, and we had a great deal of conversation. He was at that time inclined to be sceptical. The fact is, he was so absorbed by politics that he had not allowed himself time for due reflection on religious subjects. At first he tried to reason me out of my convictions; but he found himself unable to question their justness, or the propriety of my resolutions, on the supposition that Christianity is true.'—*Harford's Recollections*, p. 210.

We are often assisted in forming a judgment of the characters of persons, by observing how their demeanour appears to others on whose discrimination we can rely, and we may gauge in some degree the depth of Wilberforce's qualities of mind, by noticing the esteem in which he was held by Pitt. 'They were,' says one who often witnessed their familiar intercourse, 'exactly like

brothers.' Among the public events which most deeply pained the Minister, was Wilberforce's first open opposition in the House of Commons. The rest of that imperturbable spirit which was unmoved through so many dangers, which stood unconcerned in the midst of so many difficulties, was broken by the opposition of his friend. Two events only, we are told, in the public life of Mr. Pitt, were able to disturb his sleep, and of these one was the opposition of Wilberforce. The friendship between the two men was a solace to both; Pitt found in Wilberforce a useful parliamentary ally on most occasions. Wilberforce, on his side, was greatly indebted to a friend so high in office for assistance in promoting the great objects to which he devoted his life. When, in 1787, he resolved to bring the subjects of the abolition of slavery and the condition of the African before the notice of Parliament, it was after serious and friendly deliberation with Pitt. Mr. Harford's 'Recollections' on this point are amongst the most interesting in his volume. It is a pleasant picture,—the two statesmen and their friend sitting in cheerful talk 'in the open air, at the root of an old tree at Holwood, just above the steep descent into the Vale of Keston,' holding

'debate, a band
Of youthful friends on mind and art
And labour and the changing mart,
And all the framework of the land.'

'I one day asked Mr. Wilberforce what had first induced him to take up the slave-trade question. He told me that Granville Sharp's philanthropic efforts on behalf of a runaway slave in 1780, &c. and a pamphlet of Clarkson's, had first turned his attention seriously to the subject, and that in the same year he had set on foot inquiries through Mr. Gordon, a large West India proprietor, respecting the condition of the slaves in those colonies. "Mr. Gordon was himself going out thither to inspect them, and I expressed my hope to him," said Mr. Wilberforce, "that the time would come when I should be able to do something in behalf of the slaves." It was not, however, till the year 1787 that Mr. Wilberforce seriously resolved to take up the question. He had then acquired much information upon it, having often been amongst the African merchants, who had communicated to him many important particulars respecting the details of the traffic. "In 1787," said he, "I was staying with Pitt at Holwood—one has often a local recollection of particular incidents—and I distinctly remember the very knoll upon which I was sitting, near Pitt and Grenville, when the former said to me, "Wilberforce, why don't you give notice of a motion on the subject of the slave-trade? You have already taken great pains to collect evidence, and are therefore fully entitled to the credit which doing so will ensure you. Do not lose time, or the ground may be occupied by another!" I did so, and upon that occasion Fox said he had himself seriously entertained the idea of bringing the subject before Parliament; but he was pleased to add, that it having got into so much better hands he should not interfere. In 1788 I was in such indifferent health as to feel it my duty to entreat Pitt, in case it pleased God I should not recover, to promise to take up and prosecute this important object for me. He assured me that he would. In 1789 I opened the question to the House, and the line of argument which I pursued was this: I explained the nature of the traffic for slaves on

the African coast—the flagrant evils, the wars, the cruelties, the barbarisms which it engendered—the obstacles which it opposed to the progress of civilization—and also strongly dwelt on the horrors of the Middle Passage. Finally I insisted on the impolicy of the trade, since by improving the condition and treatment of the slave population in our islands, their numbers might be kept up by natural means. Sir William Dolbyn, and some other members to whom the subject was new at this time, hearing that a slave ship fitted out for the traffic was then lying in the river, went on board to examine the arrangements, and to test the correctness of some of my statements. They returned from the survey penetrated with indignation and horror, and added much to the impression which my speech had produced by what they reported. Yet there were persons who attempted to deny these horrors altogether, and spoke of the Middle Passage as a voyage of pleasure! Liverpool, it was asserted, would be ruined by the abolition. See how Liverpool has advanced in prosperity. The trade, it was argued, was essential as a nursery for our seamen. Clarkson proved to a demonstration the contrary.”—*Harford's Recollections*, pp.138—140.

The records of the debates of that period are extremely imperfect. A bare outline remains to us of a speech which appears to have been full of power and brilliant with eloquence. The cogency of the arguments employed, and the force of the humane sway exercised over the listeners is best shown by the influence exercised over their sympathies. That ‘audience of orators,’ as it has been happily termed, was not slow in admitting the power of the kindred spirit who addressed them. Rarely was it possible for Pitt and Fox to agree in upholding the same cause, yet Pitt and Fox rose in succession, warm in their praises and their support. And the eloquence and genius of the speech drew warm praises even from the critical judgment of Burke, in whose ‘opinion not merely the British nation, but all Europe were under very great and serious obligation to the honourable gentleman for having brought the subject forward in a manner the most masterly, impressive, and eloquent. Principles so admirably laid down, with so much order and force, were equal to anything he had ever heard of in modern oratory, and perhaps it was not excelled by anything to be met with in Demosthenes.’ Thus was Wilberforce fitly launched on the enterprise which occupied the maturity of his powers. Through shade and sunshine, through difficulties and opposition, through good report and evil report, he steadily continued his exertions till he found that—

‘Not once or twice in our fair island-story,
The path of duty was the way to glory :
He, that ever following her commands,
On with toil of heart and knees and hands,
Thro’ the long gorge to the far light has won
His path upward, and prevail’d,
Shall find the toppling crags of Duty scaled
Are close upon the shining table-lands
To which our God Himself is moon and sun.’

So many years have passed since these events were taking place, that their importance has somewhat fallen into the shade ; especially at the present time, when, from impulses generous in intention, recent events have, to a certain extent, drawn public opinion into another channel, and the admiration justly due to that heroism with which the seceding States of the great American republic have held their own in so awful a combat, has even gilded with a sort of factitious brilliancy, the cause of the slaveholder. But while acknowledging, as justice also compels us to do, that some of the bright hopes and fervent aspirations of the friends of the African have failed to receive their accomplishment as yet, no failure, however complete, no disappointment, however great, can make us swerve from the firm belief that justice to the race of slaves has already brought, and will eventually bring even more, solid advantage to the race of masters. No change of system in a government—scarcely any change even in the taxation imposed by any government—can be made without some sufferers having great, and frequently just cause for complaint. And we must not wonder if the emancipation of the slaves—a far more important measure to isolated communities dependent on that system for support, than any change in taxation—brought with it distress to many, and ruin even to some. But the assertion then made by the solemn act of emancipation has been the source of many benefits to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and even to millions more—to all who live beneath the sway of Great Britain's Queen. The assertion that justice was recognised as paramount, and that in no trivial matter—in a matter engaging vast interests, in a matter involving questions of imperial policy—has assisted, in no small degree, we feel convinced, in the development and extension of our colonial power. The pages on which the dealings of civilized nations with their uncivilized fellow-men are written, form a record to which no one can turn without feelings of sorrow and shame—of sorrow at injustice and cruelty ; of shame that our boasted civilization is, under such circumstances, of so little avail in restraining the passions and brutality of man. But we owe it, we believe, to the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, that the Englishman has not been as the Spaniard, and that our Colonial Empire is founded, as we believe it to be founded, on enduring principles. The necessity for individual exertion felt by those who have held no subject-race in bondage, has greatly tended to promote the spirit of self-reliance which, more than any other quality, renders the emigrants from our shores the fit pioneers of progress. Slaveholding, we may consider, in a word, to

have the same effect in social matters as protection in commercial matters; the tendency of such a policy is to enervate the energies, and to stifle the very progress which it pretends to promote. To the complete victory of the cause of abolition there has followed, as frequently follows on such victories, a degree of forgetfulness of the merits of the cause—of the efforts of those who laboured for that cause so well. Several of the descendants of the giants who were in those days have, however, as occasion served, shown their readiness in these later times to buckle on their armour at the call of duty. Among whom, although it is almost invidious to particularize, we may mention one, the near kinsman of the late Sir T. F. Buxton, and the son himself of a less-known labourer in the cause—less known only because his meek spirit sought no earthly honours, but distinguished by his death in the service of his fellow-men—Mr. W. E. Forster, whose powerful speech in the House of Commons two sessions since, reminded—successfully reminded—a lukewarm and listless audience of the side to which their allegiance was most justly due.

Mere lapse of time has done much—mere lapse of time always must do much—to dim the glories of the past, and the memories of the most heroic struggles. As we stand beneath the shadow of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, and survey the monuments of the departed great ones whose ashes are beneath our feet—whose fame, their epitaphs tell us, will be immortal—whose loss, as we read in the inscriptions, the nation continues to deplore—do we feel all these words as keenly, or a tenth part as keenly, as those did who saw the coffin of the great naval hero slowly lowered into the grave—who felt as if, by his untimely loss, the right arm of the country were suddenly shattered—who, burdened with their grief, saw his humble shipmates, gallant as himself, impressed with a kindred feeling, divide on the spot, as their dearest remembrance, the tattered flag under which he had led them to victory—under which his body had been just borne to its last resting-place? More—much more—than a mere lapse of time has taken place between now and then. It has not been a mere efflux of years—it is not a mere dull waste of stagnant existence which separates us from the commencement of the century. Between that time and this, how many great events have taken place! the period has been the most stirring in the whole history of England. All this, and, as we said before, the course of recent events on the continent of America—political bitternesses, party rancour, personal ridicule, and continued misrepresentation—have been employed to render the cause of the slave-trade abolitionists unpopular, and to endeavour to hide the truth.

It is now scarcely possible to imagine with what fury the storm raged. It would be easy to extract from Mr. Wilberforce's own life ample corroboration of this statement. But to the general charges of failure, a speech of Lord Macaulay's in 1824 supplies the answer in so eloquent a form, that we cannot forbear quoting from it. Objectors had raised the cavil, For what good purpose is all this labour undertaken? Do you expect that these degraded and brutalized slaves will ever rise in the scale—we had almost said, even to the level of human intelligence? Is not all your sympathy, are not all your efforts utterly thrown away on these herds of mere animals? Lord Macaulay had been answering objections like these, and expressing warmly his hopes, his anticipations of the contrary—

'I cannot think these anticipations chimerical when I reflect on the past condition of our own country, and on the interesting and pathetic event to which, in a great measure, it owes its present blessings. In an Italian slave-market, a priest observed some children of exquisite beauty exposed for sale. He asked whence they came; he was told from England. His heart burned within him; he pitied the misery and degradation of a distant people. As soon as he was raised to the Papal throne, he instantly took measures for introducing into this island the Christian religion, and all the moral and political blessings by which that religion has ever been accompanied. We are not exactly informed of the difficulties which he had to encounter, but we know that in every age human nature is the same; that in every age it is through hatred and obloquy that the path lies to virtue and to glory. There were, probably, grave statesmen to suggest that the work of amelioration had better be left to the Wittenagemotes of the Heptarchy. No doubt there were slaveholders who protested that their slaves fared more sumptuously than the King of the Lombards. The statue of Pasquin was not then standing in Rome; but then, doubtless, there were not wanting wits to deride his enthusiasm, and liars to asperse his character. It is not impossible that there may have been found ruffians to pull down his chapels, and sworn judges to send his missionaries to the gallows. However this may have been, we know that he persevered; and now, look at the result! Now look at the miserable, the degraded country, the land of the oppressor and the oppressed! There is freedom in the respiration of its air, and in the very contact of its soil! Now look at that ocean which then bore to our coast nothing but plunderers, and carried back from it nothing but cargoes of misery and despair. That very ocean now rolls around us at once to enrich and to defend—at once renders our coast everywhere accessible to commerce, and everywhere impervious to war. Look at our maritime power, at our commercial opulence, at our martial glory, at the proud list of our great men; and then reflect from what we were raised, and by what means.'—*Macaulay's Speech on the Abolition of Slavery*, June 25, 1824.

We must now conclude our brief and imperfect sketch of the position filled by Wilberforce on the abolition question. It was impossible, it would have been entirely impracticable, to have attempted the slightest notice of the great champion of the cause, without speaking of his efforts to assist the slave. But any one who, from the great prominence which emancipation assumes in Wilberforce's memoirs, imagined that the whole of

his parliamentary attention was fixed on it alone, would commit a very great, though perhaps a natural mistake. Kindred subjects were by no means neglected. Thus during a debate in July, 1813, on the best means of promoting the religious and moral improvement of the people of India, Mr. Wilberforce pressed strongly the desirability of countenancing the efforts of missionaries. But that he was not a mere fanatic, eagerly desirous of imposing his own religion on the conquered race, pursuing with blind fury a deep-laid scheme for proselytising, prepared to persecute should arguments fail to convince—the following statesmanlike remarks on our Indian dominions will show :—

‘On the most superficial view, what a sight does that empire exhibit to us ! A little island obtaining and keeping possession of immense regions, and of a population of sixty millions that inhabit them, at the distance of half the globe from it ! Of inhabitants differing from us as widely as human differences can go—differences exterior and interior—differences physical, moral, social, and domestic ; in points of religion, morals, institutions, language, manners, customs, climate, colour : in short, in almost every possible particular that human experience can suggest, or human imagination devise ! Such, sir, is the partnership which we have formed : such, rather, the body with which we are incorporated—nay, almost assimilated and identified. Our Oriental Empire, indeed, is now a vast edifice ; but the lofty and spacious fabric rests on the surface of the earth without foundations. The trunk of the tree is of prodigious dimensions, and there is an exterior of gigantic strength. It has spread its branches widely around it, and there is an increasing abundance of foliage and of fruit ; but the mighty mass rests on the ground merely by its superincumbent weight, instead of having shot its roots into the soil, and incorporated itself with the parent earth beneath it. Who does not know that the first great storm might possibly lay such a giant prostrate ? If, sir, we would render ourselves really secure against all such attacks, let us endeavour to strike our roots into the soil, by the gradual introduction and establishment of our own principles and opinions—of our own laws, institutions, and manners—above all, as the source of every other improvement, of our religion, and, consequently, of our morals. Why, sir, if it were only that we should thereby render the subjects of our Asiatic Empire a distinct and peculiar people—that we should create a sort of moral and political basis in the vast expanse of the Asiatic regions, and amidst the unnumbered myriads of its population—we should render our East Indian dominions, by this change, more secure, merely from the natural desire which men have to preserve their own institutions, solely because they are their own, from invaders who would destroy them. But, far more than this, are we so little aware of the vast superiority even of European laws and institutions—and far more of British laws and institutions—over those of Asia, as not to be prepared to predict with confidence that the Indian community, which should have exchanged its dark and bloody superstitions for the genial influence of Christian light and truth, would have experienced such an increase of civil order and security, of social pleasures and domestic comforts, as to be desirous of preserving the blessings it should have acquired ; and can we doubt that it would be bound by the ties of gratitude to those who had been the honoured instruments of communicating them ?’—*Recollections*, pp. 38—41.

Was this the language of a mere visionary, or of a man capable of deep thought and statesmanlike prescience ? We may cite one instance more from Mr. Wilberforce’s parliamentary

career, which may give us some idea of the respect in which he was held in the House. In the session of 1805, as will be well remembered by any one conversant with the parliamentary history of that time, the celebrated Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry was brought under discussion, and with it the charge of misapplication of the public money against Lord Melville. Pitt, then prime minister, was most anxious to secure the acquittal, or failing that, a verdict at least of 'not proven,' in favour of his political colleague and personal friend, and exerted himself to the uttermost in his cause. The debate on the conduct of Lord Melville was vigorous and protracted; during its progress many friends of the minister strove to withstand the fury of his assailants.

'Still, however,' we quote the history of the event from Lord Stanhope's brilliant *Life of Pitt*, 'the independent members looked grave, and shook their heads. They had been accustomed by Pitt himself to the most scrupulous precision and purity on all points of public money; they did not like Lord Melville's case so far as they could understand it; and for their guidance they looked mainly to the decision of Mr. Wilberforce, whose conscientious and impartial turn of mind commanded their just respect. It was, therefore, amidst no common thrill of expectation that late at night Mr. Wilberforce rose. He had waited until almost the last to hear and to weigh all the arguments adduced in support of a Committee. He sat at the extremity of the Treasury Bench, and he related long afterwards, that when he rose and turned towards the chair, he looked just across Mr. Pitt, and observed him listen with intense earnestness to catch the first intimation of the course which he would take. "It required no little effort," added Wilberforce, "to resist the fascination of that penetrating eye—from which Lord Erskine was always thought to shrink." But he did not leave the House long in doubt. In his very first sentence he declared that he must vote for the original motion. He was strongly impressed, he said, with the culpable conduct of Lord Melville, and could not refuse to satisfy the moral sense of England. Such a speech from such a man was decisive of the question. It rallied to itself nearly all the independent members, as, for example, Sir Robert Peel. At four in the morning the House, in breathless silence, proceeded to divide, when the numbers were found to be exactly equal:

For the Motion	-	-	216
Against it	-	-	216.

Not for many years, I think, on a question of anything like the same importance, had it been found requisite to appeal in this manner to the Speaker's casting vote. Thus appealed to, the Speaker, in great anxiety of mind and after some minutes of doubt and deliberation, gave his vote in favour of Mr. Whitbread's motion. Thus the first of his resolutions was declared to be carried.—Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iv. pp. 281-2.

This narrative, describing the culminating point of one of the most painful crises in the life of Pitt, of one of the very few occasions on which his mastery over the Lower House failed him, is the more valuable to us, as it is taken from an independent source. Lord Stanhope, a few pages before the extract which we have just given from his book, has recorded

his own belief that Wilberforce was mistaken in the opinion which he supported. Whether the charges brought against Lord Melville were true or not, is foreign to the object of our present inquiry ; but nothing can be clearer than the respect in which Wilberforce was held by the House,—nothing can show more decisively the place he held, than the fact that on so momentous a question his opinion should have been so anxiously looked for, and should have possessed such weight with so many. Nor was the question one in the slightest degree connected with any of Mr. Wilberforce's philanthropic pursuits. It was a question of matter of fact, of the personal conduct of a member of the Government, on which a clear, honourable, straightforward judgment was the thing desired. Had the opinion held by many about Mr. Wilberforce been correct, had he been that mere religious fanatic some have made him out to be, would his good-will have been so much courted by the Minister? Would his lead have been followed, as it was at this time, by the independent members whom Lord Stanhope so graphically describes?

Mr. Wilberforce did not retire from Parliament till 1825, after more than forty years' service in the difficult part of an independent member. We have attempted in the pages immediately preceding to sketch out, however faintly, some of the most noticeable points in this long and honoured career. In doing this we have frequently been compelled to quote from the five volumes of the Biography; and indeed it was indispensable to do so. Mr. Harford's book would be scarcely intelligible to the reader who does not possess some previous acquaintance with the leading points in Wilberforce's life. The volume before us, as we mentioned at the outset, does not give us either a complete biography, or even contain within itself the unshaped materials of such a work. To render the thread of the narrative in any measure complete, it was needful to have recourse to other sources. By doing this we are persuaded that we best do justice both to our subject and to Mr. Harford. The value of his book consists in the hints it affords us of Wilberforce's character, which, like detached gems, form a mere heap of sparkle when removed from their setting. The social position of Mr. Wilberforce, and the influence which he exercised over his contemporaries, both of which receive additional illustration from Mr. Harford's little volume, are all as full of instruction as any part of his parliamentary career. We will now pass on to the consideration of these points.

Mr. Harford's reminiscences confirm the impression that one of the most powerful causes of Mr. Wilberforce's influence was the great sincerity of his character—sincerity in the fullest sense

of the word, joined with that genial kindness which enters so largely into the composition of the noblest natures :—

‘I never,’ says Mr. Harford, ‘beheld in any person a more positive rejection, I might say, spurning of anything like flattery, or a more unaffected renunciation even of that sincere homage which was often proffered by those who approached him for the first time. The sacred influence which had descended upon him from above early in life, when God called him by His grace, accompanied him through every stage of his earthly existence. As a little instance of his consideration for the feelings of others,—I had been folding up several letters in covers for him ready to be franked. On handing one of them to him in a cover which had served the same purpose before (for he often used covers in good condition a second time) observing it to be ticketed with the name of an individual in humble circumstances, he said to me, “Pray be good enough to envelop this letter in a clean half sheet. If it was to any one of the higher class it would do perfectly well; but this poor man may perhaps construe it into an intended slight.”’

‘It has been observed that the possession of power is one of the severest tests of the human character. Men who have appeared in private life amiable and unassuming have often, when placed by the course of events in circumstances of high influence and station, become arrogant and presuming; and even good men, in such circumstances, frequently hurt the feelings of their friends by somewhat of the bustle of self-importance or the abruptness of decision. Not seldom have I been struck, in the course of my long acquaintance with him, with his utter superiority to all such littleness. Whether I saw him in the privacy of his own house, or in the lobby of the House of Commons—whether he was getting into his carriage for an ordinary drive, or on such an occasion as a visit to the Emperor Alexander—he invariably appeared in the same Christian frame of mind, intent upon the day’s business; but lending a ready ear to any present appeal of humanity, or to any claim of friendship—animated by affectionate, kind, and cordial feelings, and desirous to lose no opportunity of receiving or of doing good. I have already spoken of his constant self-recollection, even amidst the busiest and most exciting scenes. Hence arose a no less constant self-command. Frequently have I seen him placed by forgetfulness or inattention in his servants in circumstances peculiarly harassing, at the very moment that he was pressed upon by important business, or by the urgent claim of an immediate appointment; and yet I do not ever recollect to have witnessed anything of unkindness or petulance in his manner of addressing or reproving them. Yet he has told me that he was naturally irritable to a degree which was very trying to his nearest relations. One of the very first victories which he achieved over himself, he added, after he became a religious man, was the entire correction of this bad habit. He became, and he continued through life, a model of the very opposite qualification.’—*Recollections*, pp. 260—2.

With all this there was a genuine simplicity of character, which took constant pleasure both in the ordinary transactions of life, and in ‘little things,’ and not far from the surface at any time was a fund of drollery was ever ready for enjoyment. In earlier days an admirable mimic, he had been restrained from pursuing this pastime, at once so fascinating to the imagination, and, we must add, so likely to prove lowering to the character, by the wise severity of Lord Camden :—

‘Lord Camden,’ Wilberforce remarked to one who stored the remark in his memory, ‘noticed me particularly, and treated me with great kindness.

Amongst other things, he cured me of the dangerous art of mimicry. When invited by my friend to witness my powers of imitation, he at once refused, saying alightingly for me to hear it, "It is but a vulgar accomplishment." "Yes, but it is not imitating the mere manner; Wilberforce says the very thing Lord North would say." "Oh," was his reply, "every one does that."—*Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 30.

His daily habits were marked by a genial cheerfulness—

'After morning prayers he often paced the terrace of the house, or strolled into the flower garden, and whoever was his companion was sure to see him full of delight at the various beauties or wonders of nature. Sometimes he was attracted by its grander features, at others, by the scent or the pencilling of a flower. Of flowers he was peculiarly fond. He delighted to gaze upon their colours, and to investigate their structure; and most of his favourite pocket authors were thickly set with them in a dried state. It was often hard to persuade him to quit the garden for the breakfast table, and when he made his appearance, it was generally with a flower in his hand. Once there, he was sure to be the life of the party. It was a meal in which he took particular pleasure. He was then also peculiarly ready for conversation and discussion, and we frequently forgot time when thus engaged. He used to say it was one of the distinctions between us and animals, that the latter sat munching their food by themselves; but that men have the faculty of exercising their mental powers while they satisfy the requirements of nature.

'He was fond of receiving visitors at his own house at breakfast, or of meeting them at the houses of his friends. From the breakfast table he retired to his dressing room, and was actively engaged with his secretary in answering letters, or in listening to reading. Letters of importance, or to his more particular friends, he wrote, when his eyes permitted, with his own hand, but others were chiefly dictated to his secretary. About two or three o'clock in the day he generally came down stairs, and was ready for a drive or a walk; but a long walk was his particular delight. He possessed as a companion, as we have already said, an unceasing fund of delightful conversation. A life spent, as his had been, amongst many of the greatest men of his time—himself one of the most distinguished—and possessed of social qualities of the highest order, how could the conversation of such a man be otherwise than deeply interesting? Then there was such simplicity and purity of heart—such touches of tenderness and of exalted piety—that every previous sentiment of affection and veneration towards him was deepened by being admitted to his familiar intercourse. He liked an early dinner, and throughout the whole course of it his mind was actively at work. At his own house I have often been amused to observe him carrying on a discussion while in the act of carving a large joint; often addressed by others, and often interlacing his subject with exclamations at the bluntness of the knife, or paying little attentions to his guests, and then taking up the broken thread of his subject and pursuing it amidst the same sort of interruptions. For the last eight or ten years of his life he was in the habit of retiring soon after the ladies left the room to take a siesta; but he reappeared at the tea-table, when his entry enlivened every countenance. He was fond of sitting up late with a friend, either for reading or talking. The habits of the House of Commons had made late hours so familiar to him that he often appeared reluctant to retire."—*Recollections*, pp. 257—260.

The man, whose old age is thus described, passed his early youth amongst the most brilliant, the gayest society of his time. Wilberforce was indeed a man whose society was likely to be courted. Besides great versatile ability, ready wit, and brilliant

conversation, he possessed, says his biographer, a large fortune and most accessible manners. His exquisite voice and rare accomplishment in singing must not be forgotten:—

“Wilberforce, we must have you again, the Prince says he will come at any time to hear you sing,” was the flattery which he received after his first meeting with the Prince of Wales, in 1782, at the luxurious soirées of Devonshire House.’

That a man who had lived in this manner should change his whole mode of life while still in the vigour of early youth,—turn his back on the society which had been most congenial to him, strike out a new path for himself, and steadily persevere in that course, eschewing for the future any habits which he considered inconsistent with the duties of Christianity,—must have startled and surprised all his former associates. No ascetic fleeing for his soul’s salvation from the most luxurious life in Egypt, to the strictest seclusion in the desert, could ever have obeyed the call to take up his cross, more completely than was done by this member of the British Parliament. And the marvel was greater still. The English Christian, unlike his earlier prototype, did not become a mere anchorite, did not seclude himself in any sequestered hermitage, but endeavoured to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling, in the full glare of a busy life, in his place in the House of Commons, in crowded drawing rooms in London. As if the difficulties of the step were not sufficient in themselves, Mr. Wilberforce added to them by announcing the change to many of his friends,—some of whom derided, some thought the impression likely to be temporary. His intimate associates having been thus warned, a more general announcement followed in the publication of ‘*The Practical View of Christianity*.’ This treatise on the duties of a Christian man, though undoubtedly strict in the precepts inculcated, is marked throughout by a breadth of tone which distinguishes it in a very favourable manner from many manuals of the like nature. Mr. Harford took advantage of his intimacy with the author to discuss the book:—

‘Early in our acquaintance Mr. Wilberforce presented me with a copy of his admirable work entitled, “*A Practical View of Christianity, &c.*,” and on various occasions I conversed with him upon it, and on the motives which had induced him to write and publish it. Amongst these he laid great stress on the fact that—living as he necessarily did much in the world, and among men of ability and rank in Parliament, for many of whom he felt sincere regard, and whom, nevertheless, he had reason to consider as in a state of much neglect and unconcern with respect to the “one thing needful”—he could not but feel an earnest desire frankly to express to them this conviction, and to place before them a clear statement of what he conceived was the essence and the object of true religion. Occasions suited to such a statement scarcely ever occurred, and were, in fact, rendered impossible by the courtesies of life and the forms of society. He felt, therefore, anxious to relieve his conscience on

this point, and he did so by the publication of this work, which brought before its readers in a clear manner his own views on the important subject in question.' *Recollections*, p. 103.

To attempt to give any outline of the 'Practical View,' would lead us far away from the points to which we have desired to draw our readers' attention. We may be permitted, however, to make one quotation from it, from the chapter which speaks of the advantage to a community of the growth of a deep religious feeling among its members :—

'True Christian benevolence is always occupied in producing happiness to the utmost of its power, and according to the extent of its sphere, be it larger or more limited : it contracts itself to the measure of the smallest ; it can expand itself to the amplitude of the largest. It resembles majestic rivers, which are poured from an unfailing and abundant source. Silent and peaceful in their course, they begin with dispensing beauty and comfort to every cottage by which they pass. In their further progress they fertilize provinces and enrich kingdoms. At length they pour themselves into the ocean ; where, changing their names, but not their nature, they visit distant nations and other hemispheres, and spread throughout the world the expansive tide of their munificence.'

Had any one desired to describe the aim of the benevolent spirit, the practice of the God-fearing life, of the author of this brilliant passage, he could scarcely have done so with greater felicity of expression. Many are the mighty names written in the annals of our country,—many are the mighty dead entombed in the Abbey at Westminster ;—some have been more renowned, some have attained more distinction ; but amongst them all, few can claim a higher place for integrity of purpose, devotion to a great cause, and true nobility of character, than William Wilberforce.

ART IV.—1. *Memoirs, Miscellanies, and Letters of Lucy Aikin.*

Edited by PHILIP HEMERY LE BRETON. Longmans.

2. *Cities of the Past.* By FRANCES POWER COBBE. Trübner.

3. *Italics.* By FRANCES POWER COBBE. Trübner.

WE doubt if society in our own time admits of such a picture of a mind and a life as the above memoir presents—if it be possible in our day for any one to be so satisfied with his share of the intellectual good things of the world, so lastingly content with the circle in which he finds himself, so at one with his surroundings, so serenely certain through long years that he and the people about him hold the clue to all the truth not yet attained, as the subject of this memoir shows herself to have been. From her cradle to her grave, as far as we are admitted into her mind, Lucy Aikin felt herself one of the aristocracy of intellect, living in the very centre of light and illumination, and not unworthy of so high a calling. It was no sudden inflation, and, as such, subject to depression, but an abiding conviction, that what the world held of wise discerning and truth-loving she knew, lived, and worked in. The state of parties, the tumult of opinion, the love of change, the divided headships—every one with a creed or doctrine of his own—prevents this serenity of content in every case; but more especially the changes wrought by time alter the position of women, of those women, we mean, who aim at occupying the van of progress. Formerly, clever women of the strong-minded school coalesced with men; now they have separate interests and aspirations, and are for ever issuing disturbing theories which break up the old compact system of warfare against prescription.

Lucy Aikin may be considered a precursor of the present school of *esprits forts* among women. We can easily trace the course by which her opinions have grown, by a natural development, into those of the other lady whose name appears in our heading; but they are consequences she would in many instances have disclaimed, and we must say that we greatly prefer the flower to the fruit. There is a solidity, a sense of responsibility about the earlier manifestation of this spirit, which we miss in the later; and moreover there is a dignity in mere consistency. Most lives strike us with such a sense of failure; they are led with so little design, and are so merely the sport of accident and circumstances, that the picture of a decorous, grave, consistent existence, which pursues a course, holds by its opening

of thought and opinion, and retains all the esteem and credit it has ever received to the end, necessarily wins respect, though our sympathies are not otherwise engaged. Miss Aikin was a disciple all her life, a favourable specimen of a certain class of opinions in action, never an originator. The liberal Unitarian element found in her an excellent exponent; the principles of her party exactly hit her natural turn of mind and temper; but we have no reason to suppose that if she had been born into another school of thought she would have forsaken it for the one she so consistently represented. There is a docility even in her professions of independence, and her attraction towards new lights, which shows her always a scholar. She was so usually guided by reason, so emphatically a sensible woman, that she might have sat, indeed very likely did sit, as the model for some of Miss Edgeworth's superior women; and when this idea is conveyed there is little more to be said of her outer course of life. Sensible women do not make adventures for themselves, and circumstances did not provide them for Miss Aikin, as far at least as the slight memoir tells us; hers was a life of talking, and thinking, and writing, not of doing, or even of suffering, beyond what is inseparable from a life of more than eighty years. Her affections were bestowed on her family and friends, nor is there any hint that they were ever centred on a single object. As shown to us, she represents single life in its most self-sustained, satisfied, dignified aspect. Her sphere was society, and this and natural domestic ties were to all appearance fully sufficient for her happiness—a feeling more deserving the name, according to her own estimate, and more sensibly realized by her than most can pretend to. No biography can be more meagre of detail. If we are to know anything of a woman in any way distinguished, we naturally—more in her case than a man's—expect some personal characteristics as guides to our judgment; but we are here left almost in the dark on all points of looks, voice, and manner, and all that makes up the woman's full complement of influence in social life. Perhaps nothing very marked in these respects is to be looked for in a character of which sense in action is the prevailing idea, and, without any hint of externals, we have a clear enough impression given us of a woman, wise according to her light, cheerful, and contented; finding this world a very pleasant place to live in, with no disturbing aspirations which this world cannot satisfy, and no difficulties or spiritual perplexities; cultivating her reason, and apparently never encountering anything too hard for that reason to settle to her satisfaction; always spending her time in what she believed the most useful manner; always talking what she aimed at being something worth hearing; always seek-

ing the society of people whom she could respect even to the point of holding them the depositaries of truth, physical and moral.

There is something really generous in the strong impression she shows of living in an age of stirring events, great things, great men, great discoveries, as of a new age opening upon the world in which she would willingly take some share of work to be done; and if her accomplished efforts and partial attempts in this direction fall far short of the point she aims at, or believes herself to have attained, this need not prove her utterly mistaken in her own powers. We see clearly that she had weight in her own circle—in its way a distinguished one; and the fact that she was the recognised channel through which Channing learnt what was going on in England, and as it seems conveyed his thoughts and speculations back again, shows the high estimation in which she was held, which her own carefully composed letters in a degree justify. This correspondence probably brought her more formal literary labours to an end. In the pleasure of imparting her own view of parties and events to a man joining in his own person the prestige of a political and religious leader, whom she revered in the latter capacity as only a woman can do, she satisfied the writing impulse; and a subject of any sort—whether chosen out of history or from the wide field of morals—would be to any woman possessed by a strong admiration for a man of genius flat and unexciting compared with the work of chronicling passing events, with a view to influence and direct his opinion on current questions. In this sense it is an unusual form of correspondence, a piece of contemporary history so far as she could write it. She had to put him *au courant* of all that occupied her world, which in her estimation represented the thought of the day. Her opinions on many points are prejudiced and narrow-minded in the highest degree, but not more so than the school in which she lived, and whose views on all public general questions she echoed—though where her womanly instincts had free play, she could think both clearly and candidly for herself. The one prejudice or rather antipathy that never moderates is her feeling towards the English Church, its bishops and clergy; and it is very clear that no expression of opinion on these points could be overcharged for her correspondent's taste, not when she pronounces ninety-nine out of every hundred English clergymen hypocrites. To such people what is called the Oxford movement was so altogether beyond their comprehension that contempt was the only resource. But in fact the school of which she was an hereditary member had not reached then the stage of universal sympathy and lofty insight into every mind which constitutes the impertinence of modern scepticism, and makes its

disciples the insufferable patrons of every form of belief as the right thing for the people weak enough to hold it. Of this party Miss Cobbe is the present female representative.

It will be known to most of our readers that Lucy Aikin, (born Nov. 1781,) was daughter of Dr. Aikin, a man of high literary and scientific reputation in his day, and one of the first promoters and editor of the *Athenæum*, a paper which still represents the opinions of the same school in their more advanced stage. The Aikin family were remarkable for unity of thought on this head. Mrs. Barbauld, Dr. Aikin's sister, so well known to our childhood for her prose hymns, and for her 'Evenings at Home,' set herself to the task of liberalizing, and, in some points, really enlarging the infant mind. The 'Evenings at Home,' by the way, written in conjunction with her brother, we cannot help suspecting to be confused by some modern critics with Miss Edgeworth's 'Parent's Assistant,' when they speak of the many charming stories contained in these volumes which delighted their childhood. There was no storyteller's impulse in the Aikin mind, which is uniformly didactic, and aims at inculcating views by the true direct method of precept illustrated by formal example. The brothers were both prominent men in the scientific department of the same school, and we will add the strong family affection which held these brothers and their sister through life in such close unity of affection and interests, is a very pleasant trait of family character. It is one of the effects of the aristocratic element to bind men and families to a certain unity and consistency. The members of our great families stick by one another, and, as a rule (to which, however, there may be an increasing number of exceptions), to the principles which they receive as an inheritance along with name, title, and more substantial possessions. It is probably the same with aristocracy of intellect, or what is felt and assumed to be such. There are families that hold themselves to possess a prescriptive genius and talent, and whose credit therefore depends in a degree on conforming to the family type. Some such influence as this is very conspicuous in the mind before us. She never had any misgivings in any part of her life that she and the stock from which she sprung were not of the aristocracy of intellect, and she lived in days when, in a certain sense, power of this sort was much more regarded and respected than it is now.

Miss Aikin's grandfather, the Rev. John Aikin, D.D. had been classical and divinity tutor at the Presbyterian Academy of Warrington, a place which then boasted of a more cultivated and refined society than any other provincial town. There she was born, but, when only three years old, her father removed to

Yarmouth, where he practised as a physician for some years. The grandmother, it is recorded, was so used to precocity in her own children, that she pronounced little Lucy a dunce for not reading fluently at three, an insult very keenly remembered, if not resented, by the authoress that was to be. That she was really sharp enough her father showed by a story of her deciding an historical question when she was but six. We give it to show what were within a sharp child's interests before the modern deluge of exclusively children's books. Some one talking of Cadmus, and whether he lived before or after the Trojan war, she decided the matter by observing that she had heard her brother read in Pope's Homer about a son of Cadmus fighting against the Trojans.

There are a few pages of autobiography, where we read:—

'On reaching Yarmouth, Dr. Aikin at once entered on the active discharge of his profession. His daughter thus describes her early experience of her new residence. "The arrival of a new physician, already a writer of some distinction, of polished and unaffected manners, and endowed with powers and with tact which rendered his conversation attractive and acceptable to all, was an event of no small importance in the town of Yarmouth. His speedy popularity was reflected upon all the members of his family, and upon none more strongly than on the little rosy, laughing, chattering girl of three years old. I was soon in danger of being totally spoiled with flattery; nothing indeed could have saved me but the good sense, the firmness, the parental affection well understood of my excellent mother. She taught me what flattery was, and strongly warned me against being led away by it.

'The lesson was doubly painful; it showed me that those who knew me best were aware that I was far from deserving the praises lavished upon me; by strangers, and it gave me the impression that these most agreeable strangers were guilty of the horrible offence of telling fibs. I bore the shock pretty well, however, and was the better for the warning. Still my little heart *would* beat with triumph when the Rev. Dr. Cooper¹ withstood, I know not how long, the impatient summonses of three grown ladies to the quadrille table with the answer, "I had rather talk with this child." To confess the whole truth, I have still a kind of tenderness for the first man that ever flattered me.'—Pp. xiii. xiv.

Miss Aikin, we gather from the whole volume, was uniformly commended for the accuracy and finish of her own style, whether in speaking or writing. It was clearly a point on which she felt herself strong, and sets down even Dr. Channing with the air of one who, on this point, was unassailable and high authority. On the whole, such a reputation acts as a salutary check against extravagance of opinion. Deliberation in the choice and ordering of words is very likely to induce deliberation in thought, and a great deal of the good sense of Miss Aikin's views, where we find it, may owe something to her care in the choice of words, and desire to express herself with clearness and precision. As for any particular felicity or grace of style,

¹ The Rector of Yarmouth, father of the eminent surgeon Sir Astley Cooper, Bart.

these were neither to be expected from the nature of her mind nor views. This vigilant attention by her parents to the selection and the pronunciation of her words might, on the other hand, conduce to her ignorance of the condition and manners of the poor and lower classes which attended her through life. We can hardly at present understand the jealous watchfulness which the ultra-liberal school of that day showed against the intercourse of children with their inferiors, more especially with servants, or the haughty assumption of moral as well as social superiority which was thus inculcated upon young chits, who were expected in their maturity to assist in the equalizing of the world, and the demolition of mere rank distinctions. Knowing nothing of the poor herself, she subsequently showed a great jealousy of the move in another direction, which the revival of church principles gave rise to, and there are arguments later on in the book of the harm to purity and refinement of manner that intercourse with the poor might do to the young ladies who throw themselves into such work, though not without some consciousness of her own shortcomings. Of the influences upon her own childhood she thus writes:—

‘One memorable day, my brother George, several years older, seized and devoured half of a tart destined for the supper of us two little ones. Fired at the injury, I ran with the fragment into the presence of papa and mamma, and denounced the offender in most emphatic terms. “You should be willing to give your brother part of your tart,” said my mother. “But he did not ask us,” I replied—“he took it;” and I still think that the distinction was just, and that his action ought to have brought him, and not me, the reprimand. But how many fold was I compensated when my father, who had listened with great attention to my harangue, exclaimed, “Why Lucy, you are quite eloquent!” O! never-to-be-forgotten praise! Had I been a boy, it might have made me an orator; as it was, it incited me to exert to the utmost, by tongue and by pen, all the power of words I possessed or could ever acquire—I had learned where my strength lay.’—P. xvii.

And afterwards on the great effect of natural scenes upon her:—

‘This interest was inexpressibly exalted by Mrs. Barbauld’s prose hymns, which were taught me, I know not how soon. Her “Early Lessons” had prepared the way, for in them too there dwells the spirit of poetry; but the hymns gave me the idea of something bright and glorious, hung on high above my present reach, but not above my aspirations. They gave me first the sentiment of sublimity, and of the Author of all that is sublime. They taught me piety.’—P. xviii.

From Yarmouth, Dr. Aikin moved to London in 1792, where he practised till ill health obliged him to retire from his profession. Then he removed to Stoke Newington, and devoted the remainder of his life to literature, and also to the cultivation of his daughter’s mind, who was a wonder of acquirement in that day when young ladies had not yet caught the knack, in which they are at present so happy, of learning something of

everything. It was thought a great thing in Miss Aikin that she read the Latin classics with facility, and was familiar with the best French and Italian authors; and she herself comments on the all but universal ignorance of German in her own youth; their early friend William Taylor, the translator of 'Lenora,' being, she believed, the first Englishman of letters who had read Goethe, Wieland, Lessing, and Bürger in the original. It was a sort of matter of course that she should enter in due time upon literary composition. She was an authoress from her seventeenth year, translating, writing articles in the magazines and the *Annual Register*, making attempts at verse, after the manner of Pope, and finally settling upon history as the vein for which she was best adapted. She brought out in 1819 her 'Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth,' of which it is perhaps no disgrace to profess an ignorance, though the work was very well received at the time. This was followed by the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; the last of which it is worth while to glance through, for the simple picture of prejudice it presents, and the curious 'feminilities' through which this prejudice sometimes transpires. It was a family affair with her, as not only had her family principles to be respected, but her ancestors were Presbyterians: and with a king so strict for his prerogative as Charles, and a bench of bishops with Laud at their head as representatives of tyranny and priestcraft, candour appears to her a virtue scarcely called for. Her first step, in the very first page, is to undermine our idea of the king's personal beauty by falling foul of his legs; every act of his that does not square with our modern administrative system is black treachery and oppression; she quotes avowed libels against him as history, on the ground that there *must* be truth in them, or they would not have been written, and hurries and slurs over the pathetic account of his last days and the last scene of all, as though it burnt her fingers. How important and prominent she felt herself as a writer of history, and how perilous, even, she esteemed the boldness of her line of thought, we may gather from what she on one occasion says to Dr. Channing (1838):—

'In the meantime, it seems to me we are going on well; reforms proceeding slow and sure, and decidedly the tone of at least a large portion of society becoming constantly more liberal, both in religion and politics—the natural effect of the continuance of a whig and low-church administration. I perceive signs also of a revival of literature, which now again is able to hold up its head in the presence of science, by which it was for some time in apparent danger of being totally overshadowed. In particular it pleases me to perceive that historical literature is cultivated with great activity, for which there are two obvious causes: a state of public feeling which allows history to be written freely without incurring persecution either from the government or the mob; and, with respect to our own country, a great accession of new information from the printing of the public records.

‘These favouring circumstances, I think, will enable even me to conquer my long desponding indolence, and attempt a new design. My plan is not yet matured, but it is only *entre nous* that I give any hint of it; but I am turning my thoughts towards something like a view of letters and social life in England during the first sixty years of the last century, *i.e.* the reigns of Anne and the two first Georges.’—Pp. 375, 376.

Either, however, she felt the state of things, in some respects so friendly, was leaving her behind, or the correspondence of Dr. Channing condensed all her thoughts into one channel. But conversation was probably her real *forte*: and for this a friendly reviewer of her works in the *Athenæum* estimates she spent no inconsiderable time in preparing herself beforehand; as her talk itself showed. This might not be from mere love of display, but that she liked to do things well; and no doubt, whenever talk is an art, some time and thought must be devoted in preparation for it. We do not profess to know how the preparation is done, but something of the sort there must have been when people talked so much more formally well than they do now.

‘One who knew her well,¹ has truly said of her—“that she possessed in a remarkable degree the art of conversation, an art which seems in some danger of being lost in the crowds which fashion brings together. It was not, however, an art cultivated for display. Whether in intercourse with a single friend in a small circle, or an assemblage of persons of intellectual attainments equal to her own, there was some flow of anecdote, quotation and allusion, furnished by a most retentive memory, and enlivened by wit and humour.”’—P. xxvii.

She lived in a circle of good talkers, and was in the way of meeting the greatest literary celebrities of the day. So many people who cannot do without society are yet uncandid enough to do nothing but abuse it, that it is pleasant to read her avowed satisfaction with her friends, and her allusions to the close circle of friends and neighbours who ‘tempted her with delicious idleness—if that social intercourse may be called idleness in which neither head nor heart are unoccupied.’ It has been argued that nobody really feels that he himself is in the centre of things; that he, in the full understanding of the word, is the world; that he enjoys free companionship with the choicest development of intellect. But Miss Aikin had the feeling. She felt that all the people worth knowing she knew, not by occasional chance, and tolerated contact, but as a courted privileged member, a sort of centre who could bring eminent men together, secure introduction for her friends, pass judgments, admit and reject. ‘I want’ (she writes to Dr. Channing) ‘I want you to know multitudes of English people. How much we could do towards placing you in a small select circle, where you would be appreciated,’ &c. &c. Hence society was, with her, the field, the subject for the exercise of

¹ The Rev. John Kenrick, of York.

her independent mind. When her thoughts expatiate most naturally it is on social questions; her heart was in society, the world, in its least frivolous sense. Her set were mainly of one way of thinking, and she could not do justice to any one who was not a liberal in religion and politics; but also she was never intimately acquainted with minds of any other order. When she has to describe or define what good talk really is, and to give her own experience, there is a finish and accuracy of discrimination which prove that in this case she is drawing from her observation, and not, as elsewhere, from her prejudices. Take the following peep at Cambridge society, written in 1827, to her friend Mr. Holland:—

‘I am a very little addicted to journeys myself; but lately an irresistible temptation was thrown in my way, and I indulged myself in the pleasantest thing possible—a jaunt to Cambridge, which I had never seen, planned by Mr. Whishaw and Professor Smyth, and in which our very agreeable neighbours, Mr. and Mrs. Mallet (he is a son of Mallet du Pan, and secretary to the Audit Board, and she a charming woman) partook. Mr. Whishaw took her and me down in his carriage, and a very amiable young Romilly on the box; Mr. Mallett went down by coach. We left on the Thursday and returned on the Sunday. The professor gave us two grand dinners, and assembled several of the brightest stars of the university to meet us; among the rest the Bishop of Lincoln, certainly one of the most admirable persons I have ever seen—mild, polished, perfectly unassuming; but firm and consistent in liberal views and principles, and acute and full of talent. We had also Mr. Sedgwick, the Woodwardian Professor, and the great mathematician Whewell. These two are intimate friends, and a good deal alike in their cast of mind and manners; that is to say, they are very clever and able men of that kind of which Mr. Brougham is the great exemplar—men of wonderful energy and activity of mind, profound in one or two branches of knowledge, and ignorant of none, whose conversation teems with allusions drawn from the most various and distant sources, illustrating bright and original ideas of their own—men to whom it is a delight, but not a relaxation, to listen—whose thoughts flow almost too rapidly for language to overtake them—whose ideas come crowding and jostling like a throng in a narrow gate. In Mr. Brougham, the experience of the world and the habit of applying his eloquence to practical points in law and politics, on which it is his business to talk down to very ordinary capacities, has moderated the exuberance which reigns unchecked in the discourse of these academics; but if any force of circumstance could have tied him down to a college life, he would have been such as one of these. It pleased me to observe how completely in these instances the spirit of the nineteenth century has mastered the spirit of monkery and the middle ages in which our universities were founded; but the forms are still kept up, more than the forms in some things.’—Pp. xxv. xxvi.

Elsewhere she again adduces Lord Brougham as her ideal of a converser:—

‘Brougham is our new Lord Chancellor—the Edinburgh reviewer—the radical-whig—the apostle of universal education and popular literature, whom we are astonished and delighted to behold in that highest dignity of a subject! This is the man, the only man, whose powers I contemplate with wonder. In society he has the artless gaiety of a good-humoured child. Never leading the conversation, never canvassing for audience (in truth he has no need), he catches

the ball as it flies with a careless and unrivalled skill. His little narratives are inimitable, the touch-and-go of his remarks leaves a trail of light behind it. On the tritest subjects he is new without paradox and without effort, simply, as it seems, because nature has interdicted him from commonplace. With that tremendous power of sarcasm which he has so often put forth in public, he is the sweetest-tempered man in private life, the kindest in its relations, the most attracting to his friends—in short, as amiable as he is great.—P. 216.

On many occasions Dr. Channing sends his countrymen to her, and she reports their success in English society. Thus:—

‘Your friend Mr. Goodhue spent an hour with me one morning, and I was much pleased with his mild and amiable manners, and the information which he gave me respecting many of your institutions and societies. I wished for more of his company, and invited him for the next evening, when I expected Mrs. Joanna Baillie, Professor Smyth, and another valued friend, Mr. Whishaw, a gentleman who has written little, but whose literary opinions are heard in the most enlightened circles with a deference approaching that formerly paid to Dr. Johnson. Mr. Goodhue was unfortunately engaged, but he sent me Mr. Richmond, and the result was, one of the most animated and amusing *conversations*, chiefly between him and the two gentlemen I have named—for we ladies were well content to be listeners—at which it has ever been my good fortune to be present.

‘A more fluent talker than Mr. Richmond I think I never heard, and I doubted at first how he might suit my two old gentlemen—both of them great eulogists of good listeners—but he is very clever, and there was something so *piquant* in his remarks on what he had seen here, such a simplicity in his questions, and when he spoke of his country, such abundant knowledge, so ably and clearly expressed, that they were content for once take such a share of talk as they could get by hard struggling. I think the professor of modern history got matter for a new lecture on American law and politics; and he and Mr. Richmond took pains to contrive another meeting. But to me the most curious part was Mr. Richmond’s wonder at having got into such high company as two or three baronets, a Scotch countess, and some lord; and his difficulty to imagine, and ours to explain to him, how our difference of ranks *works* in society. He evidently supposed a much wider separation of classes than actually takes place. I believe the structure of society with us may best be expressed by what an eminent naturalist has said of organised nature—it is not a chain of being, it more resembles a net, each mesh holds to several others on different sides. Our complicated state of society, in recompense of great evils, has at least this advantage, that it brings the rich man or noble into relation with a multitude of individuals, with whom he finds it necessary to his objects to associate on terms of social equality, notwithstanding great disparity of birth or fortune.’—Pp. 210, 211.

Lord Denman she regarded as a sort of family achievement, her aunt having given the bent to his tastes, a fact which may throw some light on the part he took as a lawyer and judge in Church questions:—

‘You know, of course, by reputation, our new Lord Chief Justice, Denman—the zealous defender of poor Queen Caroline, who in his excitement called our last king Nero, and our present one “a base calumniator.” He wants caution, and is not the deepest of our lawyers; but his promotion is hailed by all congenial spirits as a triumphant example of the highest professional dignities attained by a man who never showed any other fear than that of being thought capable of sacrificing the most minute portion of truth, the nicest punctilio of

honour, to any worldly interest. Glorious days in which such conduct finds acceptance! On his taking leave of Lincoln's Inn in consequence of his promotion, a speech was made to him by his old friend the Vice-Chancellor, complimenting him on the love of liberty he had ever manifested in a strain which drew tears down the furrowed cheeks of the old benchers—practised worldlings as they must be. This glorious man—by the way, his person is made for dignity—was Mrs. Barbauld's pupil at four years old. I think it must have been chiefly for him that her "Hymns in Prose" were written; and he cherishes her memory most religiously. In a great public entertainment where I met him last year, he came up to me and said with a look of delight, "I dreamed of Mrs. Barbauld only last night!" He has a love and a taste for poetry and elegant literature worthy of her scholar, and I doubt not that she sowed the seed.—P. 274.

She gives her experience, in a letter to her brother, of Sir Walter Scott, whom she met in a London literary party, where he probably did not feel or seem quite in his element:—

'Have I got thus far in my letter and said nothing of last Friday! It is a great proof of my methodical and chronological habits of writing that I did not jump to this *period of my history* in the first paragraph. Know, that on Thursday last arrived an invitation from the Carrs to my father and my aunt to dine with them the next day, to meet Walter Scott—apologies at the same time that their table would not admit us all. Well! nothing could persuade my father to go, so my aunt said she would take me instead, and I had not the grace to say no. A charming day we had. I did not indeed see much of the great lion, for we were fourteen at dinner, of whom about half were constantly talking, and neither at table nor after was I very near him; but he was delighted to see my aunt, and paid her great attention, which I was very glad of. He told her that the "Tramp, tramp," "Splash, splash," of Taylor's "Lenora" which she had carried into Scotland to Dugald Stewart many years ago, was what made him a poet. I heard him tell a story or two with a dry kind of humour, for which he is distinguished; and though he speaks very broad Scotch, is a heavy-looking man, and has little the air of a gentleman, I was much pleased with him—he is lively, spirited, and quite above all affectation. He had with him his daughter, a girl of fifteen, the most naïve child of nature I ever saw; her little Scotch phrases charmed us all, and her Scotch songs still more. Her father is a happy minstrel to have such a lassie to sing old ballads to him, which she often does by the hour together, for he is not satisfied with a verse or two, but chooses to have *fit* the first, second, and third. He made her sing us a ditty about a border *reiver* who was to be hanged for stealing the bishop's mare, and who dies with the injunction to his comrades,

"If e'er ye find the bishop's cloak,
Ye'll mak it shorter by the hood."

She also sung us a lullaby in Gaelic—very striking novelties both, in a polished London party. Nobody could help calling this charming girl pretty, though all allowed her features were not good, and we thought her not unlike her father's own sweet Ellen. I had the good fortune to be placed at dinner between Mr. Whishaw and Sotheby, better known by Wieland's Oberon than by his own Saul. He is a lively, pleasant, elderly man; his manners of the old school of gallantry, which we women must ever like. A lady next him asked if he did not think we could see by Mr. Scott's countenance, if Waverley were mentioned, whether he was not the author? "I don't know," said Mr. S—, "we will try." So he called out from the bottom of the table to the top, "Mr. Scott, I have heard there is a new novel coming out by the author of Waverley, have you heard of it?" "I have," said the minstrel, "and I believe it." He answered very steadily, and everybody cried out directly, "O, I am glad of it!" "Yes," said

Mr. Whishaw, "I am a great admirer of those novels;" and we began to discuss which was the best of the two, but Scott kept out of this debate, and had not the assurance to say any handsome things of the works, though *he* is not the author—O no! for he denies them.'—Pp. 99, 100.

But Scott was never appreciated in strictly literary circles. His amiable manner won people up to a certain point, but his writings were a standing thorn in the side of the liberals. Her subsequent strictures on Lockart's 'Life' show the feeling of her set, while his early training goes diametrically against the notions of education inculcated by the moralists of her party.

'If you look into Lockhart's "Life and Correspondence of Scott," of which one volume has appeared, and as many more will appear as the public will submit to pay for, you will find an amusing fragment of an autobiography, comprising enough of the early years of this extraordinary man to show distinctly the circumstances by which the turn was given to his tastes, sentiments, and pursuits. Much of his sickly childhood was passed at a farm-house, where his chief companions were cattle, and the peasants who tended them. His predominant inclination being to hear stories in order to tell them, he soon made himself master of all the epics of that border country, and hence his heroes are always of the moss-trooping order, and his machinery consists of brownies, kelpies, and fairies. Hence, too, his unquenchable animosity against the *Southrons*. Observe how seldom he draws an Englishman but as a coward or a fool. His vivid fancy, his animal spirits, his good humour, and habitual kindness, and his perfect freedom from affectation, must be liked, and might be envied; but the furniture of his mind was really made up of trumpery. Elevation of sentiment he had certainly none, and philosophy was far from him as the antipodes. Mr. Whishaw said once, of Bentham, that he was a schoolman born some ages too late: Scott was a stark moss-trooper in the same predicament, and a jacobite.'—Pp. 360, 361.

She had a large acquaintance with the literary ladies of the day, indeed there is scarcely a name that might be expected which does not occur, with some intelligent notice. Joanna Baillie was her intimate friend, who seems to have slid out of Presbyterianism into Unitarianism, as so many did at one time, and who gave it as the reason why there were so few Unitarians out of the Scotch church, that there were so many in it. In a short memoir of this lady she gives a remarkable example of the stoicism of this school before it was indoctrinated with transcendentalism :—

'Repression of all emotions, even the gentlest, and those most honourable to human nature, seems to have been indeed the constant lesson of her Presbyterian home. Her sister once told me that their father was an excellent parent: when she had once been bitten by a dog thought to be mad, he had sucked the wound, at the hazard, as was supposed, of his own life—but that he had never given her a kiss. Joanna spoke to me once of her yearning to be caressed when a child. She would sometimes venture, she said, to clasp her little arms about her mother's knees, who would seem to chide her—"but I know she liked it." Be that as it may, the first thing which drew upon Joanna the admiring notice of Hampstead society, was the devoted assiduity of her attention to her mother, then blind as well as aged, whom she attended day and night. But this task

of duty came at length to its natural termination, and the secret of her authorship having been permitted to transpire, she was no longer privileged to sit in the shade, shuffling off upon others her own fair share in the expenses of conversation.'—P. 8.

For Miss Martineau her feelings experience a considerable change. She is at first greatly taken with her cleverness, and repeats with pride Lord Brougham's saying, 'There is a deaf 'girl at Norwich doing more good than any man in the country.' Soon after she writes (1833):—

'Here I paused to welcome Harriet Martineau, with all her blushing honours thick upon her. The Chancellor had sent for her expressly to write tales illustrative of pauperism, and has supplied her for the purpose with an immense mass of documents accessible only to official persons. I believe she will do much good; her motives and principles are pure and high, and success, as I predicted, has improved, not spoiled her. Indeed, she has very extraordinary talent and merit, and a noble independence of mind.'—P. 276.

But as the lady's principles develop Miss Aikin is obliged to moderate her tone, and to make reservations and disclaimers which separate her on certain points from the more advanced liberals of her sex. Thus, she writes to Dr. Channing (1837):—

'Well might you be sorry at the tidings that I sympathised in Miss M.'s ideas of the sphere of women; but if she is in the habit of advancing her opinions on no stronger foundations than she has for this, small must be the proportion of truth in them. The facts are these. I saw her a few days after her book came out, when I had only looked in it for half an hour, and was even ignorant that she had said anything on the subjects of marriage and divorce, on which I hold her doctrine to be as ignorant, presumptuous, and pernicious as possible. . . .

'In a very merry little female circle, at the time I mentioned, and I have never seen her since, we hailed Harriet as our champion, between joke and earnest, and she then told us of the scheme of a periodical devoted to the good of the sex, of which she was to be the editor. The chief points she then dwelt upon were, the sufferings of the *most unhappy* class of women, and the necessity of taking more pains to explain to poor girls at school the snares which encompassed them, and the utter ruin to which one false step exposed them. In this I zealously concurred. . . . So far, and only so far, do I agree in any opinions peculiarly hers. . . . I impute to her no designed misrepresentations, but she is a visionary who, in more senses than one, turns a deaf ear to all objections and remonstrances; takes silence for concurrence, and imagines that all who show some friendly interest in her must of necessity be her *disciples* in all the force of the term.'—Pp. 362, 363.

In certain points of morals Miss Aikin was strictly bound to receive prescriptive ideas, from which the transcendental ladies of our own day feel themselves emancipated. She had a wholesome fear of bad books; has even doubts of the propriety of ordering 'Corinne' into the book society, hearing that Mme. de Stäel is tinctured by Rousseau's 'virtue in words, and vice in action.' With horror she tells of the many French governesses that instruct our innocent girls, and shudders at French novels in a way that Mrs. Browning and Miss Fuller would have thought

exceedingly narrow-minded. Yet the looseness with which she acquiesced in all matters of belief was the natural forerunner of relaxation of moral restraint; and the woman who in her zeal for her sex's political status could pronounce against the vow of conjugal obedience, and rejoice in the change of the marriage law because that 'immoral vow was no longer an essential of the marriage rite,' was doing her part to weaken old restraints, and to introduce ideas of licence from which personally she would have recoiled.

A change of tone on this and other points is perceptible when American influences are brought to bear. The whole Unitarian party seem to have welcomed the 'spiritualism of the New England development of their school as a relief from the utilitarianism and cold reason with which it had so long contented itself. This is shown in her reports to Dr. Channing of the feeling excited by his works, and the chord he had struck in all hearts:—

'The oldest minister of the Scotch Church, Mr. Somerville, author of a valuable history of the reign of Queen Anne, died very lately at above ninety, but possessed of all his faculties. The venerable man uttered his "nunc dimittis" on having witnessed Catholic emancipation; but one more triumph was in store for him in the perusal of your works—he said he rejoiced in them exceedingly; they formed an era in the progress of religion. This trait I have from his accomplished daughter-in-law, also a great admirer of yours. She is an eminent proficient in mathematical science, and now engaged in translating the works of La Place, and her countrywoman Joanna Baillie is no more modest, gentle, and full of all goodness.'—P. 212.

His more ardent style is expected to make converts from scepticism; and the ladies of their set rejoiced in the warmth of feeling his system allowed them:—

'The impression you have produced on the minds of *women* is one for which I bless God from the bottom of my heart. I need not tell you how precious your teaching is in the eyes of Joanna Baillie, and I have long since, I think, told you that admirable Mrs. Somerville was your zealous disciple (but make the Farrars tell you more of her). I have now to mention that you have another in Mrs. Marcet.'—P. 256.

And for herself she answers in as warm a strain of thankful observation:—

'From the time that I first became your reader, I had a kind of anticipation that you would work considerable effects upon me; but it has been by slow degrees, and laborious processes, and hard struggles with deep-rooted prepossessions, that I have fitted my mind to give reception to so many of your views; and, but for the deep interest in them which your letters assisted to maintain, my resolution would have failed me ere the task was thus far accomplished. You have wished to interest in religion minds by which it was apt to be coldly regarded. With respect to mine, you have all that you desire; for the present I am little interested in any other subject; or at least, I view all others as connected with this, and subordinate to it. May God reward you! You have given me a new being.'—P. 244, 245.

One poor dying girl she describes as longing to be 'under

'the observation of Dr. Channing, and speculating upon the 'nature of the advice he would have pressed upon her:' that is yearning for the comfort of a spiritual adviser, a want which English Unitarianism does not suggest to its communion. Miss Aikin herself seems to find the sensation a wholly new one of leaning upon and seeking the guidance of another mind in her religious sentiment. It is a new idea and experience to her, but not the less a very pleasant and congenial one. With all the commonplaces of priestcraft at her fingers' ends, the clerical standing of Dr. Channing was one of his main attractions. One of their frequently recurring topics is the state of religion in England. For him she collects and treasures up all the religious gossip of the day, and gives her own views, sometimes characterised by the crass ignorance of a contemptuous outsider, frequently influenced by the irritation of seeing tracts, magazines, pamphlets, and sermons occupying such a place in men's minds that books were superseded by them for a time;—so that she and Hallam were reduced to grumble together over the decay of literature,—and often not without sagacity. Of Unitarianism she says, in relation to his own influence:—

'My father used to say of the popular systems, that they *bid high* for mankind, and I believe mankind must become a good deal wiser before Unitarianism will be able to outbid them in the minds of the multitude; but certainly there is a progress in both countries; here it has lately been marked by the abolition of our test laws, and you go on founding Unitarian churches. The celebrated political economist Malthus, a clergyman, but a liberal—for he was brought up under my liberal grandfather at Warrington, and has always acted with our Whigs—slid into his pocket the other day my copy of your dedication sermon, saying, "It is a system which every good mind must wish to be true, but I think there are considerable difficulties from some of the texts." I have not yet had the opportunity of inquiring whether you have removed his difficulties.'—Pp. 188, 189.

In another place she has lamented over the decay of dissent which had elicited further inquiry from him:—

'When I lamented the decline of dissent, I had in my mind that of Presbyterianism chiefly—that is, of the only sect which could boast of learned ministers, and which once included in its bosom a very considerable body of wealthy and well-educated and enlightened families.

As for the other old denominations, the Independents and the Baptists, they are by no means declining in numbers. Formerly their congregations were seldom found but in towns, and the trading classes, but I am now told that there is scarcely a rural village throughout the country in which either they or the Methodists, under some of their subdivisions, have not some humble place of worship. They reckon, I believe, by hundreds of thousands. But in this aristocratic country, as you truly call it, numbers *alone* stand for little or nothing. These dissenters have no political power or weight whatever, as their ministers have confessed or complained. They have not even a single member of parliament belonging to them, while the little Unitarian aristocracy has about fifteen. Their opinions are, I believe, Calvinistic to a high degree, and

it is only as persons asserting practically the right of private judgment in religion, that it is possible to prefer them to the members of the establishment. . . .

‘It may a little illustrate this matter to you, if I mention that full half the maid-servants I have had were either some kind of methodists or regular dissenters ; and I believe this to be general. You see from this, that there is no apparent tendency to what you would call pure Christianity in our lower classes—except, indeed, that among the Baptists there are, or were, some Unitarians.’—Pp. 425, 426.

In one place she speaks of the literary class (1834) being mainly for Church and State, which, so far as it was true then, argues a change for the worse. But Dr. Channing was clearly looked to as the man to set all this right.

The transcendental theory of a progressive Christianity is expected to infuse new life into liberalism :—

‘Of the sermon I may truly say, that it was by far the noblest view of the Christian religion ever offered to my mind, and the most persuasive ; it derives a novelty and originality from its sublimity, its purity, and its simplicity ; it is worthy the most philosophic minds, the most enlightened ages, and I regard it as the best illustration of the idea of a *progressive Christianity* thrown out, as I remember, but not sufficiently unfolded, by that virtuous and accomplished, though not always judicious man and writer, Gilbert Wakefield.’—P. 192.

She discusses Church parties at a point of distance from both the ‘Evangelicals’ and the High Church movement, which is curious in the contemptuous absence of sympathy towards both. It is strange, indeed, that a person so much in the world should be so utterly removed as she seems to have been from the softening influences of personal contact. She treats both parties as though it was impossible either should possess common honesty, or any real belief in their professed opinions. Dr. Channing while in England had himself met Wilberforce, and been favourably impressed :—

‘I have had a letter (1838) from Dr. Channing, in which, among other agreeable matters, he gives me a pleasing account of a visit which he made while in England to Mr. Wilberforce. “I could not but respect him,” he says, “though I saw not a sign of intellectual force. He asked me about the Unitarians of Boston, not suspecting me of the heresy ; and when I told him that I was one, though some of his family did not receive the communication with the kindness which hospitality required, the good old man went on to talk with undiminished complacency. On my leaving him, he took me into his study, gave me to understand that he thought more of a man’s spirit or temper than his opinions, and chose to write my name and his own on a pamphlet, which he presented to me as a memorial of our interview.”’—P. 156.

This sounds candid in the original writer and the transcriber, but Wilberforce was a layman, and had other claims on their toleration. It is certain that neither Dr. Channing nor the lady were above regarding most bishops, and almost every clergyman, as such, as a sort of monster. Dr. Whately she could endure, because he was not like a bishop, and delighted in defying the conventional notion of one ; and Hampden she

patronises on supposed congeniality of views, and one or two more :—

"You think quite as well of our bishops as they deserve. The venerable Bishop of Norwich, of whom Sydney Smith happily said, "he should *touch* for bigotry and absurdity," stands very much alone amongst them; however, I do not wish them hurt in the least, nor frightened further than is necessary to urge them to quit their political station. The separation of Church and State is, in my opinion, by much the most important victory which the people have still to achieve. When our bishops shall be in the state of your bishops, certainly my animosity against them will extend "not a frown further," but till that happens, all fair means of lessening them in the eyes of the people must be allowed."—P. 269.

Her set she describes as wholly removed from not only the influence, but the slightest acquaintance with the theological train of thought expressed at that time with such remarkable power. This is her picture of the state of things twenty-five years back, as found in the society of steady lawyers and liberal men of letters:—

"Our clergy are desperately active at present, and proportionally mischievous. They will not allow us to have a normal school on terms of anything like fairness to dissenters, and they everywhere talk very big of "the authority committed unto them" as the successors of the apostles. I have even heard of attempts amongst them to remind people of a monstrous old law, made against Popish recusants, and still unrepealed, by which persons are liable to heavy penalties for not regularly attending their parish church. I apprehend, however, that this applies now only to church people, the toleration act sheltering dissenters. They have "all the plea" at present; the press seems as much their own as if they had an inquisition at their command. But let them beware of what is gathering in silence. Men *think* very freely now, and whisper; presently they will speak out and act, I trust. If you take up a list of new publications, it seems as if nothing scarcely was written or read amongst us except theology, and of the narrowest kind; but so it is, that a person might live in the midst of the best and most literary society for a year together, and never hear the slightest mention of any one new book on these subjects. I know not exactly who are the readers, but I suspect scarcely any laymen of the smallest note. The clergy often write *at* the bishop or the patron, not the public, and there are a number of women who write theology for little children, which some mammas encourage."—P. 394.

The ultra-liberals were, we know, not the only prophets of the outbreak of scepticism which we see in our own time, and which is here anticipated; but she is certainly right that the whisperers of the last generation have spoken out.

The utilitarian school in which she had been reared and the society in which she lived, had all contributed to her utter ignorance of the condition of the labouring and poorer classes; and the efforts of religious parties at home to stir the rich to a sense of their duty in this respect had all excited her suspicion and contempt. The efforts of ladies in this direction are attributed to fussiness, love of patronage, and of management; and are considered to produce much mischief. The poor are alternately represented as resenting impertinent interferences, as

led into greater depths of ignorance and fanaticism by fanatical guides, and as lapsing into improvidence and drunkenness under the deluge of indiscriminate alms lavished upon them. But when Dr. Channing urges a change of tone in his own society on this point, her feelings take a different direction. She is awake to the extreme insensibility the higher classes were apt to show to their inferiors, and is ready to apprehend serious natural ill results from it. At the time of the cholera, in 1831, she writes thus:—the good man she speaks of it is no want of charity to suspect might be Malthus. On the 'fatal aristocratic influence' she changed her mind subsequently :—

'The poor in some European countries through which this scourge has passed, were possessed with the notion that it was purposely diffused by the higher classes to thin the number of the lower. I doubt not there was *talk* which showed at least profound indifference in the rich and great to this result, and unless people set a strong guard on their tongues, the same suspicions may arise here. It is felt that we have many spare hands. I have heard a good man say, that a decimation of London, if the lots fell *well*, would be no bad thing. But luckily there can be no security that the lots would so fall, if once the infection gained ground; and *therefore* we are cleansing the dwellings of the poor, and wrapping their persons in flannel; but is there not something frightful in this worthlessness of the lives of one class to another? What wonder that kings have made no spare of blood of their subjects? I perceive more and more clearly what you first pointed out to me—the darkening effects of the spirit of aristocracy on the mind, its hardening influence on the heart. Distinct classes can never feel for each other as members of one body; and, in the want of this sympathy, all anti-social vices, oppression, arrogance, cruelty in the rich, envy, fraud, rapacity, and brutal insolence in the poor, take root and flourish.'—P. 245.

She declares herself in another place quite enlightened by Dr. Channing's views of how to act towards the poor; candidly avows her old opinions were not the result of personal knowledge, and, perhaps secretly swayed by a wish that every exertion of her own would be useless, ends by confessions of regret that her acquaintance with her own countrymen should be so strictly confined to one class. Upon the subject of differences of ranks, which is so constantly brought forward in this work, we observe a marked change between the time Miss Aikin formed her opinions and our own. One, or perhaps more strictly two generations past, the respect and reverence—often approaching to adulation—of rank in one party, was matched by a bitter democratic levelling sentiment on the liberal side, which has almost disappeared amongst us. Nobody in society is bitter against lords and ladies in our day, and perhaps nobody worships them with a far-off reverence.

Miss Aikin could remember when she hated the aristocracy—a very different impression is given of her latest feeling in this particular. It was necessary in discussing such a topic with Dr. Channing to preserve a high philosophic line; but it

is clear that the society of well-bred persons—and she is distinct in assigning to the aristocracy the palm in this particular—afforded her a very high gratification. She could not with any consistency defend an aristocracy as a public benefit in the essentials of good government; but she stands out with her correspondent that he can properly know nothing about perfect manners without an acquaintance with persons of rank. These points—points of manner, propriety, elegance, grace of diction, all that gives social intercourse its final charm—as being a woman's peculiar subjects, on which she feels her judgment more than equal with man's, were, in fact, as interesting to her as the bolder range of topics on which her pen expatiated so frequently. In advocating writing above reading, as concentrating thought and giving strength to conviction, she looks back regretfully to her writing days, and fancies her mind has grown to a thinner consistency; and, recurring to some favourite passage in her histories, says somewhere, 'Surely I was a *man* when I wrote that, who am now a mere old woman;' but in fact her pen never better knows what it is about or expresses a distinct personal opinion with so much authority, as when, laying her manly republicanism by, she discusses a purely feminine topic with the confidence that she is on her own ground. Dr. Channing (in 1842) had ventured on some reflections on the masculine character of Englishwomen,—perhaps bearing on her previous avowal of zeal in the cause of woman's rights,—which then at least were undeserved. He had talked of their *stride*, *strong gesture*, and bad manners. Her reply is given with a spirit of independence which she could scarcely have mustered in any other cause. She rejoices in the emancipation of woman from the mincing, tight-laced helplessness of former days, and boasts of the bloom, the active habits, natural manners, and good constitutions of her countrywomen in contrast with his:—

'If your fair daughters would also learn to *step out*, their bloom would be less transient, and fewer would fill untimely graves. I admit, indeed, *some* unnecessary inelegance in the step of our pedestrian fair ones; but this does not extend to ladies of quality, or *real* gentlewomen, who take the air chiefly in carriages, or on horseback. They walk with the same quiet grace that pervades all their deportment, and to which you have seen nothing similar or comparable. When you mention our 'stronger gestures,' I know not what you mean. All Europe declares that we have *no* gesture. Madame de Staël ridiculed us as mere pieces of still life; and of *untravelling* gentlewomen this is certainly true in general. All governesses proscribe it. Where it exists, it arises from personal character. I have seen it engaging when the offspring of a lively imagination and warm feelings, repulsive when the result of a keen temper or dictatorial assumption. Again, your charge of want of delicacy I cannot understand. The women of every other European nation charge us with prudery, and I really cannot conceive of a human being more unassailable by just reproach on this head than a well-conducted Englishwoman. We have

indeed heard some whimsical stories of American damsels who would not for the world speak of the *leg* even of a table, or the *back* even of a chair; and I do confess that we are not delicate or indelicate to this point. But if you mean to allude to the enormities of Frances Wright, or even to some of the discussions of ———, I can only answer, we blush too. Be pleased to consider that you have yet seen in your country none of our ladies of high rank; and few of your people, except diplomatic characters, have had more than very transient glimpses of them here, while we have had the heads of your society with us. Now I must frankly tell you, in reference to your very unexpected claim for your countrywomen of superior refinement, that although I have seen several of them whose manners were too quiet and retiring to give the least offence, I have neither seen nor heard of any who, even in the society of our middle classes, were thought entitled to more than this negative commendation—any who have become prominent without betraying gross ignorance of more than conventional good breeding. The very tone of the voice, the accent and the choice of phrase, give us the impression of extreme inelegance. Patriot and staunch republican as you are, I think you must admit the *a priori* probability that the metropolis of the British empire, the first city in the world for size, for opulence, for diffusion of comforts, accommodations, and luxuries of life, as well as for all the appliances of science, literature, and taste—the seat of a court unexcelled in splendour, and of an aristocracy absolutely unrivalled in wealth, in substantial power and dignity, and especially in mental cultivation of the most solid and most elegant kind—would afford such a standard of graceful and finished manners as your state capitals can have no chance of coming up to. Further: it has been most truly observed that in every country it is the *mothers* who give the tone both to morals and manners; but with you the mothers are by your own account the *toilers*. Oppressed with the cares of house and children, they either retire from society into the bosom of their family, or leave at least the active and prominent parts in it to mere girls: and can you suppose that the *art and science* of good breeding, for such it is, will be likely to advance towards perfection when all who have attained such proficiency as experience can give resign the sway to giddy novices? With us it is quite different. Young ladies do not *come out* till eighteen, and then their part is a very subordinate one. It is the matron who does the honours of her house, and supports conversation; and her daughters pay their visits beneath her wing. Under wholesome restraint like this, the young best learn self-government. “Sir,” said Dr. Parr, when provoked by the ill manners of a rich man who had been a spoiled child, “it is discipline that makes the scholar, discipline that makes the gentleman, and it is the want of discipline that makes you what you are.”

‘One of your young women showed her taste and breeding by asking an English lady if she had seen “Victoria;” and I must mention that Miss Sedgewick has thought proper to describe the first and *greatest lady in the world* as “a plain little *body*,” adding, “ordinary is the word for her.” It was no woman, luckily, but your Mr. D——, who had the superlative conceit and impertinence to express his *surprise* to a friend of mine at finding so much good society in London. Now I think I have given you enough for one letter.’—Pp. 435-437.

It is only on such questions as these that Miss Aikin was not a partisan; only when she was exercising her feminine gifts of taste, quick observation, and intelligent insight into character. It is difficult to reconcile such good sense and proper feeling with passages where political and religious animosities run away with her; as in dozens of cases such as: ‘Depend upon it, the hypocrisy is to the orthodoxy in our church as ninety-

'nine to one, at the least;' but here she was talking of men of whom she knew literally nothing, except through fiercely prejudiced report. Her best powers were only developed by personal observation. Like a great many sensible people, she is not good at giving a reason. In her 'Experimental Essays,' begun under Dr. Channing's advice, who considered her especially fitted to form the minds of her countrywomen, she fails especially in proving her point. Thus, she objects to the received liking for a frank character, and then drawing a character not really frank, but impertinent under the mask of candour, proceeds to convince mankind of their mistake. In another, where she wants to expose the old saying 'Example is better than precept,' as a gross and wilful setting up of authority over reason, she illustrates her point by representing example itself as precept, that is, not as simply *doing* right, and leaving the lesson to take effect, but saying always, 'Do as I do.' Again, in the 'Spirit of Aristocracy,' a young lady is reproved for allowing her milliner to stand while she receives her orders, herself sitting; the whole point of the thing requiring that the ranks of the parties should be different, and then complicates her argument by representing the milliner, unknown to her customer, as a nobleman's granddaughter.

In one point, Miss Aikin's instincts stood by her under all temptation. Dr. Channing's eloquence induced a certain reflected enthusiasm in his disciple, now and then even an approach to flightiness under the stimulus of his optimism. She now and then expresses expectations and hopes which do not sound reasonable, but the transcendental notion of progress she could not receive. Once she goes so far as to admit, in her reverence for free institutions, that she does not know what may happen in America, but in England, the land she lived in, where her experience lay, judging by the men and women she knew, she could not believe in it. This and communism she refused as inconsistent with human nature. He talks to her of the value of a great Idea which is to remove mountains. She still is at a loss to understand his believing in a coming time when all men will be regarded by all as equal. He had approved of the aristocracy of wealth, because it broke in upon that of rank, which seemed to gall him even at this distance. She grows practical, and wishes to know if this means that she is to take tea with her 'maudlin washerwoman.' Again, she submits that while two things remain the same, the nature of God and the nature of man, while every human creature is born into the world with the same ignorance and the same appetites and passions as his earliest and rudest progenitors, she cannot see her way to that entire change in the human race her

friend looked forward to. In the same conservative spirit, she did not like the recklessness of modern scepticism, which was dawning when she wrote, and looked back with regret to the deists of the last century, who were learned, and 'too prudent' to promulgate their opinions among the vulgar, a class for whom Miss Aikin had always a supreme contempt.

There are passages which prove Dr. Channing a prophet of civil war, which, at one time (1833), he declared his countrymen were even then on the brink of. Though he did not reach the pass of Theodore Parker, there are allusions in his sermon on war which might lead us to suppose he helped to bring about his own prediction. At this time his popularity was great in England: she is pleased to tell that one of his sermons had been preached verbatim, all but the text, in one of our churches, and is evidently gratified and amused to be the vehicle of polite messages of respect and admiration from the Duke of Sussex, which she trusts will not embarrass her democratic friend.

In the early part of her correspondence with Dr. Channing, Miss Aikin accounts for the peculiar bitterness in her mode of holding certain opinions:—

'I feel as if I were in some danger of becoming importunate to you by the frequency of my letters; but, to converse with my "guide, philosopher, and friend," has now become with me, not a mere indulgence, but a want, and I trust in your patience. It is advisedly that I have called you my guide. I daily discover more and more how much I have come under the influence of your mind, and what great things it has done, and I trust is still doing, for mine. Let me gratify the feelings of a thankful heart by entering into a few particulars on this subject. I was never duly sensible, till your writings made me so, of the transcendent beauty and sublimity of Christian morals; nor did I submit my heart and temper to their chastening and meliorating influences. In particular, the spirit of unbounded benevolence which they breathe was, I own it, a stranger to my bosom; far indeed was I from looking upon all men as my brethren. Many things prevented it. A life, for the most part, of domestic seclusion; studious pursuits, and something of the pride and fastidiousness they are apt to bring; and more than all, the atmosphere of a sect and a party, which it was my fate to breathe from childhood, narrowed my affections within strait limits. Under the notion of a generous zeal for freedom, truth, and virtue, I cherished a set of prejudices and antipathies which placed beyond the pale of my charity not the few, but the many, the mass of my compatriots. I shudder now to think how *good a hater* I was in the days of my youth. Time and reflection, a wider range of acquaintance, and a calmer state of the public mind, mitigated by degrees my bigotry; but I really knew not what it was to open my heart to the human race until I had drunk deeply into the spirit of your writings.'—Pp. 243, 244.

Illustrating the teaching of her youth, she confesses that she had had doubts of the efficacy of prayer, having lived among persons, greatly respected by her, who argued that prayer was an opposition, as it were, to the Divine will. To her his warmer and more poetical tenets brought an accession of faith

and benevolence, and the contact with transcendentalism wrought a favourable change. But a mind trained in positive convictions of any kind—a mind that is imbued with any fixed principles, opinions to hold and opinions to reject, whatever these are—is, we are disposed to think, in better training than where all is laxity and indefiniteness together.

Whether the result of nature or education, we are struck with the difference in distinctness and hold of thought between the two ladies before us. There is a stay, a seriousness, a gravity, a sense of responsibility, in Lucy Aikin, the want of which is the distinguishing feature in Miss Cobbe's prattling scepticism. It is alike impossible to ascertain what Miss Cobbe believes and what she does not believe, to decide in her case whether we are witnessing a case of universal credulity or universal unbelief. At one time she is so extremely civil as to apologise, with Miss Martineau, to Baal, for having ever held him in disesteem, and in sight of his temple to own she has made a great mistake; at another, so insolent towards the religion into which she was born, as to disparage, in one contemptuous summary, all creeds, articles, scriptures, and every existing church system, so that a simple reader might be at a loss to decide whether the religious instinct runs riot in her nature, or is wholly wanting, till he detects that the antiquarian spirit is the real impulse. *All* past religions are respectable, *all* recent ones superstition. Any religion that makes no demands on her reverence and obedience she can patronise; any faith which imposes a present obligation is the object of sarcasm and direct vituperation. All doctrine and dogma in our Church is disposed of as Calvinism, while of the religion in Italy she writes in the following sweeping style:—

‘We need to recall how utterly in Italy religion and morality have been dis-severed for ages, and how religion to the uneducated Italian means nothing but the sacerdotal enchantment whereby he is to escape from future fires. Give him his *olio santo* passport to bliss, and religion has done for him all it is qualified to do. Of reformation of life, or purification of heart, of love to God or man, he has no more thought when he speaks of religion than if he were talking of the boat which is to ferry him across the river, or the carretta to take him to the neighbouring town. Religion is a machine for getting to heaven, and avoiding hell and purgatory. Having paid the passage money at the proper bureau, and received his ticket, his concern with it is over. He is “booked through,” with the security of the official signature.’—*Italics*, p. 213.

Miss Cobbe is never troubled by misgivings. Italy is not generally considered an easy country to understand. Italians, at least, do not think so; but she has a knack at interpreting all riddles, and the happy art of condensing every case into a nutshell, through which politics and parties are quite as summarily dealt with as religion in these comprehensive volumes.

Miss Cobbe is known to the world as the English editor of Theodore Parker's works, and if Dr. Channing was Miss Aikin's priest, Parker was Miss Cobbe's prophet, with a far more implicit and unquestioning reception. This sympathetic connexion between the English female *esprit fort* and the American transcendentalist is suggestive and curious. In both cases we see the innate yearning in woman for spiritual direction, however self-reliant, or grotesque in its manifestation, where its obvious authorised satisfaction is contemned. In Miss Cobbe we have an example how a mind under this form of domination will receive the dicta of its idol with an acceptance in proportion as it is self-chosen and a mark of self-will.

Miss Cobbe adopts all her teacher's views with an emphasis almost beyond that of their first promulgator; but there is this difference between the master and disciple, that she has her sex's emancipation from existing trammels more at heart than it is man's nature to sympathize with. Every man, Theodore Parker among them, loved at bottom the domestic type in woman. No 'strong-minded' woman, not even the sensible Miss Aikin, is content with this position for her sex; as for Miss Cobbe, she gives women a place in the scheme of progress which she herself can only express. What it quite means is not so clear, but if vague, it is not the less lofty in its ambition. We extract from her 'Cities of the Past':—

'In the following pages I shall endeavour to give a brief account of what a woman may easily see and do alone in Palestine, and thus, I trust, encourage my countrywomen to undertake the journey more frequently in future, whether with or without companions. Especially does it seem desirable that women should seek by these and all other modes of study to fit themselves for their proper part in sharing the progress of human thought in our age. Too often have their limited lives, their scope of vision—narrowed artificially by education as well as naturally by circumstances, and the timid conservatism which seems a part of the female temperament—too often have all these courses made women the champion of antiquated prejudices, the cruel enemies of every newborn truth. But the test to which they are called is the very opposite of all this. Women ought to be the torch-bearers in the pageant of humanity, lighting men onward in their noble pursuit of truth. Hitherto they have represented only the principles of spiritual carefulness, of a timidity in religious things, which wears the garb of faith, but is, in truth, full of injurious doubts and fears. Hereafter they must become the representatives of healthful aspiration, of the largest and widest human sympathies, and of faith in its real sense—faith, not in the lessons of the nursery and the schoolroom, but in those eternal verities of the Divine existence, and love, and righteousness, towards which every lesser truth is a path to lead us up. The night is past when it might have been permitted to close our doors, and sit cowering over the light of our tapers. It is a pitiful thing to see women rising up now in the dawning day, only to draw down the blinds and shut the casement whenever they hear any one cry, "Behold the morning."—*Cities of the Past*, p. 176.

Why galloping about Palestine by themselves should so materially assist women to be 'torch-bearers' is not very clear.

We may certainly say that it does not appear to have aided Miss Cobbe in that concentration of thought which is so needful for securing any strong hold over other minds. There is a ready-for-anything attitude characterising certain women of our time, which independence of old restraints undoubtedly fosters; and so far as woman renounces her prescriptive conservative influence, and her weight is lost in that scale, her example may tell in another direction; but women will not really have more power in society by such a line as Miss Cobbe advocates. She herself is an example how the unrestraint she advocates disorganises the mind. She is a very clever woman, but we see that the rambling, disjointed, self-sufficient habits her principles of life induce, the strange roaming discursive turn they encourage, are rapidly disqualifying her from using her powers to any purpose, and rendering her an ally no party cares for. There is often great amiability, what is called geniality, in her writing, but the way she treats all great subjects proves an utter absence of seriousness. She has something to say about everything, partly due to her ready observation and quickness of thought, and in graver themes from a shallowness that never allows her to see her incompetence to form an opinion worth the reader's attention. No topic is too grave or sacred not to be dragged into a digression. All awe and reverence is quenched. Her subject and her way of treating it are, in fact, illustrated by a testimonial which she records with much satisfaction—a vote of thanks from her fellow travellers to the Dead Sea, for her 'unvarying hilarity.' To us her books are an illustration of the danger of familiarising ourselves with sacred scenes in a trifling frame of mind. Of course the familiarising process is what she deems so desirable, as, in fact, all people feel themselves enlightened when they lose an old check or restraint. She thinks it original, independent, unshackled, in surveying Jerusalem for the first time, to fall into raptures with the Mosque of Omar, and turn Moslem on the spot. With these people all past fanaticism is religion, all present strictness of belief imposture. In the frame of mind induced by Mahomet's career, she can even allow the Hebrew prophet who cried, 'Thus saith the Lord,' to have been only piously mistaken. 'Were these assertions of divine assistance impostures? Were they even false, judged by a philosophy which should include both primary and secondary causes?'

There is no more fatal habit for effect than desultoriness. The perpetual rambling liberalism in which this lady's mind is steeped induces a constant dissolution, as it were—every theory loses its edges and slips away. Miss Cobbe writes of very interesting scenes, has a lively mind, and unusual facility of

expressing her thoughts; but the impossibility of viewing anything for itself, or confining herself to the things before her, renders her books unreadable after a time. The faintest mention of anything extraneous carries her off at a tangent. It is as if a reverie might be photographed; and a reverie really not suggested on the spot, but subsequently, at her desk, with the treacherous pen in hand. Take the chapter headed 'A Day at the Dead Sea.' There is some good description, but whatever is good is short and incomplete. The substance of the chapter is made up entirely of digression. The labour of keeping to the point is not possible beyond a very few lines at a time, and the mind is always too busy—even on the spot—with a view of interpretation or application, to observe long enough to take anything in vividly. The actual description of the Dead Sea and its shores does not fill three quarters of a page; the bathing and its consequences another three quarters. About as much space is given to her impressions of the River Jordan, and spreading around these oases of fact and picture are sandy tracts of the most irrelevant matter in the world. Thus, a satire upon Southerners for comparing the River Jordan to the Mississippi, because it is not at all like it, brings in a homage to the kindness of all Northerners whom she met in her travels. Every sight she sees is dismissed summarily to describe something else she saw once. A group of pilgrims by the Jordan reminds her of a group of women she had seen in Athens; these suggest to her how natural pilgrimages are to humanity; thence to crusades, thence to a definition of duty and conscience, thence to the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' an apostrophe to 'good old Bunyan,' and a critique of his allegory; and last, as though she had now reached her goal, a story of a little girl who once acted out Christian's journey, ascended the Hill Difficulty, and took a footman in livery for the porter Discretion. Each digression has its digression, and these their own digressional parasites, and a great deal of this, we think, owing to the notion that, as torch-bearer, she must let no opportunity go by of casting her especial illumination on the reader. It is also a consequence of that exceeding familiarity cultivated towards every person and thing. Everything is taken liberties with. It is patronage and superiority, regardless of forms and respects, condescending to our level. We are her 'poor dear readers,' who must be amused and enlightened, as it is 'dear old Pisa,' and 'poor little Nervi.'

Miss Cobbe is very much alive to the benefit and enlargement of mind to be derived from travel, but her own system of composition must suggest to many of her readers a different

train of reflection. There is a clear analogy between the freedom of unrestrained movement she recommends to her sex both by precept and example, the independence of all the old defences and safeguards hitherto thought desirable and due to physical weakness, the defiance of the domestic and stay-at-home idea, and the reckless discursiveness of her style. We at least see a connexion between the inability to keep to her subject, pen in hand, the range over all things relevant and irrelevant, and the practice of scampering, for days together, without other escort than wild Arabs. We are not denying that it is a spirited thing to do, but we believe that the feminine pen will do its work better—though it may have less to tell—when it is regarded by its possessor as a domestic implement, and when the mind itself has a certain domesticity of range. We feel as if the following passage could not have been written by a woman who had not taken strong measures to divest herself of the feminine turn of thought. To be advised by a woman not to think too much about heaven, strikes us as in a particular degree unnatural; but as there is something in the connexion of heaven and home, there may be a fitness in a *citoyenne* of the world preaching such doctrines:—

‘When shall we shake off this effeminate yearning for peace and bliss, and know that it ought to be

“Life, not Death, for which we pant,
More Life, and fuller, *that* we want.”

‘... The teaching of the miserable theology of the last century infects us still, though there are signs on every hand that we are outgrowing it. The doctrine which Paley taught so lucidly that “Virtue consists in doing right for the *sake of everlasting felicity*,” is, perhaps, rarely preached now in all the effrontery of its baseness.

‘Only to one class of human beings, I believe, is it well to speak much of heaven. To those among us whose lot is mainly a happy one, the sense of immortality is fitly placed in the background of consciousness . . . and it is not desirable for *us* that we should force this consciousness into more vivid prominence. But to our unhappy brothers and sisters whose earthly lives are steeped in vice and squalor; whose homes are the crowded lodging-rooms of hideous lanes, where the moral atmosphere and the natural air are alike tainted by the foulest filth, in these *is* need we should speak of another life.’—*Cities of the Past*, p. 14.

That is, Lazarus may think of heaven because here he has his evil things, but Dives has no need. No doubt optimism has much to do with this. It is observable of all millenarian enthusiasm, that it causes the mind to stop short of heaven and eternity in its speculation. The believers in progress have their millenium, and their faith is to be confirmed by Miss Cobbe’s one recipe of travel, travel undertaken with the intention of finding what it seeks for. After a denunciation of atheism, she writes:—

‘The bare statements of such thoughts is surely their refutation, and rather we must believe that each advance in knowledge will help forward that nobler faith which is to come—that faith of the future which will not be the extinguishing of the past religions, but the essential life of them, all revived in an immortal resurrection.

“One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost.”

The time will come when every ray ever shed upon human souls will be gathered and absorbed into a resplendent focus of truth and glory. Only let us go forth seeking these rays, not seeking for blots and stains. Let us go to other nations and churches, not to notice complacently where they err, or where we are wiser than they—where they cry “Allah, Allah!” and we say, “Lord, Lord;” but let us go to them and see what truth is there; what worthy thought of God, what high sense of duty to man, is at the basis of their faith; what is it which this sect has taught, which has enabled it to supply millions of souls with spiritual food for ages? No mere chaff can do this. There must need be many grains of wheat where men live and grow.’—*Cities of the Past*, p. 63.

In her ‘*Italics*,’ Miss Cobbe plunges into Italian religion and politics in her own style of flowing gossip, sometimes amusing, as in the chapter, ‘People one in Italy,’ where are congregated so many persons of wit, genius, and *bonhomie*, that poor stay-at-homes are in danger of thinking that human nature must be quite a different thing out there; and sometimes altogether tedious and unsatisfactory; for, added to the desultory mode of treatment, the reader acquires a growing mistrust of her statements, as prejudice and credulity become more evident. There is a paper, entitled the ‘*Nemesis of Woman*,’ in which, from her emancipated height, she reproaches men with keeping all the infidelity and scepticism to themselves, and encouraging in women what she calls the worship of Mumbo Jumbo. What this worship is she does not distinctly explain, but it includes all that sceptical gentlemen do not themselves believe, but which they are so unjust as to wish their wives and daughters to have faith in. The *cultus* is most conspicuous, she allows, in Italy; but her own countrymen are the real objects of her indignation. Of course, for the men—and there are many such—who want their wives to believe more than they do themselves, we have nothing to say. The ladies have certainly a right to turn upon them for their inconsistency, if they care to do so. Nevertheless, we are glad to find that even in the world with which this lady is familiar, she finds such cause of complaint as the following. She is speaking of English society:—

‘A governess or schoolmistress who should admit herself to have latitudinarian ideas, or even to have an acquaintance with works of German, French, and English free-criticism, would hardly succeed in obtaining pupils in one family in a thousand. A young English lady of twenty or five and twenty years of age has gone usually through a course which would be absolutely suited to its object were it the deliberate purpose of her parents to make her as narrow-minded and bigoted as possible. She has had her memory and

imagination cultivated, but hardly ever her reasoning powers. She knows a good deal of history, biography, music, and drawing, but nothing of logic, geometry, or the various philosophical and religious systems of the world: she has attended the places of worship of her own sect, never those of any other, she has read works to instil one set of opinions, and never opened those which dispute them; she has seen dozens of people who either believe as she has been taught to do, or in her presence sedulously restrain a word or smile which should betray a doubt of them. . . . Where does this come from? Why do men wish their daughters, sisters, wives, to believe more than they do themselves? What pleasure can it be to them to keep them outside of their deepest interests, incapable of sharing with them their greatest rights? There are several reasons for it all. Some of these are vain and sentimental; feminine debility and dependence of mind is the correlative of that physical weakness and cowardice which some men seem to need to throw into relief their own strength and courage. A learned woman, a logical woman, a large thoughted woman, distresses them by failing in her own vocation in this way, and not allowing their Eton grammar and Aldridge, and even by audacity of scepticism, almost Balaam or the Flood to stand out in proper splendour of contrast.'—*Italics*, p. 243.

Some sceptics may not wish their wives to be sceptics, but the real answer to all this is, that the state of feeling in women argues that such writers as Miss Cobbe enormously overstate the number of sceptics in our day. Almost all people in doubt like to talk about their doubts, while people *not* visited by doubt never think of saying so. It is a matter of course. No doubt, in certain circles, there is much of this sort of talk; but we wish we could agree with Miss Cobbe, that in these circles the women were in strong opposition to the tone about them. When doubt and scepticism are in fashion, there will be found women to take them up, to chatter about Dr. Colenso at parties, to announce, with pretty shudderings, in the intervals of the dance, that they feel the crisis at hand, and the ground of old faith giving way under them. In such cases as these, it is not Miss Cobbe's arguments that we suspect of having wrought the mischief to such ground of faith as the fair dancer had ever trusted herself to, but the influence of her partner. It is very true that women have many safeguards against unbelief in their own nature, but it is also true that there are women so frivolous, that faith and scepticism alike are regarded by them mainly as things to talk about, and out of which they may extract matter for attraction and favour.

There is a point that ladies discontented with the position of their sex would do well to consider. As writers and talkers, they should be able, on fitting occasions, to forget self in their subject. Men are not always thinking they are men; but women of this class are always obtruding upon us that they are women. There is at once weakness and vanity in the habit. A hundred topics are better discussed without this intrusion of another consideration; and all writers, if they

would have weight, should show a mind with wings strong enough to soar above circumstances. The remembrance of sex is of the very essence of digression. There is a perpetual appeal to gallantry in the paraded consciousness of unusual effort. There is tacit admission of weakness, either in the individual or in the sex she would raise, in the aim at exciting surprise, and especially in the evident triumph at being where never woman had been before, in doing what no woman ever did before, or, as in the case before us, thinking with more boldness and mannishness than women have hitherto dared to do. There is all the difference between the proper natural influence of sex, and being occupied with the consciousness of it. The one assists a woman to choose the work suited to her mental organization, the other induces a conscious emulation and a selection of tasks which shall indulge these feelings and promote a contention, half rivalry, half flirtation. Of the two ladies before us, this stricture applies mainly to the last. In matters of thought, judgment, and severe reason, we do not see that Miss Cobbe has done much to narrow the distance so jealously measured between the strong-minded woman and her so-called oppressor. We are much mistaken if the impression left by her books on readers of either sex and of all shades of opinion is not the same—that of a clever woman out of her depth, and airy and voluble in proportion to her slight hold of the subjects she assumes herself to have mastered.

ART. V.—*A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the First Four Centuries.* By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, M.A. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Macmillan & Co. .

IN these days we hear much of progress. Probably no preceding period ever was so conscious of its own superiority. Certainly none ever had so much to say in justification of this complacency. But in the notions that are current on the subject, there is, as usual, a mixture of truth and error; sometimes in very unequal measure. Pascal's famous paradox, for instance, that ancient times are really the childhood of the world, modern times its old age, is triumphantly reiterated by superficial philosophers like Whately, very often in a sense which it will not bear. When the din of the trumpet heralding the grand discovery is stilled for a moment, and leisure left for reflection, the lurking fallacy is detected. While professing to correct one vulgar error, they commit themselves to another. The saying which they misquote till it is threadbare is true in one sense only. A man living 2,000 years ago stands to a man of this century in the relation of a child to an old man, as being, of necessity, without the benefit of that experience which he lives too soon to enjoy. On the other hand, whatever of custom or opinion comes down to posterity from early times, comes in all the hoariness of age, tried and tested by length of years, venerable because of its antiquity. The invention of to-day—whether good or bad, remains to be proved—is, at all events, of recent birth, in its babyhood at present, and therefore devoid of any prescriptive title to acceptance or respect. Like a person with no hereditary honours, it has to start entirely on its merits. It must approve itself to the world, and establish its own position there, simply by what it is, without the adventitious aid of a recommendation from the past.

But there is another very important distinction too often disregarded. Without question, this vaunted progress is a fact, within certain limitations. The grown man, unless he is a downright fool, is continually advancing in every kind of knowledge which depends on *experience*. So in the history of mankind each succeeding generation can turn to account, if it will, the gathered results of previous experiments. It learns a

lesson from the mistakes and failures of its predecessors as well as from their good guessings. It is for ever ascending on 'the stepping-stone of its dead self' to a yet higher vantage-ground. But—and let it be noted carefully as a fundamental law—this takes place only in those matters where experience is our guide. The neglect of this essential limitation leads to an almost hopeless confusion in our ideas about progress.

In mechanics, in chemistry, in geology, and, briefly, in all that appertains to the material world, the nineteenth century must be vastly in advance of its forefathers, or there must be a fault somewhere. Again, in that border-territory, which partly at least owns the dominion of experience, time can hardly fail to involve progress and improvement. In the science, for example, of political economy, experience has no mean part to play, in adjusting and reconciling principles as old as the hills to the new complications of material circumstance, which act upon social life, and are, again, reacted upon by it. Accordingly we find progress here also. But when we come to those more abstract departments of knowledge, which treat of things immaterial, as pure mathematics and mental philosophy, we no longer meet with corresponding signs of progress. Nor is it to be expected. A certain degree of material civilization indeed these sciences may require for their development, and for existing at all; but they do not necessarily keep pace with its strides, as it marches onwards. Euclid and Aristotle have not yet been supplanted and superseded by later discoverers; nor are they likely to be. So in the domain of the imagination, in the arts which clothe and adorn the ungraceful nakedness of man's terrestrial life. Homer and Dante, Shakespeare and Milton still sit in undisturbed majesty on their thrones. So, too, in what may be called materialized poetry. The chisel and the brush are evidently more dependent than the poet's unfettered fancies, on the material circumstances around them. Yet even here the mind reverts instinctively to the past. The statuary of ancient Greece, the paintings of mediæval Italy, are still the acknowledged types of beauty and power to an age that is far more highly civilized. Lastly, in the science of Ethics, though time, or rather civilization may develop a more enlightened regard to self-interest—a poor and feeble restraint, at best, on man's rebellious passions—it cannot do more. Thus far it may attain, but no farther. It cannot lift itself to the level of pure unselfishness, of a disinterested sense of the obligations of duty. There is a line drawn, like that which marks the highest rising of the tides, beyond which it cannot pass. If it succeed in exorcising some forms of vice, it brings others, an evil compensation, in its train. Thus a wide and careful survey shows that

the boast of progress can only be substantiated with considerable qualification. The vague, illusive idea shrinks into smaller dimensions when we grasp it. Progress in some respects there is positively none. In others, it is found, on a closer inspection, to be very like what the Irishman called 'a progress backward.' At most and at best it is but the ramification of certain unchanging first principles within a prescribed sphere.

There is, however, a yet further distinction, and one of paramount importance, if we wish to understand clearly what progress is, and what it is not. Yet this also is too often repudiated practically, if not in so many words. When our knowledge is of a kind which cannot be acquired by mere experience, because it transcends our faculties ; when it comes to us, not in any degree through the gradual workings of experiment, but by direct communication from a source extraneous and superior to ourselves, then it is given once for all. By its very nature it is stationary, not progressive, until, at least, it shall be reversed or remodelled by a new revelation. Thus the precepts of Christianity may appear to be modified by contact with the outer world, by the conditions to which they are subjected at any given moment, but they are not really changed. They may encourage the monastic life as an indispensable refuge amid the turbulence of a rude and violent age, or the community of goods as a bond of union appropriate to a Church consisting of a few persecuted members. But the principle remains the same, though it may seem to vary ; it is simply the primary obligation of love to God, of love to man : There is nothing of change or progress in the precepts of Christianity. Still less can there be any change or progress in its doctrines. Its morality indeed, though infinitely purified and elevated, because it partakes of His divine nature who brought it into the world, is yet in a rudimentary form the common property of mankind. Its doctrines are essentially what reason could never have known without revelation. Without that, these heavenly truths would have remained hidden from men to this day. There is no occasion now to recapitulate the credentials of Him, by whose lips they were revealed. It suffices for the present argument to say, once for all, that in a revealed religion, if the fact of the revelation be once admitted, progress, in the proper sense of the word, whether as regards doctrine or precept, is out of the question, until a new revelation shall be given.

Yet there are not a few now-a-days who loudly and arrogantly proclaim a progress of this kind. They are fond of citing, in a sense which its author never intended, Bacon's quaint apophthegm, that a dwarf standing on a giant's shoulders can see further than the giant. But the illustration itself confutes them

admirably. For the question is not here of seeing, but of hearing. The knowledge in question is not that which the mental vision gains for itself, but that which is imparted as by a voice breathing its utterances into the ear. Who will say, that Apostles and men of sub-apostolic times had not an advantage in their proximity to the great Author of Christianity, which no acuteness of modern criticism can countervail, however farsighted it may be, and though it may stand on a commanding eminence, armed with all its appliances for gazing back into the past? Without taking into account whatever of especial guidance may have been vouchsafed to some of them, the mere fact that the faith of the Christian Church is transmitted by an authenticated tradition from those who were nearest to the source whence it flowed, ought to silence all who take upon themselves to refashion and rehabilitate it, with their 'free-handling.'

The assailant of the Christian Faith, it is remarked often, has changed his mode of onset. Christianity is no longer impugned as false, utterly false from its beginning. But we are told, that it has already undergone great changes in its onward progress, and that it must and will undergo many more. For this reason, whatever tends to elucidate the history of the early Church is peculiarly valuable now. Mr. Westcott, among others, and beyond others, has done good service to the truth in this way. In his learned and suggestive 'History of the Canon of the New Testament,' which he has lately abridged, with some additions on the Old Testament, in 'The Bible in the Church,' we have a contribution, which can hardly be overrated, towards a solution of the great question of our day. By enabling us to realize the condition of the primitive Church, of its doctrines and discipline, he assists us much to answer, fairly and truly as it deserves, the momentous question, whether the faith has indeed been in a perpetual state of flux and change, as is pretended, since its commencement, inconstant and variable as the sand in its shifting phases, or whether we may safely trust our hopes to its rocklike stability, leaning on it fearlessly, as on that which has once for all been deposited with the saints in its absolute integrity.

It is rare to find laboriousness in research combined with the power of viewing a subject comprehensively and of drawing profound conclusions: rare, too, to find a tone of judicial calmness and sobriety in one whose sympathies are heartily enlisted. This is what makes a man at once historian and philosopher. Nor is there perhaps any subject which demands more imperatively all this patience, candour, and intuition than the early history of the Church. There the investigator has no common difficulties against him. There is so much to

provoke prejudice and partialities, and the supply of accessible materials is scanty. Cautious, exact, and deliberate, Mr. Westcott amasses his materials with the minute diligence of a German professor, while he uses them with a practical common sense, and an eye to proportion, in which German professors are often lamentably deficient. He is too dispassionate to allow the advocate to intrude into the seat of judgment. He guards himself scrupulously from all those hasty, plausible assumptions which detract so much from the value of recent writings on the subject, more highly coloured than his, but made of less solid stuff, and less deserving of reliance. There is nothing rhetorical in his pages, nothing of frothy declamation. They form a worthy continuation to the labours of Bull, Pearson, and Waterland. Probably they would be more attractive generally, if he were less sparing of embellishment. Many readers who might profit largely by his teaching, may probably be deterred by a style that is dry and 'closely-twisted together.' For their sake, if for no other reason, it may be worth while to reproduce as briefly and clearly as may be some of the impressions suggested by his book, with some legitimate inferences from it.

His main object is to trace the Canon of the New Testament from its origin: in other words, to ascertain from the evidence of history how the several books, which constitute the New Testament as we have it, came to be regarded as canonical, that is, of special authority in the Church. The result of his inquiries—and it is one which an unbiassed mind can hardly hesitate to accept—is, that, with some few exceptions, the books of the New Testament in its present form were recognised universally among Christians, orthodox and heretic alike, from the very first, as genuine¹ and authoritative. Though not formally expressed by the collective voice of the Church till the fourth century, this recognition is inferred, if not with certainty, yet with strong appearance of probability, from references extant in early writers, as a fact coeval with Christianity. At first, indeed, it was implicit and unavowed, because unquestioned. Gradually it became explicit, pronounced in set terms. The outlines of the Canon were shaped more and more precisely, as controversies arose, which had to be determined, on the subject. As to the 'disputed' books, the evidence is less unanimous, the verdict less decisive. Clearly we have here, in this traditionary acceptance of the same sacred Scriptures, a strong argument, so far as it goes, for the fixity of the faith from the beginning. The Canon grew; but its growth

¹ It is strange that a writer so learned and accurate as Mr. Westcott, should use 'authentic' for 'genuine.' See his 'Canon,' &c. *passim*.

was that of a plant retaining its original elements and structure—of a flower which, after all, is only the bud expanded. Or we may find a closer analogy in what takes place, when the eye by looking more attentively discovers features in the landscape, which were there all the time but unnoticed before. The whole question of canonicity was ignored at first, because a canon was unnecessary for the contemporaries of the Apostles. It remained dormant afterwards, so long as the Christian world was agreed on the subject. Only under the pressure of controversy it became necessary to draw the line of demarcation sharply and definitely between canonical books and uncanonical. Then the hitherto floating particles settled into permanent cohesion.

But in establishing this point, other collateral points of yet greater moment are brought to the surface. This very fact of the absence for some time of any authorized definition of Scripture, testifies to the existence of another stream parallel to that of Scripture, distinct but never divergent, ruling the doctrine and practice of the Church, the living stream of custom and tradition. A Canon was not wanted, while the Apostolic teaching was fresh in the recollection of the faithful. Appeal could be made, and was made, to the testimony of men still living, who had sat at the feet of the personal followers of the Lord. The truth was transmitted from the lips of saint to saint, of confessor to confessor. It was enshrined everywhere in the public liturgies of the Church. The very air was saturated with the tradition. The early writers are in the habit of quoting the sense rather than the very words of Scripture, because they quoted from memory, like a man preaching without a written sermon, not like the same man at his desk with his books at hand. Justin Martyr, for instance, refers in a general way to the 'Memoirs of the Apostles'—τὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστολῶν—that is, as abundant passages show, to records¹ received from the Apostles and their immediate followers—he does not give the reference to any particular Gospel or Epistle. The teaching of Christ and his Apostles was too deeply stereotyped on the mind of the Church for men to wrangle about texts. Faith rested securely then on that foundation, on which the Church is built, the word communicated by Him to His Apostles, and through them to the world at large.

We are apt not to realize adequately the closeness and living efficacy of the ties which bound the members of the Church into one body in those days. Its organization was compact though

¹ Other parts of the New Testament are perhaps included in this very vague designation; but is usually understood of the Gospels only.

extensive. Christians were scattered far and wide, sundered by differences of race and climate, yet united, not by any mere sentiment, but by real, actual communion. No doubt the gigantic network of iron which the Roman Empire had flung over its dependencies, compressing and welding into one massive system, though it could not fuse into thorough assimilation, elements so heterogeneous, served by the wisdom of Providence to make this intercommunion more practicable than it could have been otherwise. We, Englishmen of the nineteenth century, are so insulated from active sympathy with our fellow-Christians of the East and of the West, that we cannot easily understand the feeling of fellowship which pervaded the Church then. Not all the many facilities which science furnishes for intercourse and correspondence avail to bridge over this estrangement for us. We have resources, which the second century had not, in our press, our postal machinery, our means of transit. But we have not that essential unity of doctrine and habitude which they had. It flowed from causes quite irrespective of these things.

The framework of ecclesiastical discipline, though elaborated more and more as time went on, existed in outline from the first. Church-government was the same in outline then as now. The Church in each place might indeed wear some distinctive characteristics. But these were as nothing in comparison of the broad identifying stamp of Catholicity which was everywhere. Each community might cherish with especial reverence some portion, addressed in the first instance to itself, of the Sacred Writings. Each particular Version might assert its nationality by some minute traits. There might be a tendency towards this or that direction in schools, as of Antioch and Alexandria. But intercommunion connected and amalgamated all these idiosyncrasies. The Epistle treasured as in a sense the private property of one city was read aloud in the public services of other places also. A Christian changing his home, or dwelling for a time among strangers, carried letters of commendation from one bishop to another. The 'brethren'—and how vividly does that word portray the relation of Christians to one another then—were frequently sending alms and greetings to others far away, who were in need. The inevitable danger of error insinuating itself through the personal bias of one teacher, or of one school, was checked by the counter-tendencies of another. The part was sound because of the healthy action of the organic whole. The proportion of the Articles of the faith, which private predilections unrestrained tend to destroy, was preserved by that conflict of opposing forces, which results in the tacit consent of all. Hence the spirit, not of rigid uniformity, but of essential unity, which animates the ancient Creeds.

But we are sometimes told that the early Church was divided into two great sections or parties, headed respectively by S. Peter and S. Paul. These are represented as widely severed, and strongly opposed; each party holding only a fragment of the truth, and insisting on that exclusively with a narrow intolerance. Thus the doctrine of the early Church is spoken of as the result of a compromise gradually effected between them. Such a state of things is graphically depicted, and made the basis of grave inferences. But there is more of imagination than of fact in it. A closer attention to the early writers shows, that this struggle between the Jewish and Gentile schools is very much exaggerated, and that the Judaizers of whom we hear so much, were, in fact, in the position of persons half converted, rather than truly within the pale. When we turn to 'the first Greek Epistle which can be regarded as authentic,'¹ we meet at once with proofs of harmony and agreement. S. Clement was, if we may trust history, a follower of S. Peter. But his epistle bears palpable traces of the influence of S. Paul, not in its line of thought only, but in its very turns of expression. A more remarkable instance could hardly be desired of the great truth, that Christianity is not the result of a long series of contests, and compromises, and oscillations, but a code of doctrine and practice complete in the main from the very first. Particular persons then, as now, and as always, are apt to seize with avidity, and to dilate into a false prominence, one or another article of the faith. One great teacher was led to regard the faith chiefly from one point of view; another contemplated it in a different aspect. But are we, therefore, to assume that either of them denies all that he does not affirm, or that both aspects were not duly appreciated by the collective mind of the Church in their day? Even the heresies of earliest date seem to leap forth into the world, like Pallas from the head of Zeus, full-grown in stature and equipped for the fight. By their very presence on the field of battle they imply that there was a definite system there already, which they would not acquiesce in. The more closely we look, the more plainly we see, that the faith of the Christian Church is not the progressive growth of long years of controversy, but a thing given to men in all its fulness, and once for all, by a heavenly Teacher, to be expanded, indeed, and developed in its application to the outer world, but not to be re-shaped and re-modelled by man's ingenuity, as if it were his own invention. The first centuries of the Christian era are sometimes called the infancy of the Church. So in one sense they are. In another they are its maturity. For the older covenant was the discipline preparatory for manhood. Christ

¹ Westcott's 'Canon,' p. 29.

came 'in the fulness of time ;' and what He came to communicate He gave without stint and without imperfection.

There is indeed a progress which ecclesiastical history unfolds in page after page. Each nation and each century in turn is made subservient to the workings of Providence. The Jew, stern and unyielding, and with a moral sense disciplined for the work, is the first to receive the new teaching, that through his retentive nature it may lay a hold on the world, which shall never be shaken off. Next, the supple Greek lends all his multifarious resources of thought and language to express, interpret, illustrate it. Then the Roman, the conqueror of the world, unconsciously obeys the behest of a higher power while ministering to the Church those excellences in which he is pre-eminent, of orderly obedience to law, of systematic policy and organization. The sturdy Teuton, again, brings with him the intense consciousness of individual responsibility. Here is progress. But it is the growth of a huge primæval tree, branching out freely on every side, while it is too firmly rooted in the earth to swerve from its centre. That legitimate development which keeps the analogies of the faith is gradual and insensible. Error announces itself to the world as something new. Athanasius and Augustine advance with one hand firmly grasping the past. Simon Magus publishes to the world his 'Great Announcement,' as if himself a new Avatar, or, at least, a prophet, if not something more.

But the early fathers, we hear it said, were not critical. That depends on what is meant by the word. In its specific sense it means the analysis, as from without, of a language, which lives only in the past. In this sense the early fathers were decidedly uncritical. But they had no need of this kind of criticism for their purpose. The subject with which they had to do was not enwrapt like a mummy in the cerecloths of a dead language. It was embodied in a form yet warm with the breath of life, instinct with motion and vitality. A man can dispense with the help of the microscope in things, with which he is practically conversant, and familiar by daily, hourly use. In this sense, it may be conceded at once that the early fathers, till the Alexandrine school, were not critical. The word has, however, a wider signification. The critical faculty in man is that which tries and verifies for itself what is presented to it by the senses or the understanding. A critical mind is one which can thus adjudicate clearly and well. Now, notwithstanding much that is said plausibly, but fallaciously, on this point, one age can be more critical than another only in those matters of which it has fuller and more accurate information. For those differences in moral character which make one man more pre-

capitate and inconsiderate than another, or which otherwise pervert and distort the judgment, are lost in the comparison of age with age. In this respect the average is much the same generally. If a man has his reasoning faculties in their normal state, and if these are uninterrupted in their working by moral hindrances, there is nothing more wanted than a competent knowledge of the facts to enable him to judge rightly and well. For the process of reasoning is the same in every person—in the peasant and in the philosopher—a mere form of syllogising, consciously or not—quicker or slower, according to constitution and training, but correct as a machine always, unless interfered with either by ignorance or by some bias thwarting its proper action. Now, their most prejudiced opponent will hardly say that the early fathers, unless blinded by the grossest fanaticism (which is easily disproved), were biassed by any sort of self-seeking towards doctrines which exposed them to so much persecution. Clearly, therefore, the difference in power of judging between them and the men of our self-styled more critical age must be, if anywhere, in point of knowledge—in knowledge, that is, of the particular subject under consideration. For it has been shown already that progress in physical science, and in its cognates, cannot affect the question. If, indeed, it engenders a habit of doubting, where doubts are unreasonable and out of place, it is so far prejudicial. It only remains, therefore, to ask, whether the Christians of the earliest centuries were sufficiently acquainted with the facts of their religion. They may have been very credulous, because very ignorant, on the subject of the Phoenix, or in their notions of geology or cosmogony. But what then? Our own Elizabethan writers appear ridiculous, if they are quoted on a subject about which the world in which they lived knew nothing. But, for all that, the men of that era, not only the exceptional men, like Bacon and Shakespeare, but the men of average ability, were as truly critical within the range of their experience, as just and wise, so far, in their conclusions, as the wisest of their posterity. So with the early fathers. Let it only be granted, as of course it must, that they had the ordinary power of reasoning from their premises, and that they were unbiassed, and it follows that they were as discriminating in the matters under their cognizance, as a modern professor in his sphere of geology or electricity. In questions of religion they speak of what they knew better than those, who are farther removed from the epoch of its revelation. Uncritical about other things, they were not uncritical nor incompetent in speaking of Christ and Christianity. There they speak as being eye-witnesses themselves, or as having learnt from those who were.

The great point to be borne in mind by those who appeal to the early Church, and defer to its decisions, is that the appeal must be made, not to any one writer, however eminent, not to any one Council, however nearly Œcumenical, but to the general consent of all. The terms that cancel each other are fairly eliminated from the equation. Just as in attempting to recover the correct text, we cannot trust unreservedly to any one manuscript or version as infallible, so in questions of doctrine, we look to a collation of evidence from various sources. The faith of the Church is not to be extracted from the pages of any one of its Doctors, however saintly or wise, nor from chapter and verse in the sacred books. Nor was it the result of any one great controversy. It is the accumulation of the treasures committed to the safe keeping of the Church; it is the solemn utterance of the voices of Christendom in its purest age, blended and harmonized together by the Holy Spirit, like the richly swelling chords of a large and complicated organ. The Lirinensian rule is a good one : *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. Only it must be taken with the qualification which common sense requires. Literally taken it stultifies and destroys itself. The infallibility implied by the unanimous sentence of all Christians in all places, and throughout all time, is beyond the reach of man, and inconsistent with the probation of a being, who must prove his faith by trying all things and holding fast that which is good, and who has to contend, not solely against wrong-doing, but against errors in belief, which sooner or later end in what is practically wrong. Absolute infallibility is not to be had on this side the grave. But each ancient writer in turn contributes weighty testimony—and that testimony is more or less weighty according to his nearness to the Apostolic age—to some part of the truth. Each Council discharges its appointed task by affirming, more explicitly than before, some one of its many aspects. A sound judgment knows how to attach proportionate weight to the evidence which history brings before it. In studying the Canon of Scripture, a sensible man is in no haste either to accept or reject dogmatically such portions as have been ‘disputed,’ though not expunged, by the ages most competent to decide. In controversies of doctrine he cannot but feel less assured on those points, where an apparent collision of authorities calls upon him to pause and suspend his judgment. But as he does not expect either from the lips of Popes, or from the votes of Councils, or from the too confident promptings of his own conscience, an infallibility for which he has no right to crave, so he is content to remain in suspense even on much that he would fain know for a certainty, till the time shall come;

content if only light enough be shed on his way to guide him step by step onwards to the end.

Never was it more needful, than at the present time, to bear in mind this great truth, that 'As it was in the beginning,' is the motto of the Catholic Christianity, the watchword of the English Church. When questioned of our faith, our answer is this: 'We believe that which has been believed from the 'beginning.' Tried by this test, the pretensions of a spurious catholicity are detected and exposed. The word Catholic has become popular; it is bandied to and fro till it is in danger of lapsing into a mere sound and nothing more: it is even paraded, 'a strange device,' on the banners of transcendental neology, in a case diametrically opposite to its real meaning. Yet the idea, which the word represents, remains deeply, broadly true for ever. It is the consent, as the greatest sage of heathendom has taught us, not of the many, but of those most competent, most qualified to judge. Apply this principle to the questions belonging to the Christian faith. The consent, however general—nay, though only not universal—of any subsequent period, is simply valueless, unless it includes the consent of the Church in the apostolic and sub-apostolic age: for, as we have been endeavouring to show, the belief of the Church then is, on these points, the one thing most worthy of attention, most weighty in turning the scale. In the days of Athanasius, the many even within the Church were against, not with the truth. So it may be at any time, if once we relax our hold on the tradition of the Church from the beginning. The discordant echoes of controversy are only stilled and reconciled by an appeal to what has been. The imperious claims of Rome, on the one hand, and on the other, the preposterous assumptions of scepticism, can only be met in this manner. When once the divine mission of the Founder of Christianity has been established, then whatever article of belief can be traced, through the continuous testimony of the Church, up to that source, commands assent irresistibly. If this great principle of adherence to antiquity were more clearly recognised as the vital principle of the English Church, the strength of her position would be appreciated more generally.

At the present time many, who have hitherto been leaning unreasoningly on an arbitrary theory of mechanical inspiration, finding their confidence rudely shaken, and the prop on which they leaned failing them under a weight and a pressure which it was never intended to bear, are asking in utter bewilderment for support and guidance. They hear a Babel of voices round them, the din of controversies, and ask in alarm, how are English Churchmen to know what to believe, in the uncertainty which the late

judgment of the Privy Council appears to them to create and sanction. But these feelings of uncertainty and alarm cannot touch those whose standard of belief is not 'the Bible and the Bible alone,' but the historic teaching of the Church from the beginning. They, at all events, know what they believe, and why. Their faith ought to be proof against speculations and surmises which cannot reach it. Such questions, for instance, as were raised in the notorious 'Essays and Reviews' cannot disturb the mind of one whose belief is built up on that rock, which the divine Ruler of the Church in His infinite wisdom deposited as its sure foundation. Take the last of the seven essays; the most dangerous of the number, because, in its tendency, the most profoundly subversive of the very principles of revelation. Such a theory as is there propounded on the interpretation of the Scriptures, obviously ignores, from beginning to end, the existence of an historic tradition of the truth, external to these books: it proceeds on the assumption that every Christian is to take his Bible and find out for himself his religion from it. However plausible in one aspect it may be, this is simply like working a sum with less than half of its figures. It is a curious instance of the extent to which the leaven of Puritanism, with its abhorrence of authority and its presumptuous assertion of the individual conscience, has penetrated the English nation, that the panic occasioned by 'Essays and Reviews' should have been so general even in quarters where it was least to be expected. One is tempted to say,

'Hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.'

Certainly the importance of the recent controversies which have been so recklessly provoked by Dr. Colenso and the seven essayists is very much diminished, as soon as we appeal from the letter of the Scriptures to the concurrent testimony of the Church Catholic in its purest age.

This great principle for which we are contending—that what the English Church has to do now, is to hold fast her existing formularies, as being the embodiment of primitive orthodoxy—is in danger of being overlooked in the excitement of the moment, and in the outcry which is raised for a new court of ecclesiastical appeal. We are not saying that the alarm is groundless. It is justified in some measure; not, indeed, by the mere fact of heretical notions being promulgated, for that is no new thing, but by the fact of their being promulgated by clergymen. Still, the alarm is disproportionate to the occasion. We are not defending the recent decision. But those who are panic-stricken by it, seem to forget that it was a natural consequence

of the slippery and evasive nature of the statements delated; and that writings which are so cautious not to jeopardize this responsibility of the writer, even while stirring up the gravest doubts and perplexities in others, could not easily have been made amenable to law in any court of justice. At all events, a bad decision, or even more than one bad decision, is not enough to condemn a tribunal, or to settle a question which ought to be entertained calmly and dispassionately on its own merits. Those who could not object to the same court, presided over by a Roundell Palmer or a Page Wood, must not be immoderate in their denunciations of it because there happens to be a Bethell on the woolsack. No possible or conceivable court could be guaranteed from fallibility. We are not defending the constitution of the present court as perfect. The presence on it of a removable and political and partisan judge, such as the Lord Chancellor must be, is its greatest defect. We only urge, that whatever court is most likely to keep closely to the formularies as they are, is best. Probably no sort of court is less in danger of being swayed by gusts of temporary excitement to any deviation in one direction or another from the letter of the formularies, than a court composed of English judges. They need the assistance of theologians to explain the force of theological terms, just as 'experts' are needed in certain cases, or interpreters are needed in any law-suit which concerns foreigners; but the ultimate decision is perhaps as safe in their hands as anywhere else. They may be predisposed by the habits and instincts of English jurisprudence, to take the restrictions imposed by the formularies in the widest sense permissible, and to give the accused the benefit of every doubt. But they are not likely, as a rule, to strain the formularies to meet a particular case, nor to pervert their sense under the bias of party-feeling. A court composed solely of ecclesiastics would be more likely to read the formularies not as they are, but as in its opinion they ought to be, as its members would wish to have them. If we look to other countries, we may see enough to make us pause before insisting on a change. Would the English clergy be willing to exchange their present position, with all its safeguards of law, for that of a Presbyterian minister, subject to the variable impulses of a General Assembly, or of a French priest, liable to be removed from his post at any moment by the irresponsible act of his bishop? Would the English laity be satisfied with any Court of Appeal which acted on any other principle than that of simply taking the formularies as they are, or which, avowedly or unconsciously, followed its own theories of orthodoxy, instead of keeping closely and strictly to the letter of the law? A purely spiritual Court of Appeal would be the first step

towards a new Prayer-book, and towards the disruption of Church and State in England. It is only those who regard the Christian faith as a thing to be recast every year, who need desire it. To reform the present Court of Appeal is one thing; and that it ought to be reformed there can be no doubt. To extemporize a new Court of Appeal is quite another thing.

But the cry is raised of 'Erastianism.' It would be Erastian to allow the civil power to make doctrine for the Church. But it is the business of the Court of Appeal not to make doctrine, but to take it as it finds it. The State has established the Church in England, as holding and teaching a certain definite belief, expressed in certain formularies, which have been framed by the spiritual and accepted by the temporal party to the compact. On these conditions the Church retains her national position; a vantage-ground for inculcating the truth not to be surrendered lightly, nor without overwhelming necessity. Both parties, therefore, have an interest and a voice in deciding whether or not those conditions have been violated in any instance, and whatever machinery is best adapted for ensuring a strict observance of these conditions without regard to anything else, is the best court of appeal.

The English Church may well be thankful to hold fast the inheritance which has providentially been transmitted to our day in our existing formularies. We cannot be too watchful against whatever threatens their stability. We enjoy in them the fruit of the labours of our forefathers in the Church Catholic. They have laboured, and we enter into their labours. Here is the vast difference between our own age and that of Athanasius or Augustine. By the dispensation of Providence, we of these latter days receive ready to our use, shaped and fashioned under many a fiery trial into its present clearness of definition, but essentially and substantially the same always, the time-honoured symbols of the ancient faith. The same Providence which watched over and matured the labours of our predecessors in the Christian Church, while they formed creed and liturgy, bids us to retain and preserve what we have received. 'We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us the noble works that God did in their days, and in the old time before them.' Our place in the history of the world, and of the Church, marks out some work for us. Even the heresies that we have to contend with are but the old errors disinterred and resuscitated; even against them our strength is in the past, without recourse to novelties. The recent dogma of the Roman Church on the Immaculate Conception is a warning against change in the guise of development. But it is no obstructive and unprogressive conservatism that we advocate. The Church of Christ is no petrification, no fossil

exhumed from bygone strata, and alien to our world: it is the tree, whose branches are ever spreading themselves more and more widely over the future, because its roots are deep in the past. There is much to be done in the adaptation of what is old to new requirements, in presenting ancient doctrine in the form most intelligible, most persuasive to modern habits of thought; in applying immutable precepts to the ever-varying conditions of humanity; in conforming the traditional framework of ecclesiastical organization to the needs of our rapidly-increasing population at home and in our colonies, in reclaiming the separatists who by causes of one kind or another have been estranged from the one true fold; in restoring the intercommunion, too long unhappily suspended, of the several churches of the East and of the West, in order that all may unite against the aggressions of infidelity. Here is work enough, and more than enough, to be done; and in this, rather than in adding supererogatory Articles to our Creed, in attempting to define what has providentially been left undefined, we may trust that the Great Head of the Church, now as ever, will bless our exertions with the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But our first care must be, not to lose what has been so hardly won for us. In our convocation, in our ruridecanal synods, in our several spheres of personal influence, let English churchmen unite uncompromisingly to preserve their Prayer-book intact, in church and in school. Without claiming for that book an impeccability which cannot be found on this side the grave, it is not too much to say, that it providentially enshrines the teaching of the primitive church, in terms which assert the truth firmly and clearly in all its essentials, and which, at the same time, allows a wise and legitimate latitude for those inevitable diversities of thought and sentiment which distinguish one man from another, and mark each as having an individual and responsible existence. So long as we keep our Prayer-book intact, there is no cause, we will not say for despondency, but even for anxiety as to the future of the Church of England.

ART. VI.—*Nicolai Sanderi, de origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani Libri Tres. Quibus historia continetur maxime Ecclesiasticis annorum circiter sexaginta, lectu dignissima; nimirum, ab anno 21. regni HENRICI octavi, quo primum cogitare cœpit de repudiandâ legitimâ uxore serenissimâ CATHARINâ usque ad hunc vigesimum octavum ELIZABETHÆ, quæ ultima est ejusdem Henrici soboles. Aucti per EDOUARDUM RISHTONUM, et impressi primum in Germaniâ, nunc iterum locupletius et castigatius editi. Cujusque libri argumenta, pagella versa monstrabit. Cum privilegio, et Licentia Superiorum. Romæ: Typis Bartholomæi Bonfadini, in Viâ Pellegrini. MDLXXXVI.*

PROBABLY few of our readers are acquainted with the name of Nicholas Sanders, and still fewer will be found who have read his once famous work on the Anglican schism; yet he was, according to Wood, the most noted defender of the Roman Catholic cause in his time. Indeed, the same obscurity attaches to the names of nearly all those who adhered to the old form of religion in Queen Elizabeth's time, as well as to that numerous body of individuals who, from time to time during that reign, quitted the English for the Roman communion. Churchmen of this day can have little sympathy with their predecessors of the latter half of the sixteenth century, when Puritanism was rampant, and the idea of Catholicism almost obliterated from the face of the English Church. It must have been indeed a dreary time when the primacy was occupied in succession by Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, and when the other sees were filled by names of inferior note, which are scarcely even remembered in the present day. Perhaps Sandys and Aylmer may be considered familiar names, the one having had the luck to find a biographer in Strype, and the other figuring as one of the worthies of the Parker Society; but as for any other names of churchmen, the pages of Godwin and Le Neve would be searched in vain to discover any single bishop or dignitary of the Church who rose to any importance, either political or ecclesiastical. And if people are disposed to quarrel with the appointments that are now made to the episcopal bench, they have only to look back to the times of Elizabeth to see that the holders of the sees in those days were, in almost every case, vastly inferior to the occupants of them at the present day. We venture to say, that if we were to

enumerate the bishops that in succession held the suffragan sees in the southern or the northern province, so little are they known, that scarcely any reader would be able to judge, in any degree, of the correctness of our enumeration. Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, is the single exception—if, indeed, he is to be excepted. He has certainly gained for himself a notoriety; yet even he, in intellectual power, could scarcely be pronounced equal to the average Anglican bishop of the present half of the nineteenth century. There was simply no such thing as learning in the Church of England. Puritanism had the reins, and Puritanism and learning are inconsistent: scholarship is too refined for it, general knowledge too comprehensive, theology too weighty, poetry too divine. It was no wonder if learning took refuge in the Roman communion, and if Roman controversialists got the best of every argument, when there were neither men nor weapons to fight them with. It requires but a slight glance even at such a book as Fulke's 'Defence of the Translation of the Bible' to see that his opponent had, on many points, much the best of the argument, and succeeded in showing that the Protestant version had, in many places, been garbled to suit the received notions of Puritanism. It was of importance, of course, for those who disparaged good works to translate *ἄδικος* 'unrighteous,' instead of 'unjust,' when the latter word would have suggested that good works had a value in the eyes of God. And it was a great help to the Calvinistic theory to find the expression 'such as should be saved' used for a participle which excludes all idea of time but the present.

Well, as we have said, learning went to Rome, and it would be an instructive piece of information, if we could ascertain how many gifted and learned sons of the Church of England were, during that reign and in spite of the dangers of the avowal, converted to Romanism.

Nicholas Sanders, the author of the work whose title is placed at the head of this article, was not of the number of converts, or perverts, as they are now, and as they were then called, according to the sympathies of the speaker. He was a fellow of New College, Oxford, during nearly the whole of the reign of Edward and Mary; and, as Antony Wood quaintly expresses it, 'religion putting on another face in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, he left England about 1560, and, going to Rome, was made priest and doctor of divinity.' He afterwards attended Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius at the Council of Trent. After this he was sent as nuncio from Gregory XIII. to Ireland, with the view of encouraging the Irish to take up arms against Queen Elizabeth; but, upon the failure of the rebellion, he was forced to hide himself, and somewhere about

the year 1581 he was starved to death. There is, however, another account of his death given by one of his own persuasion, of which Wood quietly observes, that therefore it may not be believed by many. It is to the effect that, before the end of the war, he died of the flux; that having a presentiment of death, though others thought he would live, he sent for the Bishop of Killaloe, and received extreme unction at his hands the same day, and was buried in the evening of the next. He was the author of a great many controversial works, directed against Jewel and others; but that which is best known is his Latin work, '*De origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani.*'

We do not now concern ourselves either with the author himself or with any of his other publications. We wish to draw attention to a book which, whatever may be its merits or demerits, has not for two hundred years met with as much notice as it deserves, regarded simply in the light of an original authority nearly contemporary with the events it details. It was published in the first instance at Cologne, in 1585, just four years after the author's death, and was reprinted in the following year, in a small octavo volume, at Rome, with additions and alterations by the editor, Edward Rishton. It had evidently a great success, for there are four other editions, one published two years afterwards at Ingolstadt, in 1588, and the other three at Cologne, in 1590, 1610, and 1628 respectively. It was twice translated into French, once soon after its original publication, and again, in 1676, by Maucroix. It was to the appearance of this French publication, at the critical juncture when there were very general fears entertained that the heir presumptive to the crown might attempt to reduce the nation again to the Roman obedience, that we owe the publication of the celebrated history of the Reformation by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. We have taken it for granted that few of our readers will know much about this author; but no one can have read Burnet's first two volumes through without finding out that Sanders is the object of his special abhorrence. At the end of each volume several pages are devoted to the exposing of the mistakes made by Sanders. These are all noticed *seriatim*. The author begins his paragraphs with the words 'He says,' &c. quoting the page of the volume to which he refers, and then proceeds to contradict or refute, as it may happen to be, the assertions of his antagonist.

Burnet classes his opponent's errors under two heads: first, faults of ignorance, which disparage and discredit the work, as showing that the author had no true information of our affairs; secondly, errors of a higher guilt, being designed forgeries to

serve partial ends; not only being without any authority, but manifestly contrary to truth and to such records as are yet preserved. It is remarkable that, in speaking of Sanders' mistakes thus in the general, Burnet should, in the very same sentence, himself have fallen into an error which he has several times repeated in his history, viz. 'that they took care, in 'Queen Mary's reign, by destroying the records, to condemn 'posterity to ignorance in these matters.' Now here is, first, an error of fact, and secondly, an imputation of a motive which could have had no existence, because the fact for which it is intended to account is not true. It is impossible to accuse Burnet here of wilful misrepresentation, for he has done all that was possible to show that his description was untrue. He has actually printed the commission to Bonner 'to raze the records,' as he words it. Unfortunately, the commission contains not a word about razing or destroying, but manifestly was issued for the preservation of such records as were notoriously badly kept in the days of Mary's predecessor. But it is impossible to defend Burnet's honesty in the matter without condemning him of the grossest carelessness. We quote this example here as an instance in point to show that Burnet was guilty of at least one of the faults he is so vehement in condemning in Sanders.

We have no intention of following Burnet through his analysis of Sanders' mistakes. We neither possess the historical knowledge which would suffice in every case to adjust the differences between them, nor if we had it in our power to do so, could the task be accomplished in less space than an ordinary sized octavo volume. We shall content ourselves with saying that there are, at least, as many errors in Burnet as in Sanders, and that the view which pervades the Roman Catholic writer appears to us in many instances nearer to the truth of history than that theory upon which the English bishop built his account of the transactions of the period. In the course of our description of Sanders' volume, we shall quote some of the passages which have been extracted and commented on by Burnet. It will be seen that Sanders is sometimes wrong, and sometimes Burnet, but that, for the most part, the assertions of the earlier writer which are attacked by the later are slight matters which do not much affect the main narrative; whilst there are many things which, though no evidence is brought for them, have certainly not been disproved by Burnet or any subsequent historian. One instance shall be given in point before we commence our account of Sanders' work.

Burnet accuses him of saying that 'Wolsey was first Bishop 'of Lincoln, then of Durham, after that of Winchester, and 'last of all Archbishop of York; after that he was made

‘chancellor, then cardinal and legate.’ Burnet’s reply to this is as follows:—‘The order of these preferments is quite reversed: for Wolsey, soon after he was made Bishop of Lincoln, upon Cardinal Bambridge’s death, was not only promoted to the see of York, but advanced to be a cardinal in the seventh year of the king’s reign, and some months after that he was made lord chancellor, and seven years after that he got the bishopric of Durham which, six years after he exchanged for Winchester. He had heard, perhaps, that he enjoyed all these preferments, but knowing nothing of our affairs beyond hearsay, he resolved to make him rise as poets order their heroes, by degrees, and therefore ranks his advancement, not according to truth, but in the method he liked best himself.’

Now Burnet’s account of these preferments is substantially correct, though he too has omitted to notice that Wolsey held the see of Bath and Wells for four years with the archiepiscopal see of York. Yet after all, the blunder, if Sanders had been guilty of it, is of small consequence, inasmuch as the writer was only professing to enumerate the preferments, and not going to found any argument upon the different periods at which Wolsey attained them respectively. But now, upon turning to Sanders, it appears that he does not state the matter at all in the way Burnet represents it. Sanders’ expression is, as far as it goes, strictly correct, that Wolsey enjoyed in succession the bishoprics of Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester, and that he even held the last most wealthy see *in commendam* with the archbishopric of York. He adds that he was also a cardinal and Legate de Latere, and enjoyed pensions from the Emperor and the French king, to say nothing of the revenues of several abbeys, and the unbounded influence he exerted over the mind of the English king.

Now here is no wilful misrepresentation on Burnet’s part, for it was open to any reader to refer to Sanders and expose it as we have done. It is simply an instance of the marvellous inaccuracy of mind in the writer of the ‘History of the Reformation.’ The editor of the new edition recently published at Oxford has taken no notice of the dispute between Sanders and Burnet. It would have been too difficult to draw the line between facts and opinions, and, as the instance before us shows, would have involved notes and comments to an extent beyond what is contemplated in an edition of an author’s work. We, of course, are not fettered in the same way as an editor, and have no scruple in exposing any errors that Burnet may have fallen into in his epitome of Sanders’ mistakes. And now we proceed with our account of the book.

The work is divided into three books: the first details the

cause and the origin of the schism in the reign of Henry VIII., that is, from the beginning and progress of the matter to the death of that king; the second embraces the two succeeding reigns of Edward and Mary, describing what the author calls 'the progress of the schism and the commencement of the 'Zuinglian heresy under Edward, with the restoration of the 'Catholic religion and the reconciliation of the kingdom under 'Mary;' whilst the third is entitled 'The second abrogation of 'the Catholic religion, and the introduction of the Calvinistic 'heresy, by Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn.' We propose to deal only with the first of these three parts in this paper, reserving the others for a future opportunity.

The idea which occupied Sanders' mind whilst he was writing the first book was plainly that of retribution. And it certainly is most remarkable how Henry VIII. was punished for what he did, by the very means by which he undertook to compass his wicked purposes; how he was, as it were, perpetually made to eat his own words, to go counter to what he had himself established, and how the warnings that came upon him were such as bore a striking resemblance to the circumstances under which his sins had been committed. We will give the reader an abridged description of Sanders' work; and, without committing ourselves to an exact agreement with the view which pervades it, we shall notice, as we touch upon successive points, the facts which appear inconclusively proved, as well as those which are either improbable in themselves or disproved by records. The view is boldly put out in the preface; and it is this, that for one cause alone Henry was induced to sever that connexion between England and the Roman communion, which had existed for more than 800 years. That cause was the marriage with Anne Boleyn. Arthur Prince of Wales and Catharine of Arragon had been married when the former was only just fifteen years of age, on the 15th of November, 1501. Prince Arthur died in April, 1502, leaving his virgin widow to deplore his loss, and during the following year a dispensation was obtained from Pope Julius II. for the marriage of Catharine with his younger brother, afterwards Henry VIII. The allegation on which the dispensation was founded was, the preservation of peace between the two countries. After twenty years' cohabitation, the king procured a divorce on the plea of conscience, that the marriage with a brother's widow was incestuous, and could not be dispensed with by the pope. The real reason, however, was that he might place Anne Boleyn in her place, in spite of her being so much more closely bound to him by the ties of affinity. Anne was the sister of one of the king's mistresses, viz. Mary Boleyn, an elder daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and the daughter

of another, viz. Lady Boleyn, the wife of Sir Thomas. This is Sanders' allegation; and he goes on to hint that there were, moreover, some indications that Anne was the offspring of the illicit intercourse of Henry with this lady. This was the woman, to compass a marriage with whom Henry was induced to break with the Roman Church, not however joining the sect of the Lutherans or the Zuinglians, nor pretending to adopt any more ancient communion, but erecting a new establishment, of which he denominated himself the supreme head upon earth. Anne had been guilty of prostitution before her marriage, had committed incest with her brother after her marriage, had always been addicted to the Lutheran heresy, and at length was executed by Henry, her own supposed father, Sir Thomas, sitting as one of her judges when she was condemned. This was the beginning of the modern form of religion in England. But the form of faith set up by Henry was entirely supplanted, and a new religion set up in its stead, by his children Edward and Elizabeth.

Now, as regards these assertions of Sanders, some of them are altogether incapable of proof. There is no proof remaining that Henry had any illicit intercourse with Lady Boleyn, but certainly the insinuation of Anne Boleyn's being his own daughter is capable of disproof. The connexion of Henry with Mary Boleyn is certain, being evidenced by a great variety of proof; and the view that Henry was influenced by the lady's charms, and not by conscientious scruples, to displace and divorce his lawful wife, will commend itself to any person who will take the trouble to read the falsehoods and contradictions on this subject which appear in his own speeches and letters and those of Wolsey. Sanders was eager to make out the worst case, and, like Burnet, greedily grasped at any hearsay intelligence which made for his point, without minutely sifting its accuracy. Anne Boleyn was born, according to various accounts, in 1501 or 1507. Now either of these dates precludes the possibility of her being Henry VIII.'s child. However, in Sanders' defence it may be observed that he only speaks of it as a rumour, and, as against Burnet, it may be urged that he gives no evidence of a fact which he boldly asserts, that Anne Boleyn was born in 1507. That she was born much earlier is nearly certain, from the fact that she was one of the ladies who accompanied the princess Mary to the court of France, on the occasion of her ill-starred marriage with Louis XIII. She will be found mentioned amongst the attendants as *Mademoiselle de Boullan*, in October, 1514. Now it would be absurd to suppose she was then only seven years old. It is not at all likely she would be less than thirteen or fourteen years of age, for all accounts agree

in representing her as being one of the party who went to France at this time. We are, therefore, somewhat surprised to find in Mr. Brewer's index she is called Mary, by the mistake of one sister for the other. The description given of Anne's person by Sanders is borne out by other accounts. He was far from wishing to detract from her beauty, as Burnet misrepresents him, for he speaks of her as beautiful and attractive; and when he mentions the bad complexion, the slightly projecting tooth, the incipient sixth finger on the left hand, and the slight deformity under her chin, which induced her, and other court ladies following her example, to wear high dresses instead of low, he mentions facts which are quite borne out by other descriptions of her. In fact the *animus* of his account is plainly to contrast the beauties of her person with the depravity of her mind, which was full, he says, of pride, envy, luxury, and ambition. The stories with which he continues his account, about her behaviour at the French court, and her intimacy with Wyat and others, are, in all probability, false. At least no evidence for their truth is produced, and it is certain that Henry believed her to be of pure life when he first made his advances to her, and was repulsed in a manner which was evidently peremptory and meant to be final.

We proceed with the details of the history, following our author. Henry, after the death of his father, during whose lifetime he had been made to protest that he would not marry Catharine, married her at the age of eighteen, on the 3d of June, 1509, and they were both crowned on the following 24th of June, the festival of S. John Baptist. By her he had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, who was called Henry, died nine months afterwards, and only one child, the Princess Mary, born 18th February, 1516, survived her parents. So far was the marriage from being called in question, that the legitimacy of the princess was never disputed, and she was betrothed to the dauphin, October 8th, 1518, at Greenwich. The queen lived in the most exemplary manner, whilst Henry was indulging in all kinds of debaucheries, keeping several mistresses at one time. By one of them he had a son whom he created Duke of Richmond. Wolsey had made use of the Emperor so long as he thought by his means he could in any way secure the succession to the popedom. But, after two disappointments, he turned round upon Charles, and with the view of annoying and thwarting him, suggested to the king, through Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, the doubts about the legality of his marriage. Wolsey suggested, as the successor to the queen, Margaret, Duchess of Alençon. The king examined the matter for himself, and finding it hopeless, would have given up the prosecution.

of the divorce, if it had not been that he could not gain possession of Anne Boleyn without it. Wolsey was determined moreover to keep the matter before his eyes.

It happened that there was a French embassy at London in the spring of 1527, for the arrangement of a marriage between the Princess Mary and the Duke of Orleans, second son of Francis; and the king suggested to Wolsey to insinuate to the Bishop of Tarbes, one of the ambassadors, that there was a doubt which had lately sprung up as regards the legality of the marriage of the king and queen of England, and that there was a great probability if this marriage could be set aside, that Henry would marry the French king's sister. The author proceeds to give the speech made by the Bishop of Tarbes to the king, urging him to take steps for a divorce, because, in the judgment of all learned men, the marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to God's law, and recommending him to marry the French king's sister, as being the best means of cementing the friendship between the two monarchs, and the perpetual alliance of the kingdoms. Upon this Wolsey took advantage of the difficulties in which the pope was involved, to recommend the king to assist the pope, and so secure his favour for giving a favourable judgment in the matter of the divorce. Accordingly Wolsey is sent ambassador to France, with instructions, among other things, to further the matter of the divorce and the contract with the Duchess of Alençon, but when at Calais he receives another set of instructions, viz. to say nothing about the duchess, because Henry had in the meantime made up his mind to marry Anne Boleyn. Wolsey, thus disappointed, for he had hoped that Anne Boleyn would have followed in the footsteps of her sister Mary, scarcely knew how to proceed. Anne, meanwhile, though allowing Henry every other degree of familiarity, steadily refused to become his mistress. What was going on soon reached the ears of the French court, and the talk of the day was about the intention of the king of England to marry the French king's mule. Upon this, Sir Thomas Boleyn becoming alarmed, returned home in haste to explain how matters stood as regarded the paternity of Anne Boleyn, but the king told him to hold his tongue, for he was determined to marry the girl whosoever child she might be.

The story went that Sir Thomas Boleyn had brought over with him the portrait of the Duchess of Alençon for Henry's inspection, and this was made the pretext of his hurried return. In order to deter the king from his purpose, Sir Thomas Wyat informed him that he had himself had an intrigue with Anne Boleyn, but the king professed entire disbelief of the story, and pursued his end as eagerly as ever.

Wolsey, before his return, had sent the protonotary, Gambara, to Rome to ask the pope to make him his vicar-general for France, Germany, and England, till Clement should be set at liberty. Immediately after his return, Wolsey is obliged to dissemble his disappointment, and to pretend to fall in with the king's plan for marrying Anne Boleyn. And he gives them both a great entertainment at his archiepiscopal residence. Meanwhile books are written, *pro* and *con.*, and upon consideration of them, several bishops gave it as their judgment that there was just cause for scruple. And Henry in his perplexity sent for Sir Thomas More, who gave his opinion against the king.

About this time Mary Boleyn went to the queen and consoled her about the marriage, alleging that it was impossible it could take place, because, by her own illicit connexion with Henry, he had contracted an affinity with Anne which would prevent any such marriage from legally taking effect. The king, however, was determined to have Anne Boleyn for his wife, and conceived great hopes of procuring a divorce, as Clement VII. seemed willing to do all he could to assist him. The author adds, that if Clement had not been Pope of Rome, and as such, saved by the prayers of Christ from doing it, he would have granted the king's request. Wolsey's hope, meanwhile, was that the king might yet be diverted from the marriage with Anne Boleyn, and be induced to marry the French king's sister, if the divorce should be accomplished. Moreover, he was racked with fears that if the pope should not grant it, the king would manage it in some other way, and withdraw the allegiance of the nation from the Holy See. Accordingly, Bryan and Gardiner, the latter a confidential friend of Wolsey's, and the former a profligate, who was usually termed the vicar of hell, were sent to the pope, who had escaped from prison and was then lodged at Orvieto, to obtain the divorce. They asked for a commission to Wolsey and Campeggio to determine the cause in England, and offered as a bribe 4,000 foot soldiers for the defence of Clement against the Imperialists.

The pope referred the matter to the cardinals, who unanimously declared that the marriage was good, the Levitical law being of necessity to be interpreted so as not to be repugnant to the subsequent law of Deuteronomy, about the marriage of a man with his brother's wife, the brother having died childless, for it was but natural that the earlier of these laws should be interpreted by the later. Upon this Gardiner shifted his ground, and alleged that though this was so, the dispensation of Julius for the marriage was null and void on other grounds, and expressed his surprise that what was not denied to private individuals, was withheld from the king of England, viz. a fair

trial of the case. The pope replied that he would do all that was in his power, but that consideration of justice was the first, and the peace of the Church the next, point to be attended to. After consulting the cardinals again, and hearing the allegations of some of them—that Henry had deserved much at their hands, and that the queen was quite prepared to take the vows and enter a religious house, if the cause should be decided against her—that there could be no harm in allowing a trial in England, which the pope could at any moment revoke and take the decision upon himself, Clement consented to commit the cause to Campeggio and Wolsey. Meanwhile, the queen gave the Emperor intelligence of what was going on, and requested the pope not to allow the cause to be tried in England, where the king's will was omnipotent.

Campeggio had departed before the Emperor's ambassador had complained to the pope of his hearing the allegations of ambassadors secretly sent out from the king without the queen's knowledge, and reminded him that all the better class of people in England were on the queen's side, and only those who hoped for court favour on the king's. Accordingly, Clement sent four messengers post-haste after Campeggio, ordering him to delay his journey as much as possible, and after his arrival to prolong the trial; to endeavour to persuade the queen to 'enter religion,' and upon no account to pronounce finally for the divorce. '*Hoc summum et maximum sit tibi mandatum.*'

Campeggio arrived in London, Oct. 7, 1528, and finding how matters stood, informed the pope that Wolsey was entirely bent on the divorce, and asked for instructions how to act. The pope delayed the matter as much as he could, and the king, finding that common report was against him, on the 8th of November assembled the peers and others together, and explained to them that he was only actuated by scruples of conscience. Sanders here gives very briefly a true version of the speech at Bridewell, which is narrated by Hall, in which Henry observes that if he had to marry again there was no one in the world he would choose in preference to Catharine, supposing the marriage could be established as lawful. Sanders perfectly knew the words he used, but could not have had an opportunity of comparing them with the letter written nineteen years before to the father of Catharine, when, having married the princess for her dowry, he adds that he should still, if free, choose her in preference to all the world. But kings' speeches and letters will not bear a minute scrutiny.

Wolsey prevailed upon the king to avoid the scandal of Anne Boleyn's constant association with himself on all public

occasions, and to send her home to her father during the Lent of 1529. She was so indignant at this dismissal that afterwards she could hardly be prevailed upon to return to court, and when, at the instigation of her father, she did return, she vowed vengeance.

And now the king determined to show that Pope Julius' dispensation was null and void; so new instructions were issued to Gardiner and Bryan, to bribe the cardinals, and to persuade the pope to pronounce upon the invalidity of the bull, and to grant a dispensation for the marriage of Mary with the Duke of Richmond. Sanders for this refers to the pope's letters to Campeggio. He quotes Cardinal Pole also for his assertion that Henry had himself written to the pope, acknowledging the connexion with Mary Boleyn, and asking for a dispensation to marry her sister Anne. As far as regards the bull of Pope Julius II., Clement said he would send to the Emperor for the original, and the ambassadors pressed the pope to declare it null and void, in case the Emperor should not transmit it within two months.

Henry, finding he could gain nothing from the pope, gave leave to the legates to try the cause, May 28, 1529. (This is a mistake for May 30.) On that day the king and queen were summoned, and Catharine appealed to the pope, and on the next day claimed the right of appeal—(1) because the place was suspect; (2) because the judges were suspect as being the king's subjects. The queen appealed also in person to the king, who, apparently with great kindness, condescended to grant her request. When she had retired, however, the king pressed the legates to decide the cause. And now the case was argued on both sides. The king's counsel enumerated all the objections that could be alleged against the bull of dispensation, as well as the protest that Henry, at his father's instigation, had made in 1505, that he would not marry the princess. Also, notwithstanding the queen's appeal, her proctors argued against all these allegations, and especially pressed the point of the bull pronouncing the dispensation upon the doubtfulness of the consummation of the previous marriage.

The next point discussed was the fact of the consummation: and here the queen's counsel rested the case chiefly on the ground that the queen had publicly professed her virginity both before and in court, and that Henry had not denied it. Sanders did not know, what is plain enough from Wolsey's correspondence, that he too was aware the state of the case was as the queen represented it. Nor had he seen the letter which appears in the Simancas Records, stating that though the dispensation was obtained for the case of a consummated marriage, in order that

no difficulty might hereafter be raised, yet that the whole English world was aware that Catharine had been left a virgin widow. Sanders, however, adds, what there is no evidence produced for, that Henry VII. had taken care that a grave matron should occupy the same room with the bridal couple, and that this was alleged by the queen's counsel at the trial. The counsel were Warham, Tunstall, West, Clark, Fisher, and Standish, all bishops, and four theologians named Abel, Fetherston, Powell, and Ridley. The last of these, he says, protested against the unfairness of not exacting an oath of the king's advocates, that they would do and say nothing contrary to the laws of God and the Church. The king urged for sentence to be pronounced, and Campeggio protested against the indecency of haste in so important a matter. Campeggio prolonged the case to near the end of July, and then pleaded the Roman custom for putting off the sittings till October. The king sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, on July 30, to order the legates to come to a decision. Campeggio declined, and Suffolk struck his hand on the table, declaring, with an oath, that never had cardinal or legate brought any good to England.

But Clement had already signified his advocacy of the cause (Herbert says in a letter to Wolsey of July 19), and the fact was notified to the king by the queen through Sir Thomas More. Soon afterwards Campeggio was recalled, and then the king turned upon Wolsey; and upon Campeggio leaving the country on the 7th of September, 1529, he had the baggage of the legates searched to see if he could find any letters which might serve to incriminate Wolsey. None, however, were found; and here again Sanders gives the true version of the facts, but did not know that the real reason for searching Campeggio's luggage was the desire to recover some love-letters from Henry to Anne Boleyn, which it was supposed had found their way there, and which, whether they were there or not, were soon afterwards at Rome, where they are preserved to this day. From this hour the fortunes of Wolsey rapidly fell; he was first deprived of the Great Seal, which was given to Sir Thomas More; and then of the bishopric of Winchester, which was subsequently offered to Gardiner.

And now the king sent Cranmer and others to manage his cause at Rome, and sent round to gather the opinions of the Universities of Germany and France, which he obtained in favour of the divorce by bribery. The author quotes several authorities for the fact of the bribery, and amongst others the Protestant historian Sleidan. The fact, we need hardly say, is abundantly confirmed by state papers, both pub-

lished and unpublished. When Mr. Brewer reaches the years 1529 and 1530, there will be evidence of this which will satisfy the most incredulous reader. Amongst the rest, the king tried to gain Reginald Pole to his side; but Pole, after considering the matter, resolutely refused.

As regards what was written on the subject, the author proceeds to enumerate several works on the queen's side, and mentions that there was still extant a letter of Melancthon's, advising the king to continue Catharine as his wife, and take Anne Boleyn as his concubine. The king himself went beyond this, and proposed to the pope that he should be allowed to have two wives at once. This again is a piece of history which recently published state papers fully confirm.

In the September following the king forbade all his subjects to sue in the court of Rome, and on November 28th, Wolsey's death took place. The author concludes his remarks about him with the words, 'He received in this world the penalty due to his pride and flattery, and that, as we may hope, to save him from everlasting punishment.' From this time forward the course of events seemed to show that God had given up Henry to his own imaginations. The death of Warham left the primacy open for Cranmer, who is recommended by Sir Thomas Boleyn and his daughter, as one who is well affected to the divorce, and who will not scruple to gratify the king in all things. The condition of his elevation was, that he should pronounce for the divorce in spite of whatever sentence the pope should give.

The chief difficulty in his way was that he had to swear canonical obedience to the pope, and this was removed by a protest made before a notary beforehand, that he did not mean by taking the oath to do anything to the injury of the king. Sanders adds of Cranmer, that he secretly carried about with him a German woman, whom he afterwards married in Edward VI.'s reign, and that he never in any single instance thwarted the king's inclinations.

Just at this time Henry crossed the sea, with Anne Boleyn in his train, to have an interview with Francis, in order to engage him in a war with the Emperor. It was his intention also to incense the French king against the pope, and to marry Anne Boleyn at once. Circumstances having prevented this, he returned home, and first brought the whole clergy under the sentence of *præmunire*. Soon after this followed the adoption of the title of Supreme Head of the Church, and the independence of the Church of England began to be proclaimed to cover the king's repudiation of his lawful wife. Sir Thomas More, seeing what was coming, resigned the Great Seal, which

was given to Audley, an indigent person, for whose support the revenues of a monastery and a parish church were confiscated.

Clement, hearing how matters were going, wrote to Henry, to warn him to do nothing prejudicial to his first marriage, and afterwards issued a breve, with penalties annexed, in case he should do anything whilst the cause was pending. But the king, finding nothing was to be hoped for from the pope, and knowing that Cranmer was so entirely in his power that he could get him to pronounce the marriage null and void at any time, first raised Anne to the rank of Marchioness of Pembroke, September 1st, 1532, and on the 15th of October married her. The latter date is one of the very few wrong dates in Sanders. All historians have differed as to the day, and it has only been settled by recent state papers, that the marriage did not really take place till January 25th, 1533. Rowland Lee, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, was induced to perform the ceremony in secret, on the false information given him by the king that the pope had at length pronounced sentence in his favour.

And now Catharine was banished from the court to the little town of Kimbolton in Bedfordshire, where she lived with a few attendants, entirely devoting herself to prayer and religious exercises. Meanwhile the king managed all things by a triumvirate, consisting of the Chancellor Audley, the Archbishop Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell, whom he made his vicar-general. Heresy began to flourish, and books were published (amongst others the celebrated 'Supplication of the Beggars') ridiculing the clergy of all ranks, regular and secular. This book was answered by Sir Thomas More in his 'Supplication of the Souls in Purgatory.' And now the oath of supremacy was invented by Cromwell and Anne Boleyn, who, wishing to get rid of Fisher as being her chief opponent, first attempted to poison him through his cook, and then attempted to destroy him by means of the oath of supremacy. Fisher, however, in a weak moment, undertook for himself and others to take the oath (*quantum per Christi legem licet*) upon the king's assuring him that he only wished to try the allegiance of his clergy and other subjects. This, however, was afterwards a subject of great regret to Fisher, who often declared that it was his province as a bishop not to have used vague expressions, but to have declared to his people what was, and what was not, allowed by the law of Christ. And now Cranmer was called upon to pronounce the sentence of divorce, which he did at Dunstable, whither Catharine was summoned in vain for a fortnight, the archbishop having first gone through the farce of warning Henry, by letter, against cohabitation with his deceased brother's wife.

Anne Boleyn was publicly recognised April 12th, 1533, on the

day before Easter-Sunday, and crowned June 2d. Again Sanders is correct in his first date, though wrong by a single day in the second; for she was crowned on Whit-Sunday, June 1st. This, however, is no doubt a mere misprint, for which the editor is responsible. The definitive sentence of the pope followed in a short time. This is one of the original documents furnished by Sanders, and which our English historians have, for the most part, not quoted. It was issued in August, but the effect of it was suspended till the 1st of October, to give the king time to retract. Nothing, however, was further from Henry's intentions. He went on, as Sanders enumerates them, adding one wickedness to another; casting into prison, and ordering the execution of such ecclesiastics as had opposed his project. On the 7th of September, Elizabeth was born. On the 21st of May of the following year seven martyrs were executed about the matter of Elizabeth Barton, a nun who had predicted that Mary would be queen of England after her father. On the very same day the oath was tendered by Cranmer, Audley, and Cromwell, that Elizabeth was the true heiress of the Crown, and the talking against this oath was the cause of 200 persons being imprisoned. A Parliament was called for the 3d of November, 1534; and here, by means of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other of his creatures, Henry managed to get passed anything he desired, both as regarded the succession of Elizabeth, the disinheriting of Mary, the annulling the papal jurisdiction, the substituting the royal supremacy in its place, and the spoliation of the first year's income of all spiritual preferments.

Moreover, an edict was made that the pope's name should be expunged from all Calendars and Indexes, and that in the Litany a form should be inserted, praying for deliverance 'from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his abominable enormities:' and, to add a spice of the ridiculous, the king issued a proclamation on the 7th of May, that no one at court should shave his beard or wear long flowing hair. He then tried to get the sanction of the French king and of the Lutheran princes of Germany for his acts, but neither of these political parties could be induced to join him, and this was the main cause of the retardation of the spreading of Lutheran doctrines in this country. He also endeavoured to gain Polé over to his side, but the only fruit of the appeal was the publication of the elegant work '*De Unione Ecclesiasticâ.*' This book was the cause of the king's furious attempt to destroy him, his brother, his mother, and his uncle. At last, finding all good men were against him, he began to practise the most horrid cruelty on various ecclesiastics. April 29th, 1535, five were tried, and

afterwards, May 4th, executed. The jury, Sanders says, were unwilling to convict them, and were only induced to do so by the king's repeated threats. On the 18th of June three more were put to death under circumstances of the most horrid cruelty. After enumerating several other victims, and it is worth while to observe that Sanders is both more particular in his account than Burnet, and more exact as to his dates, he proceeds to the cases of More and Fisher. The latter was tried on the 22d of June, and his head, after his execution, was exposed on London Bridge, and the longer it was kept there the more venerable its appearance became. Accordingly it was removed. More followed his friend on the 6th of July. Soon after this followed the bull of Pope Paul III., issued August 30th, 1535, for the condemnation of Henry, under the form of citing him to judgment, with the penalty of excommunication if he refused to appear. In October of the year 1535, he determined to visit the monasteries. Lee, who was appointed one of the visitors, was notorious for his profligacy. He made attempts on the chastity of the nuns, and reported scarcely anything but impurities, and this was the occasion of the bill for the suppression of the lesser monasteries under 700*l.* annual revenue, which passed on the 5th of February, 1536. The object of commencing with them was, that no opposition might be encountered from the mitred abbots of the larger ones, who sat in parliament, and the plea alleged was that discipline could not be so well observed in the smaller establishments. Thus 376 houses were suppressed, and an annual revenue of 120,000*l.* was confiscated to the king's use. Soon afterwards Catharine of Arragon died, January 6th, 1536. In this the author has again made a mistake of a single day. It was January 7th. And here Sanders has preserved, in a Latin translation, the letters that passed between her and her confessor, Forest, who was daily expecting death, but who survived the queen some time. Catharine, he says, ever imputed her unhappy marriage to the anger of God for Henry VII.'s putting to death the son of the Duke of Clarence, to secure the succession to the crown to his own children. Anne Boleyn, when the court went into mourning, paraded herself and her maids of honour in jewels and bright colours.

Sanders does not quote Horace, but probably he may have had in his mind the poet's expression :—

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Pœna claudo.

Certainly vengeance was not slow in overtaking Anne Boleyn, though it did not overwhelm her consort in guilt so quickly.

The queen having given birth to a lifeless and shapeless child,

reproached the king with it, alleging that it was due to her having seen him with that harlot, Jane, in his lap. The king replied, 'Take heart, my dearest, and you shall have no more cause to complain of me.' But the queen, seeing little hope of male offspring from the king, contrived to commit incest with her brother George, and that with the view of preserving the succession to the crown in the family of the Boleyns. She afterwards admitted to her favours four others. The king pretended ignorance till, on the 1st of May, during a tournament at Greenwich, he witnessed the queen dropping a handkerchief from a window, which was picked up by one of her lovers to wipe his face with. Henry, using this as a pretext for his wrath, immediately withdrew to Westminster, and on the next day Anne Boleyn, on her return to London, was arrested and sent to the Tower. Her passionate requests to be allowed to see the king were peremptorily denied, and, after a trial, on which her father sat as one of her judges, she was beheaded on the 19th of May. The marriage with Jane Seymour took place the next day, and thus was manifested the justice of God, rendering to every man according to his works. We will here translate Sanders' apostrophe to the queen, because it will convey to the reader, better than any lengthened description on our part, the tone which pervades his work. The two main objects are to vilify Elizabeth and to illustrate the exact retribution which God inflicts on sin. He seems to have been anxious to exhibit in minute incidents a commentary on the text, 'As I have done, so the Lord hath requited me.'

'Unhappy,' he calls her, 'in the wretched circumstances of her birth, education, marriage, and death; unhappy in that she ruined with herself her father, brother, and so many others; unhappy in being the rival and supplanter of one endowed with such nobility and virtue, one so utterly different from herself; but, above all other considerations, unhappy in having been the prime cause of the schism, and the origin of the utter ruin of her country by being the mother of a child who survived her, and filled up to overflowing the measure of her mother's iniquity.'—P. 170.

A very few days afterwards a Parliament and Convocation were assembled, viz. June 8th, 1536; and here the king intimated his dissatisfaction with the disinheriting of Mary in favour of Anne Boleyn's daughter, and signified, moreover, that it was necessary to establish some form of religious belief, which had of late become very lax. But, to avoid any appearance of returning to the Roman obedience, Cromwell was made Vicar-General, and given precedence in all causes ecclesiastical over the bishops and archbishops. In the following September

Cromwell issued his Injunctions, which amongst other things contained an order for the service to be used in the English language. And now the Act of the Six Articles was passed, establishing the doctrine of transubstantiation, communion in one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, the necessity for observing the vows of chastity and widowhood, the desirableness of private masses and auricular confession; and the denial of these was pronounced to be heresy, and subjected the offender to penalties accordingly.

And here the author pauses to remark, that a branch cut off from the unity of the Church cannot live and produce fruit; and that schism and heresy cannot stop where they will, but must develop into further separations. This he considers amply proved by the variety of heretical opinions which crept in in the following reigns, though he is content to rest his argument, for the present, upon the inability of the king, during his own lifetime, to stem the torrent of public opinion.

These doctrines Henry pressed on against the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and yet in many points he either partially or wholly agreed with them, and held many things inconsistently. Thus he agreed with these heretics that there was no such thing as a primacy of the see of S. Peter; that though there were seven Sacraments, only three, including penance, were instituted by Christ himself; prayers for the dead were commanded, but the doctrine of purgatory abolished; vows of chastity were upheld, but monks and nuns were absolved from the obligations of them; a reverence for holy things and saints was proclaimed, yet the shrines were despoiled of all their valuable jewels and relics.

The death of Anne Boleyn not producing the results that some had anticipated, of a return on the part of Henry to the faith which he had quitted, the Northern insurrection broke out. The insurgents came to a parley, and though the king had promised them a full pardon, yet in the following year, in the months of March, May, and June, several barons, abbots, and priests were executed. And this cruelty on the part of the king was avenged by God by the death of his favourite child, Henry, Duke of Richmond, which happened immediately afterwards.

On the 10th of October (it should be 12th), Prince Edward was born, and upon its being found impossible to save both lives, the king ordered the preference to be given to that of the child, alleging that he could get other wives, but that he could not ensure another son. The death of Jane Seymour again raised the hopes of the men of the old learning, as they were called, and Pope Paul III. still delayed issuing his bull dethroning Henry, and made a last attempt to regain him. Accordingly, he concerted measures with the Emperor and the French

king to send Pole, whom he had lately raised to the cardinalate, as legate into Belgium, with the fullest instructions and authority to act. He reached Paris, and Bryan was instantly sent to demand him of the French king. Francis, unwilling to offend either the pope or Henry, gave secret notice to Pole to quit his dominions if he would preserve his life. Pole retired to Cambray, and there heard that he had been proclaimed a traitor by Henry, and that a reward of 50,000*l.* had been offered for his head. The king, finding Pole had escaped him, began to wreak his vengeance on his family and friends; and, amongst others, his mother was executed, May 28th, 1541, and Sir Adrian Fortescue and Sir Thomas Dingley on the 10th of July.

It was now Cromwell's policy to effect a union with the German Protestants. It was he who had chiefly incensed the king against Pole as being addicted to the interests of the pope and the Emperor. He urged that it was in order to please the Emperor that Pole had been made a cardinal. He therefore did what he could to bring about an alliance with the Duke of Cleves, who, partly from love of heresy, and partly from fear of the Emperor, had joined in a secret league with Francis and the German princes.

Cromwell accordingly incited the king more and more against the Catholic party, and ordered to be put to death, or allowed to perish in prison, thirty-six Franciscans, amongst whom he specially mentions Antony Brorby, executed July 17th, Thomas Belsham, starved to death, August 3d, and Thomas Cort, July 27th, who died from neglect. He had previously put to death Forest, the queen's confessor, who was burnt in Smithfield by a slow fire placed under his feet, his arms being attached to two upright stakes. A ribald rhyme was made and printed and set up in the streets, as follows :—

‘Forestus frater, mendacii pater
Qui mortis author voluit esse suæ;
Per summam impudentiam negavit Evangelium
Et regem esse caput Ecclesiæ.’

Nor was the severity of the king and his vicar-general exercised only on Catholics, as was shown by their consigning Lambert to the flames on the 22d of November. Again, not content with the living, even the memory of the dead was insulted, the statues and crosses throughout the country being, at the instigation of Cromwell, defaced, and especially the tombs of the three celebrated English martyrs, S. Thomas, S. Alban, and S. Edmund. From the first of these the king is said to have carried off twenty-six waggon-loads of spoil. But not content with this, he forbade, on pain of death, any commemoration of

his festival. And now, seeing there was no longer any hope, Paul III. fulminated his bull on the 1st of January, 1538; *pontificatus quinto*.

The Parliament assembled April 28th, 1539, and a bill passed for the dissolution of all the monasteries; and on the 8th of July some more executions took place. Soon afterwards, a form of voluntary surrender was drawn up and sent round to the monasteries for the signatures of the abbots and brethren. When they could not succeed in forcing this upon the monks, they used violence, and November 14th (this should be November 15th), the Benedictine Abbots of Glastonbury and Reading, with two other priests, were executed; and on the 1st of December following, the Abbot of Colchester. The plunder of the religious houses was distributed or sold among the nobility, and even Catholics were compelled in some instances to buy the lands, in order that they might, as it were, appear to sanction the wickedness of the spoliation.

The next act is the marriage with Anne of Cleves. She arrived in London, January 3d, 1540, and was married three days afterwards. These nuptials had been hurried on by Cromwell, and were considered of great importance to the Protestant interest. The opportunity of an alliance with England was gladly embraced by the Duke of Cleves, who was afraid of the Emperor. But the whole transaction turned out quite contrary to the expectation of all parties. Cromwell was ruined by it; the Duke of Cleves lost his projected alliance with the French king; and soon afterwards the Emperor conquered all the German Protestant party.

Cromwell was created Earl of Essex, April 13th (this should be 18th), and five days after the session of Parliament began. His next act of cruelty was the imprisoning of Dr. Wilson and Bishop Sampson of Chichester, for performing an act of kindness to some poor men who had been imprisoned for denying the supremacy. The law which he procured to be enacted for condemning of treason an absent person without a trial by jury, was the very one under whose operation he was the first to suffer.

Unfortunately for the vicar-general, his royal master soon began to be very tired of Anne of Cleves, who was unable, from her ignorance of English, and the general staidness of her demeanour, to gain the king's good graces; though probably a more powerful inducement to part with her may be found in the political circumstances of the moment. In the first place, his actions failed to persuade the assembly at Smalcald to approve of the reformed scheme of religion established in England. Secondly, the great successes of the Emperor, and the com-

pliments that had recently passed between him and the French monarch, induced Henry to turn his thoughts towards making advances to Charles. Lastly, the king had fallen in love with Catharine Howard, so it became necessary to get rid of Anne either by death or divorce. The first step was to get rid of Cromwell. A plea was easily found in the fact that the vicar-general had subscribed in the king's name to the new Smalcaldic league. Now Henry had promised the Emperor that he would not do so, and accordingly, when the copy of the league was shown him by the Emperor with his name attached, denied that it had been done by his authority.

On the 8th of July, the king in a most friendly way ordered him to come next day to York House. Upon his arrival there the Duke of Norfolk, the uncle of Catharine Howard, arrested him for high treason. Ten days after, Cromwell was pronounced guilty of heresy, treason, felony, and bribery. He was beheaded in company with the infamous Lord Hungerford, and his property confiscated to the Crown. The comments of the Catholics upon these proceedings are thus given by our author.

' Various were the sentiments and expressions of men on this act of the king's. Some could not but wonder that his vicar-general, so recently elevated to the highest rank and given precedence over prelates and bishops, and who had exercised the highest authority in ecclesiastical causes, and even settled matters of faith, should have so suddenly fallen into such terrible crimes, and especially that of heresy. Others remarked that there was no necessity to suppose a vicar-general was always guarded by the Spirit of God. It was enough that he whose vicar-general he was should be possessed of such a privilege. It was enough that the Head of the Church should have this prerogative, and should be able both to correct the errors and cut off the head of his vicegerent. Some mockingly compared the fortunes of the heavenly vicar with those of Bryan, who still kept in favour with the king, and who usually was called his "Vicar of Hell." All in fine remembered the passage in the Psalms, "I myself have seen ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay-tree. I went by, and lo! he was gone: I sought him, but his place could nowhere be found."

The death of Cromwell was but the preliminary measure to the divorce of Anne. She herself afterwards gave Queen Mary an account of the method adopted, which was as follows, viz. that the king had sent to her, telling her that there were many reasons why it was inexpedient that their marriage should continue; and though he could easily attain her of heresy, and could find other methods of getting rid of her, yet he left it to

her to invent some decent pretext for pronouncing the marriage null and void. Upon this Anne came the next day to the Council and confessed that she was under a secret precontract of marriage at the time when she married the king. The Parliament accordingly pronounced for a divorce, and Henry, being thus at liberty, married Catharine Howard within eight days. Anne of Cleves afterwards avowed to Queen Mary that her confession had not a word of truth in it.

By a ludicrous inconsistency, it was now enacted by parliament that whenever two persons had been united in marriage *per verba de præsenti*, but before the consummation of the marriage either of them should have contracted a second marriage and consummated it, the latter should stand good as against the first. And thus, whereas the law of nations had been *Nuptias non concubitus, sed consensus, facit*; Henry's law for the future was, on the contrary, *Nuptias non consensus, sed concubitus, facit*; yet, in spite of the law, the king divorced Anne of Cleves, with whom the marriage had not only been solemnized with the consent of both parties, but had been followed by a cohabitation of seven months' duration. The Protestants themselves were so ashamed of this law, that after the death of the king it was abrogated.

Though Henry had now married a lady of one of the old Catholic families, and, being free from any alliance with German Protestants, wished to cultivate the friendship of the Emperor, yet he was as violent against the men of the old learning as formerly. On the 30th of July, Abel, Powell and Fetherstone were put to death, nominally for denying the supremacy, really, perhaps, because they had been counsel for Catharine of Arragon. And on the same day three Zuinglian heretics, Barnes, Jerome and Gerard, were executed with them, being coupled together, one Catholic and one Protestant. Upon seeing this a courtier is observed to have said, 'Well, as Protestants are burnt for one thing, and Catholics for another, I mean to be of the king's religion, that is of no religion at all, for the future.'

On the 2d of August, Lawrence Cook, the Prior of Doncaster, with five others, suffered martyrdom for denying the supremacy. In the following year the diet at Ratisbon was held under the Emperor for the purpose of creating a concord in matters of religion, and the pope deputed Cardinal Contareni as his legate, and Henry sent Sir Henry Knevett, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to the meeting, partly with the view of representing to the German princes his moderation in matters of religion, and doing away with their prejudice against him on the score of his tardiness in joining with them, and partly in order

to unite with the Emperor, and further some plan of union with the Catholic Church. This project fell through, as the king was unwilling to submit to any confession or public recantation. And now again the vengeance of God overtook him, punishing him in the same way that he had offended. As he had been unfaithful to his first wife, so now another was unfaithful to him. Catharine Howard had scarcely been his wife two years, when she was convicted of adultery with Culpepper and Dereham, and as it appeared she had been guilty before her marriage as well as subsequent to it, a law was made that any lady professing to be a maid, whom the king should marry, should, upon her impurity being discovered, suffer death as a traitor, together with her paramour. However, the king anticipated the application of the law by marrying for his sixth wife a widow, who was happy only in this, that she survived him, and so escaped being put to death.

Whilst this was the state of domestic affairs in England, the whole of Europe was embroiled in war, and Henry took advantage of the state of affairs to join the Emperor, who appeared as it were to be at war with all the world, and his alliance was readily accepted. On the 23d of January he issued a proclamation assuming to himself the style of King of Ireland. This, says Sanders, was an insolent addition to the previously acknowledged title of *Dominus Hiberniæ*, which had originally been a grant from Hadrian IV., in the twelfth century, and considering he had abjured the papal supremacy, a piece of impertinence on a par with Queen Elizabeth's assumption of the title *Fidei Defensor*.

Henry, pursuing his arrogant course, made war on France and Scotland together, and, at the beginning of March, executed three more priests, one of them the cousin of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, for denying his supremacy.

We come now to 1544, in which year, in spite of the pillage of the monasteries, the king found himself poorer than he had ever been. He was obliged to exact more taxes than had been demanded for 500 years before him, and poverty, instead of disappearing as it was said it would do upon the dissolution of the monasteries, became rampant, the number of beggars being increased in the proportion of twenty to one. He was, moreover, obliged to have recourse to a depreciation of the currency. After this, in the Parliament of Nov. 24th, 1545, all the hospitals and colleges were suppressed. And now we come to the last act, which was the imprisonment of the Duke of Norfolk and the execution of his son, the Earl of Surrey. This is the last instance in point given by the author to illustrate the pervading sentiment of his book—

'Per quæ quis peccat, per eadem castigatur.'

The very persons who had been the king's instruments in his villany, are chief sufferers at his hands. Not only was Surrey executed, but his eldest son, who was restored to his father's rank by Mary, was afterwards put to death by Elizabeth, whilst his son as well as his brother were, at the moment of the author's writing, kept in confinement by the same queen. And such, says he, was the gratitude shown to the Norfolk family by the child of Henry and Anne Boleyn, in return for the assistance they had rendered in the matter of the divorce from the illustrious Catharine of Arragon.

Scarcely a single individual, the author continues, who played a conspicuous part in that transaction, escaped from the infliction of divine vengeance in the way of temporal punishment. After having enumerated them, he proceeds with his history. Again Henry made an attempt to be reconciled to the see of Rome, and consulted some of his bishops on the point; but they were too much afraid to give him advice, and one of them told him that his wisdom exceeded that of other men, that he had abolished the Roman supremacy by divine help, and that there was nothing to fear, as his judgment had been confirmed by Parliament. Gardiner of Winchester alone advised him to call together a Parliament to consider so weighty a matter, and told him that if there were no time for that before his death, he should at least leave his wishes on the subject in writing. But no sooner had Gardiner quitted his presence, than the other courtiers, fearing that a return to the Roman obedience would involve a restoration of the Church goods which they had in their possession, persuaded him not to listen to such superstitious scruples of conscience. Still conscience seems to have pricked him in his last days, for on the 3d of January, 1547, twenty-five days before his death, he ordered the church of the Franciscans to be made into a parochial church, and mass was said in it, and a sermon preached by the Bishop of Rochester, in praise of the king's piety and munificence.

At the conclusion of this part of the work, in summing up the character of the king, the author takes occasion to observe that before his divorce he had ordered to be put to death two noblemen—one in obedience to his dying father's command, the other at the instigation of Wolsey—but that afterwards the executions he had ordered, or the deaths he had caused, may be counted as follows: 3, at least, if not 4 of his wives, 2 heroines, 2 cardinals, 12 of the higher nobility, 18 barons and knights, 13 abbots and priors, 77 monks and priests, besides a countless host of the upper and lower classes who are not enumerated. He died January 28th, 1547, at the same time when Luther's death occurred, and just two months before that of Francis I.

of France. Of the many stories that are told about his death, Sanders details this one: that at the last he asked for a cup of white wine, and turning round to one of his courtiers, remarked, 'We have lost everything,' and soon after expired, whispering from time to time the word 'monks.' The change of religion which, in spite of all the precautions in the king's will, took place in the succeeding reign, Sanders uses as a last illustration of the principle that God renders to every man according to his work.

Such is a very brief account of Sanders' celebrated work as far as regards the reign of Henry VIII. We have already ventured on one or two points of comparison between the Roman Catholic historian's short epitome of the reign, and the more elaborate narrative of the English historian of the Reformation. And we may add here, that the tone of Sanders' work is much more like historical truth than that of Burnet's. Though the latter had opportunity of reference to a splendid collection of originals that Sanders never could have seen, it is very remarkable that, with regard to the accuracy of dates and facts, Sanders is far superior to Burnet. Burnet's dates are nearly as often wrong as right, whilst with regard to individuals, he constantly makes mistakes from mere ignorance of the history of the period. Thus he confounds Pace and Pate. He mistakes an allusion to Catharine of Arragon for a reference to Anne Boleyn. He scarcely ever utters the words of an historian to whom he refers without materially altering the sense. If the one has an undeniable bias towards Rome, the other is equally prejudiced on the Protestant side; whilst Sanders had greatly the advantage in point of general knowledge of the doctrines of the Church, as well as of the nature of the heresies that sprang up in the sixteenth century. Burnet selected from the immense mass of papers which were open to his inspection, such as suited his purpose—Sanders went a good deal upon hearsay, and, occasionally, too eagerly grasped at stories which fell in with his undisguised hatred for Elizabeth and her mother.

For an abridged account of the ebb and flow of opinions, and the immense difference in kind of the Reformation under Henry, and that of the two succeeding reigns, probably no better guide than Sanders could be followed, if the reader is on his guard against his Roman prejudices and his credulity.

There are, however, two points of immense importance in forming a right estimate of the proceedings in the case of the divorce, in which Sanders is altogether right, and Burnet as entirely wrong in his view. They are, (1) the virginity of Catharine, and (2) the connexion of Henry with Mary Boleyn.

We venture to say that, considering the indirect nature of the proofs by which such matters have to be established, there are no disputed historical facts of the period that rest on a greater accumulation of evidence.

As both points are of considerable importance, we will devote a short space to each of them. Mr. Froude, in his recent '*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey*,' has thought proper entirely to deny the latter of these facts, and to treat the former as a matter of no consequence. Now this is simply to ignore the whole current of feeling of the time. The papal dispensation which had been given for the marriage of Catharine with Henry would never have been impugned by anybody who should have been assured of the non-consummation of the previous marriage with Arthur. Whatever might be thought of the papal dispensation for a marriage with a brother's widow who had had children by her first husband, neither Catholics nor Protestants of that day would have ventured to call in question the validity of a marriage with a virgin widow after such dispensation had been obtained. In consequence of this, Henry was extremely anxious to obtain the opinions of the Universities couched in general terms, forbidding such a marriage under all circumstances, and making no allusion to an exceptional case, which would be too uncommon to specify. Nevertheless, it was found difficult to get the Protestants to acquiesce in the king's wishes, and the determinations of the Universities are for the most part expressed in the form that such marriage, when the previous marriage has been consummated, is against the law of God.

The king, however, was determined to make his case as complete as possible, and so forced the Houses of Convocation to determine two separate questions—the question of the legality of a marriage so contracted, and the question of fact whether Arthur and Catherine had consummated their marriage. Both these points were decided by large majorities in the king's favour. We forbear to quote the filthy expressions (albeit they are in Latin) which the king condescended to make use of to show the possibility of the consummation—they may be seen in the volume of state papers—and we proceed to show the conclusive evidence on which the non-consummation of the marriage rests.

1. In the first place Catharine was married to Henry on the 11th of June, 1509, in the white veil, which was never at that time used by any but virgins.

2. The queen on her trial asserted it before all her judges, and Henry was afraid in the presence of Wolsey and others to deny that it was so.

3. The whole tone of Wolsey's correspondence shows that he knew the marriage had never been completed.

4. The title of Prince of Wales had been assumed by Henry a very short time after the death of Arthur. This we do not insist on as any positive proof; but it is necessary to notice it here, because it disproves the argument to the contrary on which historians, following Lord Bacon, have relied much: viz. that the not taking the title for nine months after the death shows that it was thought at least possible that there might be an heir to the crown by the first marriage. Now all these English historians ought to have known better; for there is a document quoted from the Rolls in Rymer's *Fœdera*, bearing date June 22d, 1502, which shows that within a few weeks after the death of Prince Arthur the title had been assumed by the second son.

5. Cardinal Pole asserts that Henry had confessed the fact to the Emperor.

6. And now let us collect what additional evidence the Simancas Records supply. From a letter of May 10th, five weeks after Arthur's death, it appears that Estrada was instructed by Ferdinand and Isabella to conclude a marriage for Catharine with Henry, Prince of Wales. This shows that the title had been assumed even earlier than the English document gives evidence for. And if there had been any chance of an heir to the throne of England, it is certain that no negotiation of this kind could have been entered into; nor, again, would there have been any fears as regarded the treatment which the mother of the heir-apparent to the crown might receive from her father-in-law. We should almost have been disposed to think that this paper shows that it was at the time very well known that the marriage had never been consummated. But it is necessary to be cautious in inferences from isolated facts. And it is plain, from the subsequent despatches, that Ferdinand and Isabella had not at this time been informed how matters stood as regards this point. One thing only is certain, that it was known there were no hopes of an heir to the throne from the late marriage. What they knew or guessed beyond this was all derived from a letter which had been written to them by Donna Elvira, the first lady of the bedchamber, who had informed them that the Princess Catharine and the late Prince of Wales had never lived together as man and wife. From another letter, dated May 29th, it appears that Ferdinand and Isabella were in expectation of the King of England's behaving in an unhand-some and niggardly way towards the princess, and evidently feared that he would withdraw her dowry, which had been promised for her life. Before the 14th of June they had

ascertained that Henry had refused to give up the 100,000 crowns of marriage portion, and therefore, as the Spanish king and queen suppose, is the more bound to provide liberally for her. Another despatch written two days later seems to show that it was expected that the estates would be given to her by the King of England, in order that he may have a pretext for retaining the 100,000 crowns, and demanding the remaining half which had not yet been paid. To provide against this unanswerable demand, the Duke of Estrada was instructed to say that, 'the marriage being dissolved, the dowry returns to the father and mother who gave it, and that this is clearly stated both in canon and civil law, and no doctor can bring forward anything to the contrary. Therefore not only are we not bound to pay the King of England that which still remains unpaid of the dowry, but he is obliged to pay back to us what he has already received.' The same letter further cautions the ambassador not to let out the Spanish king and queen's wishes in this matter. This is the letter which, from its being written wholly in cypher, shows what were the real sentiments of the writers, and from its concluding paragraph it is clear that they were not yet certainly informed as to the fact of the consummation. It is dated from Toledo, June 16th, 1502.

It is plain enough, from the tenor of the despatches of this period, that the hope of Isabella was that the marriage had been consummated, because if it had not been it would not have been so certain that she and Ferdinand could insist on the dowry which had been guaranteed to the princess from England being secured to her. Very shortly afterwards, however, Ferdinand and Isabella found themselves in somewhat different circumstances; there was danger of being involved in a war with France, and they became more and more anxious to press matters forward for the marriage of their daughter with Henry Prince of Wales. Accordingly, on the 12th of July, Isabella wrote to Estrada, giving him instructions as follows: 'Therefore, without saying anything about this, since it is already known for a certainty that the said Princess of Wales, our daughter, remains as she was here (for so Donna Elvira has written to us), endeavour to have the said contract agreed to immediately, without consulting us; for any delay that might take place would be dangerous.' We should be glad to transcribe the whole of this diplomatic letter, but we must content ourselves with saying that it contains directions, written partly in one cypher partly in another, how to make the best bargain with the King of England. The hurrying on the contract because of the certainty of the non-consummation of the previous marriage, does not admit of the interpretation

that 'this was to be done because there could be any doubt that a papal dispensation was obtainable,' for such dispensation, though not common, had been given both in ancient and more recent times, not only in favour of princes, but on application by subjects. It appears to us to admit of only one interpretation, viz. that which implies a fear on Isabella's part that the non-consummation may be urged as a reason for treating the marriage as null, and not rendering the princess her dowry of the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester. This document is of the 12th of July. The next cyphered despatch that alludes to this point is a very long letter from Isabella to Estrada, written April 12th, 1503, just after the intelligence of the death of the Queen of England had reached Spain. It is the most curious of all the Simancas Records, for it distinctly reveals a plan which Henry VII. had conceived of marrying his own daughter-in-law. With this we are not concerned at present, but only with one sentence in the letter, which runs as follows: 'With this view say, that on account of 'the love which we bear to the King of England and his kingdom, 'we consented with much good will to give the Princess of 'Wales in marriage to the Prince of Wales. But that God 'having taken the latter to Himself before the matrimony was 'consummated, we find by letters received from England that 'the King of England desires the Princess of Wales should 'marry the present Prince of Wales.' It is important to observe that these are words which Estrada is directed to use to the king, and they plainly show that Isabella was at this time fully persuaded of the want of consummation of the marriage, and took it quite for granted that the point was fully established.

There are two other allusions in the Simancas Records to the same subject; and, to make the evidence as complete as possible, we must just extract the passages which refer to it. The first is in the treaty between Ferdinand and Isabella and Henry VII. Here it is stated, in formal and technical language (June 23d), that 'the papal' dispensation is required because the said Princess Catharine had on a former occasion contracted a marriage with the late Prince Arthur, brother of the present Prince of Wales, whereby she became related to Henry, Prince of Wales, in the first degree of affinity, and because her marriage with Prince Arthur was solemnized according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and afterwards consummated. The meaning of the passage is obvious. It was intended to cover any objection that might be alleged against the dispensation, by providing even for the possibility of any future objection, grounded on a supposition which it might be equally difficult to prove or disprove. We say this would be an obvious solution of the

difficulty ; but we are not left to conjecture on the point, for the Instructions of Ferdinand to De Rojas, his ambassador at Rome, are still extant, telling him ' he has decided to marry his daughter, the Princess Catharine, to Henry, Prince of Wales.' The following is added :—' That this marriage requires the dispensation of the pope. In the clause of the treaty which mentions the dispensation of the pope, it is stated that the Princess Catharine consummated her marriage with Prince Arthur. The fact, however, is, that although they were wedded, Prince Arthur and the Princess Catharine never consummated the marriage. It is well known in England that the princess is still a virgin ; but as the English are much disposed to cavil, it has seemed to be more prudent to provide for the case as though the marriage had been consummated, and the dispensation of the pope must be in perfect keeping with the said clause of the treaty. The right of succession depends on the 'undoubted legitimacy of the marriage.' This letter was written on the 23d of August, 1503. A few days afterwards, the pope died, and his successor, Pius III. was elected in the following month. Julius II. succeeded on the 1st of November, 1503, and dated the dispensation on the 26th of December, under the well-known form that the marriage had perhaps been consummated. Now we submit that, supposing M. Bergenroth had been an advocate for the queen's side of the question, and had forged these records, he could hardly have made out a more skilful case. And we say, that any person who shall hereafter wish to defend the king's side of the divorce case, must endeavour, in the first place, to prove that the volume of Simancas Records which M. Bergenroth has presented us with, is from beginning to end a forgery.

We now proceed to the second point, viz. the nature of the connexion of Henry with Mary Boleyn, premising only, that affinity in canon law is caused equally by a legal and illegal intercourse. If, therefore, there had been such intercourse with Mary, it would have been impossible for Henry to solemnize a marriage with Anne Boleyn without a special dispensation for the purpose from the pope.

Now we fully admit that we have no means of proving the fact that Sanders alleges, that Mary Boleyn confessed the matter to Catharine. At the same time, there is nothing to disprove it, nor is it altogether improbable ; especially as the fact of the connexion must have been tolerably notorious. That fact is established by a very singular amount of concurrent testimony. That Cardinal Pole openly charged Henry with it would be to our minds very good evidence, but the opinion, or the statement of Pole, may not be so conclusive to others ; and Mr.

Froude in his history, it will be remembered, systematically disparages Pole's testimony. It was but natural that he should, for Pole is a formidable witness against Mr. Froude's whole theory of the reign. If, however, Cardinal Pole's assertion that he knew of the connexion is not conclusive, there is a state paper published by Herbert, and afterwards reproduced by Burnet, Tierney, and others, which all but states the fact in direct terms. We are not here producing any new evidence, but we say that historians have not laid as much stress on this document as it is entitled to bear. The document alluded to is 'The Bull of Dispensation,' signed by Clement VII. at Orvieto, December 17th, 1527. The bull was drawn up in England under Wolsey's direction, and was sent by him, through Gardiner and Fox, to be signed by the pope. Regarded, therefore, in the light of an official document, it is a dispensation granted by the pope to Henry to contract another marriage, on the hypothesis that the marriage with Catharine was annulled. But looked at from the point of view of its having been sent from England, it is a request on the part of the king to be allowed to marry whom he pleased, if it should be determined that he was free from any obligation to Catharine. Of course, therefore, if he was bent on marrying Anne Boleyn, an intention which it will not be doubted had been entertained long before the winter of 1527, he would specify any points which would particularly require a dispensation. The object, next to the gratification of his own licentious passion, was to secure an heir to the crown whose legitimacy should be beyond all dispute. It would have been too barefaced to expect the pope to give him leave to marry Anne Boleyn by name. But if this was not the object of the clause providing for a marriage with one who had previously been contracted in marriage, but had not completed the marriage, even though, by an act of illicit intercourse, she were related to the king in the first degree of affinity, we ask what other possible solution of the difficulty is there. There is no other instance on record of a bull either being asked for, or granted, with such a clause inserted in it; and the two allusions can only be explained as meant to include the case of Anne Boleyn, who had been contracted to Percy, and who, by the unfortunate connexion of her sister Mary with the king, stood, according to canon law, in the first degree of affinity to him. We have nothing here to do with the impertinence of the king, expecting one pope to dispense for the very same degree of affinity which he wished him to condemn his predecessor for dispensing with. We are simply establishing the fact that the king had been engaged in an intrigue with Mary Boleyn. Now there is absolutely nothing to set against this argument. However, as some

historians have professed, notwithstanding their knowledge of this document's existence, to disbelieve Sanders' story about Mary Boleyn, we proceed to the next evidence.

At the time when Henry had procured the condemnation of Anne, whether innocent or guilty—for that is a point which will probably never now be determined—he was, for some reason or other, so incensed against her, that he determined to have it decreed that the marriage, solemnized between himself and the unfortunate queen was, and always had been, null and void. To obtain this it was necessary that some ground should be alleged, and Anne was induced (it is impossible now to say by what promises) to confess to the archbishop some impediment. Burnet supposes this impediment to have been the precontract with Percy, which, through hope of some favour being shown her, she was brought to confess, although Percy had himself on oath denied it. Dr. Lingard supposes, and we have no doubt whatever that the supposition is correct, that the confession did not relate to this point, but to the affair of her sister. His opinion is grounded on the wording of the statute passed just afterwards, viz. 'that since certain impediments of consanguinity and affinity, according to God's law, arise from the intercourse of the two sexes, if it chance any man to know carnally any woman, then all and singular persons being in any such degree of consanguinity or affinity to any of the parties so carnally offending, shall be deemed and adjudged to be within the cases and limits of the said prohibition of marriage.' Now here is the first mention, in any statute of the period, of *affinity* being created by illicit intercourse: and it is not to be accounted for on any other principle, than its being applicable and its being meant to apply to the late annulment of the king's marriage. If there is any other possible interpretation we should like to see it. The case, however, is even stronger than Dr. Lingard knew of. He had not seen the treatise which Cranmer had drawn up against the validity of Catharine's marriage, and for the legality of that of Anne Boleyn, where the exact contradictory of this doctrine of affinity was asserted and elaborately defended by the archbishop, on the very ground that the doctrine of an affinity created in such way as this was a mere invention of the schools and ecclesiastical courts, and was not to be found in Scripture. Alas! English Churchmen little know to what strange uses that argument of want of Scripture evidence has been put. With Cranmer's duplicity we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say, that Sanders was fully justified in saying that Henry and his abettors had to eat their own words, and were forced to condemn their own acts.

And now to continue our notice of Sanders' mistakes and

Burnet's animadversions thereupon. It is needless to notice smaller things in which Sanders was not exactly accurate, and in giving an account of which Burnet first exaggerated Sanders' error, and then in impugning it, went into a mistake in the opposite direction; for this is upon the whole a true description of the animadversions made by the Bishop of Salisbury on his antagonist. One little instance shall suffice. Sanders observed that the prince Arthur when he married was *vixdum attingens decimum quintum ætatis annum*, and adds that he was sick of a lingering disease. Burnet's reply is, that as he was born on the 20th of September, 1486, he was fifteen years old, and two months passed, when he married. Now here Burnet has overstated the matter; it is true it is only by a few days, and the matter itself is not of the smallest importance. But when he says that the 'lingering disease' is contradicted by records, he is speaking out of book, for there are no records to shew that Prince Arthur did not begin to decay till the Shrovetide following, nor that his decay was imputed to his excesses. Now, on the contrary, it is plain from the Simancas Records that whether Prince Arthur had any lingering disease or not, he certainly died of the plague. We are not concerned to adjust what is after all a mere literary quarrel. But there are other points at issue between the two historians which we may attend to, as they are more important in an historical point of view.

And first for the general view taken of the marriage of Henry with his brother's widow. Sanders is entirely right in saying that it was agreed to by all that the thing was by dispensation lawful, and that no man spoke against it, and that after his father's death, though Henry had at one time promised his father not to marry Catharine, yet the espousals took place on the 3d of June. But Burnet has thought proper to cavil at this statement, and with a mere *ignoratio elenchi* has asserted that Warham spoke against the marriage. Now it is true Warham did not like the marriage, but his objections were entirely overruled by the papal dispensation, and neither he nor any other ecclesiastic or layman of the time would have thought of calling in question its entire legality. Again in 1526, when the first question was raised as to the pope's power to dispense in such a case, Sanders is right in saying that Henry had already determined whom he would marry, and that he spent some time in trying to find out what could be said against the marriage, and found nothing, and that if there were any ambiguities in the pope's first letters, they were cleared by other letters which Ferdinand of Spain had afterwards procured. Burnet is again entirely wrong in his answer to this. He says Anne Boleyn was not at court at the time, and that she was only fifteen years old. Now

the only question is whether Anne Boleyn was seventeen or twenty-five. She was born, according to some, in 1501, according to others, in 1509. But she was certainly not less than seventeen, and as certainly was at court in 1526.

Again, the answer that he gives to the paragraph that the king spent a year in trying to invalidate the marriage, is utterly mistaken. Burnet observes that 'In that time all the bishops of England except Fisher declared under their hands and seals that they thought the marriage unlawful.' As Burnet had not had access to the State Paper Office at the time when he penned this sentence, his mistake is excusable. Nevertheless it is a gross blunder. By gross, in this instance, we mean considerable, *i.e.* of considerable importance, for on our acceptance or rejection of Burnet's statement depends the whole view which may be taken of the acquiescence of the ecclesiastics of this country in the decisions of the Roman pontiff.

He ought to have known that no one at that time would have questioned the decision of the pope. And the account of the transaction to which he alludes has since been published in Rymer. From this document it appears, not that all the bishops of the realm, with the exception of Fisher, declared under their hands and seals that they thought the marriage unlawful, but that eight of them, including Fisher, declared that they thought there was ground for examining into the validity of the dispensation; a very different matter, because the validity of a dispensation might on various grounds admit of doubt, as, for instance, because of the falsity of an allegation on which it should prove to have been granted. And this was actually one of the grounds on which Wolsey tried to induce Fisher to doubt of the legality of this particular dispensation.

Again, as regards the second letter said to have been obtained by Ferdinand, Burnet, who lived more than a century after Sanders, had the opportunity of knowing that there was a breve supplementary to the original bull, because he had seen the transcript of it printed by Herbert in his history. But Sanders' account is substantially correct, and Burnet's arguments for the forgery of the breve are scattered to the winds by the revelations of the Simancas documents. Till the publication of this volume it was impossible to say positively whether the breve were genuine or not. Some very considerable arguments were urged against its genuineness. And though Dr. Lingard made an able reply to all of them, yet he was himself content with the modest declaration that he thought the breve was in all probability genuine. The history of the case is familiar to all who are acquainted with Burnet's work or with Herbert's '*History of Henry the Eighth*,' but may be briefly detailed.

During the trial, and after objections had been urged against the bull of dispensation, it was alleged that a breve had been found in Spain, that supplied most of the material defects of the bull. One of these defects was, that no reason had been urged in the request for the bull, excepting the desire that peace might be continued between the two crowns; the breve, however, stated that the dispensation was asked for that and divers other reasons. There was, moreover, this difference between the bull and the breve, that the former stated that the marriage had been *perhaps* consummated; the latter stated the fact, without the word *perhaps*. The extreme opportuneness of the breve, of course, rendered it suspected, and the date was even more suspicious, for it was dated by mistake exactly like a bull, and not like a breve, it being notorious that the year for breves and bulls commences at a different epoch, which the forgers of the breve, it was alleged, had forgotten. The best argument that could have been produced for the genuineness has been entirely overlooked. It is this, that no forger of the year 1527, would have stated the consummation, which was the very point Catharine was most strenuous in denying on the trial. But the true explanation of the whole difficulty of the case may be gathered from several allusions in the Simancas papers. From these it appears that the bull of dispensation was not sent either to England or into Spain for some years after it was granted. From the instructions sent by Ferdinand to De Rojas, his ambassador at Rome, to which we have already referred, it is evident how anxious the Spanish king and queen were about the succession to the English throne, and how earnestly desirous they were that the dispensation of the pope should be in perfect keeping with the clause of the treaty in which the consummation had been taken for granted. It is extremely probable, therefore, that the want of agreement between the terms of the treaty and the terms of the bull, in which a doubt on the consummation was thrown, would annoy them much, and that they would endeavour to obtain such remedy for this as might be procurable. Exactly six months after the bull was dated, Ferdinand and Isabella expressed their dissatisfaction that the bull had not yet been sent. In a letter to Estrada, dated June 26th, 1504, they say:—‘As for the dispensation for the marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales, our children, our ambassador who is at Rome has told us in many of his letters of the representations he made on our part to Pope Pius, and also to Pope Julius, who has granted it by word of mouth. But the pope is delaying to send the despatch in writing, as he is waiting until the embassy, which is coming from England to do him homage,

'shall arrive. Our ambassador has, therefore, written to say 'he hopes to despatch it, at the latest, immediately on the 'embassy from England having arrived at Rome. We have, 'moreover, written to him desiring him to urge the pope to 'grant it immediately, and have told him not to cease from 'his endeavouring to obtain it until it be despatched. We have 'also desired him to get the English ambassadors to join with 'him in this matter, telling him to aid the said ambassadors to 'obtain all such matters as affect the king of England.' From another despatch, written ten days later by the pope to Henry VIII. we find that the dispensation, though dated more than six months earlier, was not granted. The pope says, 'He had never 'intended to withhold the dispensation, and all that has been said 'to the contrary is an invention of ill-intentioned persons.' He adds, that he has somewhat delayed to dispense with the obstacles to the marriage between the Princess Catharine and Henry Prince of Wales, but has done so only from the wish to consider the case more maturely. It was not till the 10th of August that Estrada wrote to Queen Isabella, informing her that the dispensation had arrived. Estrada says Henry sent it directly to him in order that he might show it to the princess. This, however, can only have been a kind of breve, for the same letter states that the bulls will not arrive before the middle of October, and upon their arrival, the king, it is said, would communicate them on All Saints' Day to the principal persons in the kingdom. Again, on the 23d of October, De Puebla, writing to Ferdinand and Isabella, says, 'I heard from the king that 'notwithstanding what the pope had written to him in his 'breve, the copy of which is inclosed, the dispensation had not 'yet been despatched. But he cannot tell whether the cause 'was that his ambassador, by whom the pope said he would 'send it, was ill, or whether the delay had been occasioned by 'the French. He said, moreover, that your highnesses must 'not, on your side, neglect so important a business.'

On the 28th of November, Henry VII. wrote again to Pope Julius II. reminding him of his promise by letters and by word of mouth to send the dispensation by Robert Sherborne, who had, however, arrived without it, and asking 'that it may be 'granted as soon as possible, and that it may be delivered at 'once to the English ambassadors who are remaining at Rome.' A week later, December 5th, 1504, De Puebla writes to Ferdinand and Isabella (some days after Isabella's death), entreating them to write to the pope again about the dispensation. The bull was finally despatched February 22d, 1505, in a letter from the pope to Henry, carried by the Bishop of Worcester, which is extant in Herbert's 'Henry VIII.' The bishop, how-

ever, had not set off with it on March 17th, for on that day he wrote from Rome to Henry VII. to say that he was coming with the bull; that it had grieved his holiness to learn that copies had been sent from Spain to England, which had been sent, under seal of secrecy, to Isabella for her consolation on her deathbed. Now, whether or not the breve which had been sent to England was the same with that sent into Spain before the bull arrived, is perhaps not quite certain. But it is plain that both of these breves were written long after the date which they bore; and this does away with the whole difficulty about the date of the breve being in the same year with that of the bull. It was drawn up by a scribe from the bull, and the different practice of dating being forgotten, the exact date was copied. As regards the difference in wording, nothing is more natural than that, if request was made by Queen Isabella for a form which should correspond to the words of the treaty between Spain and England, for the very preservation of which alliance the dispensation was ostensibly granted, the pope should in his breve, intended only for the eyes of the Queen of Spain, and therefore not registered at Rome, state the matter in such terms as should be most for her consolation; whilst the fact that the breve was alleged to be found amongst De Puebla's papers falls in exactly with the hypothesis we have been framing.

As our object is to direct people's attention to Sanders' work, and not to uphold it as in all its accounts correct, we just notice that Sanders is again right in saying that 'Wolsey, before his return from France, sent Gambara to the pope, desiring him 'to name himself vicar of the papacy during the captivity.' Burnet's reply is, that 'This was not done till almost a year after this, and the motion was sent by Staphileus, Dean of the 'Rota.' Now, here not only does Burnet betray his ignorance, for Staphilius was not Dean of the Rota at all, but Sanders' exact accuracy shows that he had access to documents at Rome or elsewhere, of which Burnet knew nothing.

When Sanders comes to matters which depend upon English records, he is less accurate. Thus he makes Bryan and Gardiner the bearers of the first message to the pope. It is evident that he confuses Bryan with Foxe. He speaks of Gardiner as having lately been taken into the confidence of the king, and not, as Burnet misrepresents him, as calling him a secretary of state. And he seems to confound the subsequent mission of Bryan with the first mission, the truth being that Knight carried the first despatch, and Gardiner and Foxe the next, which was sent two or three months later. Bryan did not go to Rome till near the end of the following year. The mistake, however, is of

small importance. Bryan and Gardiner were at Rome in 1529, and perhaps Sanders did not know that they had not been there continually from the end of 1527. Again, state papers confirm Sanders' view that they made the pope believe that the queen would willingly retire into a monastery. Burnet's preposterous notion, that the pope first suggested this, has no sanction whatever from any documents. On the contrary, the motion not only came from England, but the proposition was made to the pope, that if Catharine and Henry should both take the vows, he should afterwards dispense with the king's performance of his vow, and this failing, should dispense with his having two wives at once. Again, as regards the bribery and intimidation by which the opinions of the English and foreign Universities were obtained, Sanders is, in the main, right, and Burnet wrong, whilst Burnet's own account of the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor being won by a bribe of 4,000 crowns, is proved to be false by records which show that the bribe was indignantly refused.

For the respective estimates of Cranmer, it would require a biography to adjust the rights of the case. Those who take upon themselves to defend the character of Cranmer, have a hard task to account for his protestation that he did not mean to obey the pope when he took the oath of canonical obedience; his conduct in Anne Boleyn's case, as well as in that of Anne of Cleves, as likewise for many other passages in his life.

Sanders is wrong in placing the action of *præmunire* brought against the clergy in 1532 instead of 1531, and in speaking of Cranmer as archbishop at the time. And he has, in several other cases, mistaken the time at which the events which he narrates took place, and particularly has misplaced the Act of the Six Articles.

Burnet accuses him of forgery, in publishing the beautiful letters which passed between Catharine and Father Forest, but their genuineness is attested by other evidence. Sanders, again, is wrong in attributing the new form of consecrating bishops to Henry VIII., as it dates from the succeeding reign.

As regards the story of Jane Seymour's having been sacrificed to preserve the life of the prince, it is certainly by no means improbable, but we are not aware that it rests on any contemporary evidence. Burnet's reply is, that she died two days after. He might have made a better defence if he had told the true state of the case, that she survived for twelve days. This is the strongest evidence against Sanders' account, as it is not likely any one would survive the Cæsarian operation so long.

Let it not be supposed that our object has been to write up Sanders. We only wish to draw attention to him, as to a

writer who was nearly contemporary with the events which he narrates, and who evidently had access to information from foreign sources which Protestant historians have not enjoyed. That he was credulous and prejudiced it is impossible to deny; but his unsupported assertions are, on all grounds, entitled to more credit than those of Burnet, who can never be trusted except when he gives a reference, and who will generally be found to have misrepresented the author whom he quotes. But we trust we shall not be thought to be speaking disrespectfully of the other historians of the Reformation, whether writers of the more full and detailed accounts, or those who have given the history in an abridged and condensed form, if we say that the history of the Reformation of the Church of England yet remains to be written.

ART. VII.—*Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into certain Colleges and Schools.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1864.

A COMMISSION was issued in the autumn of 1861 to inquire into the state of the Public Schools. It consisted of Lord Clarendon, Lord Devon, Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Twistleton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Professor Thompson, Mr. H. H. Vaughan, with Mr. Montague Bernard acting as secretary. The schools included in it were Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. And its terms were an authority to examine into the funds and endowments, the government, the system and course of study, the method, subjects, and extent of instruction, and generally into the condition of these schools. The fruit of its labours was presented to Parliament in the spring of 1864, embodied in a blue-book which has attracted more interest than usually falls to the lot of such publications. And no one can complain that the result, so far, is inadequate to the importance of the subject, the length of time bestowed upon it, or the personal and intellectual eminence of the Commissioners. They have had a difficult duty before them, and they appear to have performed it courteously and well: without, on the one hand, shrinking from the comprehensive authority entrusted to them; or, on the other, arousing unnecessary opposition, or forgetting the regard due to those into whose supposed deficiencies and abuses they had to explore. No one will read the full, careful, and in most respects admirable report which they have put out without feeling that they have spared themselves no time nor toil, and inflicted upon others no pain which could be spared. They appear to have questioned every one from whom it was likely that any information might be gathered; and it was only from the pardonable opposition of the respective head masters that they were prevented from putting each school to the practical test of submitting a certain proportion of its boys to a common examination. Short of this they have done all in the way of inquiry that could be done: they have examined the reports of the French Minister of Instruction; they have obtained through the Minister of Education in Prussia an account of the principles, the practices, and the results of German schools; they have put to the question at home, verbally or in writing, governors, fellows,

head masters, assistants, college tutors, men of note in modern languages or natural sciences, old public-school men who have distinguished themselves in their school days or in after life, parents who have themselves been educated in the schools, or who have sons there now, undergraduates who have lately left, boys who are still there, great scholars and great cricket players, and no doubt great dunces—all, in fact, who might be supposed capable of throwing any light upon any point of public school education. Whether anything will follow directly from this elaborate inquiry, beyond the publicity of the results of it, remains to be seen. The Commissioners have not hesitated to give effect to their conclusions by suggestions of reform to each school. But it is one thing for a body of men, however able, well-informed, and impartial, and however careful to avoid sweeping changes, to propose a scheme of amendments: another thing for masters of schools placed under varying conditions, kept tight bound by strong associations and local traditions, and precluded by their position from theories or experiments, to put them into practice. An institution of the peculiar and in some respects anomalous nature of a public school, with customs which are based not upon any fixed laws, but which have grown up slowly from century to century, moulded more by habit and precedent, and what seems caprice, than by any formal code of rules or any force from without, cannot be reformed all in a day. Nor does it appear that this is contemplated. Some of the recommendations, in which the report is so prolific, it is proposed at an indefinite period to render compulsory by Act of Parliament; others, of a nature which cannot properly become the subject of legislation, are to be left to the discretion of the respective governors or head masters, as the case may be.

The vice of an inquiry of this sort is that it is practically inoperative. It raises expectations which it cannot satisfy; it exposes defects, but supplies no remedies. It would be a real evil if the notions of any half-dozen men upon the education of the upper classes of the country were to be enforced upon the schools where that education is being carried out; but if this is not to be, the Commission ends in an inquiry, and nothing more. And except in starting a reform of various abuses which have gradually crept into the management of the funds of some of the larger endowments—abuses which seem unavoidable in the case of all corporate landowners—our impression is that the publication of their investigations is the true ending of the labours of the Commissioners. The internal economy of these schools may have been kept too long hidden from view, may have been too long immoveable: the subjects of their instruction

may have been too narrow, and the treatment of their scholars may have been influenced too much by the usages of a past generation : their minds may have clung too tenaciously to the letter, and have made too small an allowance for the circumstances of their foundation ; but now there is no longer any danger that they will retrograde or stand still. The requirements of the Universities, the standard of the scholarship of the day, the reputation of the masters, the self-love of the higher boys, the watchfulness of many at least of the parents, the competition between school and school, the intellectual tone of good society, will all help to keep up the level of public school education. And it is out of the question to suppose that by any periodical pressure from without, any artificial forcing, any parliamentary constraint the standard can be permanently raised : it must find its own level, unmolested by interference with the laws which govern it. The problems which lie clustering about the surface of the subject :—whether or not too much dependence is placed upon the old classical languages as an educational basis ; whether, as a rider to this, it is desirable to incorporate modern tongues with them, and to what extent ; whether in the school course time can be found for such accomplishments as music and drawing, or regard can be had to the aptitudes or the future callings of individual boys ; what number of boys each master can fairly control and teach ; beyond what limit a school would become so large as to cease to be one in tone, and feeling, and society,—these, and a thousand matters of detail, are gradually working out their own solution. There is no need that they should be settled all at once. Public opinion and the interests of those in charge of them will take care that they work towards a settlement. A Royal Commission, no doubt—by the evidence which it accumulates, which would otherwise be inaccessible, by its investigations, its impartiality, and the inquisitorial powers entrusted to it—clears out from the way numberless difficulties ; but should the next step be taken, and any attempt be made by legislative pressure or otherwise to hasten the natural course of such questions, the result will be, not that the questions will be determined once for all, but that a precedent will be supplied for a periodical opening and discussion of them. While, then, we think the Commission has been beneficial, we think that the benefit arises from the impetus which all scholastic subjects will receive from the report being made public, from the opportunities given of comparing one school with another, from the insight which the outer world is allowed to get into these hitherto sacred precincts, from the knowledge which the masters have that their systems are being and will continue to be criticised, and from all the indirect

advantages which accrue to such questions from their being exposed to the discussion of many minds of many opinions, instead of their remaining the special property of a few minds, and those few not without natural prejudices.

The information which the report gives of the resources and the expenditure of the property of the schools is a matter of special, rather than general interest. We were glad, however, to mark the sense they entertain of the value of endowments, especially as an onslaught has lately been made upon them. In a speech recently delivered on topics of education by a late minister, whose abilities and information, and aversion to leaving things alone, no one questions, it was said, 'If you want to preserve—like the fly in amber, like a fossil or a crystal—the prejudices, the ignorance, and the mistakes of one age for the full blaze of light prevailing in another, there is no such expedient as an endowment.' Now no doubt an endowment has a conservative tendency; it perpetuates the habits of thought of a different generation; it gathers round itself the usages and traditions of the past; those who reap the benefit of it are, for the most part, brought up under its shadow and inherit the spirit which it diffuses. But granting this to be an evil—and it is a large admission;—granting that what is preserved from a preceding age is necessarily ignorance and error; that an endowment has the strange attribute of dissolving the good and petrifying the bad: are there no compensations? Do the 300,000*l.* a year which are said to be settled upon schools and colleges in this country, confer upon us of this generation nothing but the prejudices and the deficiencies, the obsolete learning, the little Latin and the less Greek of the twenty generations which have elapsed since University was first endowed, or William of Wykeham made provision for the support of his fellows and scholars at the College of S. Mary at Winchester? To enumerate the very names of eminent men who have been educated upon the proceeds of endowments, an education which otherwise they must have foregone, and by which the foundation of their future eminence was laid, would require pages. An endowment is essential to the mere existence of a seat of learning, and a university without some permanent property attached to it could never hold its own for many generations, even in a new country. A single unendowed school may prosper as long as it is large and popular, but let its numbers from any cause diminish, as was the case at Harrow, under the rule which preceded that of Dr. Vaughan, and the whole power and value of the place vanishes; it fluctuates with every tide, every wind of popularity, and is always in danger of becoming subservient to the public opinion of the day, be its demands

good or bad. While an endowment, on the contrary, forms a nucleus round which in course of time have collected—we must speak in the past, for it is unlikely, from the insecurity engendered by the present practice of dealing with such bequests, that charity will be conferred to any extent in this way just now—*prestige*, a name, associations, a body of learned men, a standard of learning, all which attracts the imagination, or spurs the ambition, or supplies the needs of rising intellects, with which to withstand the popular fancies and the wilder theories of the passing day. It is hard to deny that the present condition of our public schools—which, with all their inconsistencies and shortcomings, are so great an object of national pride—is very much due to the independent tone which Eton and Winchester, through their princely endowments, have been able to maintain against the passions and the prejudices which have left their mark upon the page of history in the four or five centuries which have elapsed since their foundation. No better testimony can be given to the value of endowments to keep up the reputation, and with the reputation the influence, the working power, the entire machinery of a school, than the relative extent to which the numbers of Eton and Harrow have fluctuated during the present generation. The numbers of Eton in 1862 were 840, of Harrow at the same date 481; each school being then on the full flood of prosperity. But in 1842, we find the numbers at Harrow 141, in 1844 still further diminished to 79, and in 1847 they had reached 314. In a period, that is to say, of three years, the school was just about quadrupled. Whereas since 1812 Eton has only twice fallen below 500, exhibiting these fluctuations during a period of thirty years—in 1823 being 627; in 1836, 444, the lowest in the century; in 1846, 777; and in 1852, 597; thus having never been down to half its present number. No doubt in the case of Harrow other and more direct causes can be assigned for the rapid changes it has undergone: but its rival under different conditions has been exposed to the same causes; and our inference is, that Eton, with an annual income of 20,000*l.* has been able, chiefly by means of its endowment, to counteract or to mitigate those disturbing forces to its numbers which Harrow, with only 1,000*l.* has been compelled to submit to.

In 1862, during the summer months of which the Commissioners paid their personal visits, there were 2,800 boys under tuition at the nine schools over which their authority extended: to which amount Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby contributed the 2,000. And if we consider the position which these 2,000 boys will take in the government of the country for the coming generation, it will not appear that the investigation which is being carried into every detail of their school life,

where the direction and the impetus is being given to the course of their life in the world, is either inquisitive or unpractical.

Passing from numbers to finance, we shall find that Eton maintains the same pre-eminence in the rewards it holds out to its staff of teachers and the payments it exacts from its pupils, as in the numbers it educates and the famous names which stand upon its roll; although in this last particular of expenditure Harrow treads closely upon it. The net income of the head master at Eton averages 4,500*l.* The gross receipts of Mr. Butler, at Harrow, are 10,000*l.*; but this sum is subjected to various deductions more or less voluntary, which bring it down to the level of the income of Mr. Balston. Winchester and Rugby are each worth 3,000*l.*, and Westminster 1,200*l.* The emoluments of an under-master vary of course with his standing. An assistant at Eton, with a moderate sized boarding-house, a position to which he can attain within two or three years of his appointment as master, earns upon an average 1,600*l.* a year; with the probability after some twenty-five years' service of being appointed a fellow of the college. It is stated, however, that a fellowship, valuable as it is, has not been an object of much competition, and that able men for the most part have not been willing to exchange for it the more lucrative post of a successful assistant-master. At Harrow and at Winchester the income of a master in the middle of the school seems to range at 800*l.* a year. The thirteen assistants which make up the classical staff of Dr. Temple at Rugby, obtain between them salaries amounting to 13,000*l.* a year; the highest being 1,600*l.* the lowest 340*l.* These stipends, high as they unquestionably are—for the majority of public schoolmasters are of an age at which men stand upon the lower steps of other liberal professions—seem essential to the well-being of the systems of which they form so material a part. For the qualifications of a successful master comprise not only high character and good scholarship, but many such personal aptitudes, like tact, judgment, determination, self-control, and good manners, which for the most part enable men to rise in the world. And unless the legitimate rewards of education were sufficiently large to attract men of this character from entering other professions, comparatively few of the able and gifted men who form the teaching staff of our public schools would be found devoting their lives to that calling.

A boy's expenses may, perhaps, be taken as a test of the social, though by no means of the educational, rank of his school. Judged by this, Eton and Harrow stand highest. A boy at Eton who learns French and mathematics costs his parents

annually 165*l.*; and this is exclusive of clothes, travelling, pocket-money, &c.; so that the gross expenses could not be laid at less than 200*l.* a year. At Harrow, with every outlay included, the cost of a boy at a large house is 165*l.* at a small one 205*l.*; the additional 40*l.* being supposed to purchase more personal supervision and more careful nurture than is practicable at a large house. It does not appear that the boy has more indulgences, except such as are adapted to his health and temperament, but the higher charge is held to be necessary for the remuneration of the masters to whom the small houses belong, and without a number of which a large and efficient staff could not be maintained at Harrow. It is no doubt desirable that a boy of delicate health should be able to come under the invigorating influence of the numbers of a public school, while at the same time he is exposed to the more individual superintendence which is only possible in a small establishment. But it is easy to see that the increase of these small houses for the maintenance of masters, on the plea that only a few could reap the benefit of larger ones, is liable to abuse. For, not to press the objection to the additional expense it devolves upon parents who would prefer to send their sons to one of the larger boarding houses, but for whom we believe there is often no opening, there is the graver objection that the system, the tone, the effects of small houses have a constant tendency to approximate to those of a private tutor's. There seems no remedy for this, unless the whole scheme of remuneration of masters were remodelled; we introduce it as an instance in which the absence of an endowment leads to a sacrifice of utility upon the altar of expediency. The charge for each boy in the head master's house at Winchester is 84*l.*; in the other boarding houses 105*l.*; the difference between the two houses going not directly into the pockets of the under masters, but being paid, together with some additional deductions, into a common fund, which is redistributed in the support of the staff of the school; so that adding some 30*l.* for clothes, &c., the maintenance of a boy at Winchester costs his parents 115*l.* a year in the head master's house, which in 1862 alone contained half the school, and 135*l.* in any one of the others. The expense of a boy in one of the two boarding houses at Westminster is 95*l.*; so that education there would amount to 125*l.* At Rugby, where the difference between lodging in the school house or elsewhere is very slight, the necessary expenditure for a boy's education, including a fair average for all incidental and personal outlay, is 120*l.* At Charterhouse it is much the same. And at Shrewsbury it does not average more than 100*l.* a year. In these estimates we have taken no account of collegers, scholars, foundationers, or

those boys who, under any other name, receive in any form pecuniary assistance from the revenues of the school.

It is not easy to ascertain what it is which regulates these various charges. They depend, no doubt, mainly upon the positive value of that which is received in return for them. But this will not altogether account for the great gap between the expenses of education at Eton and Shrewsbury—the former doubling the latter; especially if the success of the two schools at the Universities is to be taken as a criterion of the value of the instruction given at each. The sums charged to a boy's parents are to some extent a matter of custom, having a constant tendency to increase with the wealth of the country, and with the growing demand for the introduction of new subjects of instruction. The Commissioners could not refrain from several specific recommendations on the subject of charges: a matter in which they would have done wisely to have exercised more restraint. There is little risk of these great institutions descending to the level of commercial speculations; and here, as elsewhere, all questions of value and profit are best left to determine themselves. A school which rates its charges too high becomes the resort of a class, and that class a limited one, and ceases to be a public school, and is bad even for the rich men's sons whom without any other admixture it brings together; while one which, to increase its numbers and to extend its popularity, unduly lowers its scale, must do so at the sacrifice of efficiency, and must be content with a lower class of teachers on its staff.

The systems under which the boys are arranged for instruction prevailing at the different schools, vary, as might be expected, very widely; but no one of them seems to exhibit such marked superiority as to call for its general adoption. The advantages and disadvantages in a large school in this respect are tolerably evenly balanced. On the one side the influence of numbers acts as an incentive to an ambitious, energetic, and clever boy; the competition is more keen and the rewards of success more brilliant; the chances are greater that there will be more comrades of conspicuous talent against whom to contend; and the arena upon which the contest is waged is wider and more famous. But, on the other side, the very motives for exertion which spur the activity of an industrious boy, favour the weaknesses and increase the temptations of an idle, a listless, or a dull one. He moves on with the crowd—the majority will always be with him to support him in his idleness; and the divisions in a great school being either very large or very numerous, in the former case he escapes the eye of his master, in the latter he passes so rapidly from one master to another, that, even when detected, it is impossible to correct him. In a

large school, too, if a boy's energies turn strongly towards out-door games, the call made upon them is so great, and the field for their display so conspicuous, and the fame of success so attractive and conferring so much social influence and positive power, that the temptation to devote the best of them to cricket or boating, instead of Thucydides or Latin prose, is increased tenfold.

Authorities vary as to the highest number which a single master can control and teach in a class. The time during which he has the boys under his hand, their attainments, their industry, and their capacities, his own aptitude, his method of teaching, and other conditions, will, of course, affect the decision. There have been curious changes on this head, even within living memory. In Dr. Keate's time, one of the classes at Eton, and that one of the highest in the school, contained 200 boys; and the average through the school was 80. At present the number of boys heard in school together in one class, at Eton, averages 36; at Harrow, 34; at Winchester, owing to the practice of most of the masters taking two divisions, 45; at Rugby and at Shrewsbury, 33; and at Westminster, 23. The maximum which the Commissioners suggest should not be exceeded, is 30. And when it is considered that the whole time which is passed in schoolroom, taking one of the six days of the week with another, and making allowance for holidays, is, at Eton $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, at Harrow, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and at Rugby $3\frac{1}{2}$ in the day, it will not be thought that the limit is fixed too low. The great difficulty which the large schools have to contend against is the excessive number of divisions, or as an alternative the excessive number of pupils in a division. The old traditional plan of six forms is supposed to be maintained in all cases, although practically in most only the sixth, fifth, and fourth survive. And to meet the large increase of recent years, and the modern requirements as to the limits of each class, it has been found necessary to break up these forms into an elaborate and, to an outsider, a most complicated system of divisions and removes. At Eton, for instance, the form between the fourth and fifth is called the remove, this is again divided into upper and lower remove; the fourth is divided into upper, middle, and lower removes; the fifth is arranged in three divisions, of which the two lower divisions are again sub-divided into removes: the whole scheme of classes and of promotion from one to another being made additionally involved by the word 'remove' bearing no less than four different meanings. At Harrow the term 'remove' is kept for the form below the fifth, which is not divided: below that comes the shell, and then the fourth form; all subordinate distributions being called divisions. At Winchester the forms are called

books, and the names of their divisions are somewhat complicated. It would require for example an effort to recollect at once a boy's exact position in the school, who is described as being at the top of the junior division of the middle part of the fifth book. At Rugby the classes in the middle part of the school have been arranged on the system of parallel forms; each division having a duplicate, which is doing the same work and holding the same position as itself.

These long series of classes are of course a necessity; and for a boy to rise in the school, it is equally necessary that he should pass through every one of them. To counteract the evils of the superficial acquaintance which each boy made with the master under whose charge he passed in his upward course, the great numbers which have long been collected at Eton gave birth to the well-known system of tutors, a system which at various dates and with various modifications has been transplanted both to Harrow and Rugby. The system, which is open to many objections, but which has very strong advocates, is this. When a man determines to send his son to Eton, he selects one of the tutors, all of whom are also masters, under whose charge to place him. Until lately a popular tutor might have as many as 100 pupils; now the number is limited to forty, and is practically rather less. The boy, as a rule, lodges and boards at his tutor's house; but whether he lives at one of the dames', or at a mathematical master's, the tutor has the boy's moral and intellectual training under his care, is directly responsible to, and is in constant correspondence with, his parents, cultivates a friendly and confidential relation with him, and as the boy is under his custody from the time he enters the school till the time he leaves it, he keeps a constant watch over his daily conduct and the unfolding of his character and his mind. In addition to this supervisional duty, the tutor assists his pupils in getting up their work before it is heard in class, every lesson being construed with him, and every exercise being corrected by him, previous to either coming before the master in class; besides which he does with all the boys in his house what is at Eton called 'private business,' and at Harrow, work 'with the tutor,' which consists in taking them through a certain quantity of reading, the subjects and the varieties of which are left very much to his own discretion; and for this purpose he arranges them in classes according to their attainments, capacities, and so forth, and punishes as much for neglect of private as of school work. Each tutor in fact holds, for private business, a school within a school. The advantages of this custom of previously construing and doing exercises are held to be these: each boy in all his work comes under two minds, and two minds

occupied, for the time being, upon the same subject, and so mutually put on their mettle; and it is thought that the blank hopelessness with which most boys first regard an involved and obscure passage in getting up a translation, is somewhat relieved by the presence of his tutor, to whom he does not hesitate to apply without any of that diffidence which would prevent him going up to a master, to whom he is comparatively strange; the tutor too has better opportunities of observing and estimating his pupil's progress, being able to watch his advance through his whole school career, and to compare him throughout, not only with boys supposed to be of his ability, but with boys of all ages and capacities: the system has the further advantage of making the masters' work more varied, and obliging even the lowest to keep up with the instruction given at the top of the school. But, as a set-off to this, it is objected that it wastes the masters' time, by giving two men the work which one might compass, or rather by setting men to do in two capacities that which they might accomplish in one. And there is the further and more serious objection, that the boy is not left sufficiently to his own resources. At Harrow the practice of construing with the tutor previously to going into school, is evidently falling into disuse. The first six divisions in the school are altogether exempt from it; while at Eton only the two highest escape. It is a custom which requires very great caution in its exercise, for it is as easy to over encourage as to discourage; there is the temptation to confuse the want of capacity with the want of application and industry; and the boy is liable to fall into the habit of depending upon others to work out his difficulties, instead of falling back upon his own powers; a habit, when his tutor is not at hand, which is sure to take refuge in cribs and other illicit assistance. At Westminster the system of private tutors, though flourishing at one period, is at present totally extinct. At Winchester it is still in its infancy, there being a custom of old standing that each of the ten senior boys should have some of the juniors assigned to him as pupils, and his duty is to look over the exercises of the juniors before they are shown up, to help them in preparing lessons whenever they want help, and in a general way to see that they are industrious and well-conducted. This custom, which the present excellent head master would wish to keep in full force, has been of late years considerably infringed upon by the appointment of composition masters, who take no class in school, but whose main employment seems to lie in correcting the exercises and compositions of the boys. But in its full development, the tutorial system is not at present one of the characteristics of Winchester.

No doubt the advantages which a boy receives from private tuition, if the tutor at all rises to his opportunities, are very valuable. We can conceive nothing better calculated for fostering a taste for study and for general reading, or for giving method to the desultory courses into which such tastes in youth frequently stray where they already exist. Nor do we see why the plan which many tutors have, of departing widely from the line of instruction given in school, should not be still further developed. The time spent in class at Eton is almost, if not quite, exclusively devoted to Latin and Greek, taught in text-books which for the most part are few in number, chiefly extracts from original works, and confined in matter and language within very narrow limits. What is deficient in the school course, private reading with the tutor supplements; but why should it not go beyond this, and supply, not only occasionally, as in some instances is already the case, a little French or modern history, but be made a recognised vehicle for introducing all those special subjects for which there is so loud an outcry, and leave the old classical instruction in undisputed possession of school hours? Tutors might find difficulty in acquiring such varied knowledge as would be needed, without invading the time and the ability given to their classical attainments; but they need not be insuperable, particularly if such instruction were made, as all school instruction for the common run of boys ought to be, elementary and introductory. Most men so highly educated as the majority of public school masters could teach the grammar and dictionary of French, or the outlines of natural science, without any very great mental effort; and means might be provided for securing the attendance of competent foreigners or professed scientific men, to assist the few more advanced scholars who would need their help. The cases will be few in which modern languages will be pursued with any avidity during boyhood, but when such cases do occur, they are legitimate and praiseworthy tastes which ought to be gratified. It is well to control, but it is unwise to check the direction in which any young mind may branch out in its yearning after knowledge. To the vast majority of boys, a good drilling in the elements of French, in the vocabulary, the grammar, and the simpler rules of pronunciation, is all which is required or which can be attained; the elegancies of idiom and the purity of pronunciation are far more effectively learnt a little later in life by a sojourn in the countries where each language is living and is spoken. Scarcely any boy masters, or even reaches to a fair idiomatic acquaintance with his own language; fewer still become, while yet at school, elegant or sound scholars in Latin or Greek; and it is unreasonable to expect a refined, critical appreciation of the French tongue, at a

time of life when none such exists of the mother tongue. Still, no boy ought to pass through school without being set up with such a framework of one, at least, of the continental languages as would enable him afterwards, if he has the opportunity, the inclination, and the energy, to fill it up with an accurate and full knowledge of the language. It is not only that the difficulty of getting classical masters with a scholarly knowledge of modern languages, or of getting foreign masters with the power of maintaining the discipline of an English school, is a bar to anything further than this; but there is fair ground for doubting whether more would be desirable,—whether an inroad would not necessarily be made upon the liberal, general, and solid education of public schools for the sake of what is professional, or special, or ornamental,—whether too great a sacrifice of severe systematic mental training would not be made to a social and gentlemanly accomplishment. The advantages of classics as the groundwork of upper-class education seem to be so preponderating, that if modern tongues could only be taught by appropriating some material part of the time given to Latin and Greek, we should advocate a total neglect of the moderns in preference to a partial neglect of the ancients. But we do not think the case limited to such an alternative.

There seems no danger from the subjoined evidence of Mr. Balston, that the teaching of modern languages at Eton is likely to supersede or interfere with the old traditionary teaching of the school:—

‘Lord Clarendon. Would it not be considered necessary by the authorities of Eton to render obligatory a thing which they think ought to be part of an English gentleman’s education? I should not.

‘You would not consider it necessary to devote any part of the school time to its acquisition? No, not a day.

‘You do not intend to do so? No.

‘Do you not think that it is a matter which a boy should be required to learn? He ought to learn French before he came to Eton, and we would take measures to keep it up, as we keep up English.

‘What measures would you take to keep up French, and I may also add, what measures do you now take to keep up English at Eton? There are none at present, except through the ancient languages.

‘Sir S. Northcote. You do not think it is satisfactory? No; the English teaching is not satisfactory, and as a question of precedence, I should have English taught before French.

‘You do not consider that English is taught at present? No.’

It cannot be borne too closely in mind that the true purpose of a public school is not to form a few clever boys and turn out periodically a few great scholars, but to supply an education to every boy who offers himself, and who is not incapacitated mentally or morally; to supply to each one the best education which the age requires and he is capable of receiving. Now while

the school theoretically sets before itself the end of raising its pupils to the highest intellectual pitch which their minds will bear, and with this view keeps the whole machinery of teaching in the highest perfection, and employs teachers of the highest order, in practice the results do, and always will, fall far short of these intentions. And while on the one hand any attempt to lower the standard to the level not of good, but of ordinary capacities, would be a great evil; it would be an evil of scarcely less magnitude to make the distance between the scheme of education, and the mental powers and the actual industry of the boys so educated, wide and palpable. Let the boy by all means have the best education, but let its excellence consist in its perfect adaptation to his capacity, and, as far as practicable, to his future life.

If a more comprehensive system than at present prevails is sought to be introduced, its introduction can be justified only on the supposition, either that part of the existing narrow system would be better displaced by other studies; or that the powers of work which average boys possess are now underrated, and that they will bear a stronger educational pressure than now is put upon them. The first of these grounds on which a revision could be defended, opens the whole question of the disciplinary and literary value of the classics, as compared with what are vaguely called modern subjects; a question which we have no intention to discuss at present. We shall content ourselves with extracting a verdict in favour of the two dead languages from the report of the Commissioners:—

‘We are convinced that the best materials available to Englishmen for school studies are furnished by the language and literature of Greece and Rome. From the regular structure of these languages, from their logical accuracy of expression, from the comparative ease with which their etymology is traced and reduced to general laws, from their severe canons of taste and style, from the very fact that they are “dead,” and have been handed down to us directly from the periods of their highest perfection, practically untouched by the inevitable process of degeneration and decay; they are, beyond all doubt, the finest and most serviceable models we have for the study of language. As literature they supply the most graceful and some of the noblest poetry, the finest eloquence, the deepest philosophy, the wisest historical writing; and these excellencies are such as to be appreciated keenly, though inadequately, by young minds, and to leave, as in fact they do, a lasting impression. Besides this, it is at least a reasonable opinion that this literature has had a powerful effect in moulding and animating the statesmanship and political life of England. Nor is it to be forgotten that the whole civilization of modern Europe is really built upon the foundations laid two thousand years ago by two highly civilized nations on the shores of the Mediterranean; that their languages supply the key to our modern tongues; their poetry, history, philosophy, and law, to the poetry and history, the philosophy and jurisprudence of modern times; that this key can seldom be acquired except in youth, and that the possession of it, as daily experience proves, and as those who have it not will most readily acknowledge, is very far from being a mere literary advantage.’—*First Part, General Report*, p. 28.

So that taking it for granted that Latin and Greek hold and ought to hold, both by prescription and by right, the supreme place in the course of public school education, the second alternative which alone could justify the insertion of new subjects, is that boys can be made to learn more than is now the case. That they might and ought to learn more, that any individual boy, of average capacity, picked out and enticed and spurred into exertion would learn more, there can be no doubt. But whether boys as a body will be induced to learn more by the simple expedient of giving them more to learn, is another matter. It may safely be assumed that with the common run of boys it requires a pretty strong effort to bestow thought or application upon anything in the way of a lesson. The process of learning is irksome and laborious; and immediately a subject is made so attractive as to need little or no effort, it loses one half, at least, of its educational value. So that supposing the classical language which most boys are set up with at the time of their leaving school to be meagre in quantity and poor in quality, what can be expected to be the results of the attention and industry given to additional studies, while that given to classics remains undiminished? At Harrow there appears to be an opinion that the application given to modern subjects has not lessened that given to the old languages; but the experience is yet so short, and the evidence so conflicting, that little reliance can be put upon the opinion. The Commissioners are sanguine enough to hope that the chance of variety which the infusion of new studies would afford, would go far towards driving away that great enemy of all schoolmasters—idleness. Much time spent in school is no doubt utterly wasted; many topics which occupy a boy's mind are no doubt frivolous or mischievous; so they think that, without infringing either upon the time devoted to the old established studies, or to play, they can counteract this waste, and supply rational subjects of thought by rendering compulsory a study of French and German, or Italian, natural science, music or drawing, modern history, and English composition. And it is expected that after four or five years of school, nine boys out of every ten will have a fair critical knowledge of the language and the subject-matter of all good Latin and Greek authors; will be able to speak French fluently and purely, and read German intelligently; will have mastered the outlines of chemistry, geology, and natural history; will have cultivated the hand, ear, and voice; will be tolerably well read in history, and faultless in geography; will have attained some power of writing in good sound grammatical English: while the tenth boy will have excelled in all these attainments together.

The Commissioners have gathered from the evidence brought before them, although it is evidence with many exceptions, that boys who have excelled in classics excel also in mathematics and modern languages. But this proves no more than that a youth of good ability can turn his talents in two or three directions, without failing in any one. Boys, however, of good ability are exceptions in a public school. The average boy has only average capacity, and makes only a partial use of what he has. Large schools already favour cleverness too much, and leave the idle to their idleness, and the dull to their dulness. This arises partly from temptations and defects inherent in large numbers, and partly from the natural and unconquerable inclination of tutors and masters to bestow pains where they see their pains bear the greatest results. And it is impossible to banish the fear that if modern subjects are to be made compulsory to any marked extent—and the scale suggested devotes nine-twentieths of the class hours of the week to them—a boy who shows special aptitude for any one of these—who can talk French fluently, but construes Latin slovenly, has the gift of quoting Shakespeare and of forgetting Sophocles or Homer, has a passion for wild flowers, but is cold and dead to grammar, has a scientific ear for music, but none at all for iambics—will gradually be allowed to follow his own tastes, and neglect altogether his aversions and his difficulties. The result of which would be, in the case of clever boys with such inclinations, that their minds would be stored with information and be barren of knowledge, that they would be accomplished but not educated or instructed, and that they would have picked up many acquirements, but undergone no discipline and no wholesome effort in acquiring them. While the common run of boys would no doubt gladly hail some change from construing and verses; but applying themselves no more thoroughly to new learning than to old, their minds would be overloaded with a multitude of subjects without receiving benefit from one, their observation, already vagrant, would be distracted, their thoughts, already loose, would be dissipated; and instead of preparing themselves in some fashion to gather information in after life as occasions or needs arise, they would be contenting themselves with scraps and undigested facts, which possess no solid nourishing properties to strengthen the mental constitution. No doubt French is a desirable and perhaps necessary part of a gentleman's education; no doubt an acquaintance with scientific laws quickens the faculty of observation and calls out the reasoning powers—though we doubt whether science itself, so called, is adapted to the early stages of the mind's development; no doubt a knowledge of the practice of music

and drawing is gratifying to the possessor, though, unless combined with some artistic taste, it gratifies no one else; but all these, so pleasant to possess, so easy comparatively to acquire, are dearly purchased if there is to be given up for them that sound training and discipline of a boy's mind, which would enable him to fulfil all the duties, and to clothe himself in as many as need be of the graces of life in the world. We do not see how, unless such studies are strictly kept subsidiary and in the background, the conclusion is to be avoided, that a boy's inclination is to be made the measure and the criterion of what he ought to learn, not the experience and the observation of his masters. Except by private tuition, and in the way of additional work, a public school, in our opinion, should not allow any one of these studies to invade the supremacy of classics: an opinion which is fortified by the experience of Mr. Butler, at Harrow:—‘I have always felt,’ he says, ‘that if I was a private tutor in the country, having a few pupils, supposing I was equally competent to teach all those different branches, I should be guided mainly by the peculiar character of the boy's intellect, and should not at all think myself bound to adhere to any one particular system; but when you have to administer instruction to a very large number of boys, you must keep very strictly to the routine of one particular system, though you know all the while that you are, to a certain extent, sacrificing the intellectual advance of some one or more particular boys.’ The Commissioners are alive to these various objections which bear upon their suggestions on this head, but do not allow them the weight which we think they ought to carry with them. There are two fallacies which underlie the grounds on which they base their recommendations: one, that boys will do all that they ought to do; the other, that by striking a mean between the capacities of the highest and lowest, a measure is got of the actual power of all the boys in the school, while, in fact, the real capacity lies far below the average capacity.

There is little difficulty in pointing out theoretical deficiencies in public school education; still less in pointing out inadequate and meagre results. The Commissioners wished to try each school by a direct examination, a project which would certainly have caused jealousy and soreness, and which was wisely resisted by the masters. Failing this, they had no other resource for comparing the means of instruction employed with the end gained, than by examining University class lists for the results in the cases of scholarships, ability, and industry, and University tutors for the results in the case of the common run of boys. Such a criterion is necessarily defective; for while academical honours and prizes are a fair test of the higher results of school educa-

tion, the majority of boys sedulously avoid every test which can be avoided, and thus, so far as any judgment is formed from their performances upon the course which they had gone through previous to entering college, it rests not upon fact but upon opinion. And it must be further borne in mind that the Universities receive only a portion, and the army the smallest fraction, of boys educated at public schools. About one-third of the whole number go up to Oxford or Cambridge, and only some forty a year are candidates for direct commissions at Woolwich, so that there are no means whatever of bringing a strict and positive test to bear upon the value of the instruction which the other two-thirds have received. College tutors agree that the best and the worst men are sent up to them from the public schools; they agree too that the schools turn out accomplished men and fine scholars; but they complain with an unfortunate unanimity that the majority of undergraduates entering direct from Eton, Harrow, Westminster, and the rest, come up ignorant and unprepared, 'men who have been allowed 'as boys to carry their idleness with them from form to form, 'and to work below their powers,' and whom it is too late to make anything of. At good colleges something like one-third are 'plucked' at matriculation, unless they have been previously 'coached,' nearly a fourth submit to the same fate at Responsions. The Commissioners have accumulated a mass of evidence and statistics with regard to men who do not read for honours, and are obliged to confess that their 'facts and figures 'do not indicate an average of classical attainments which can 'by any stretch of indulgence be deemed satisfactory.' How far the schools themselves are responsible for this, how far the blame is to be shared by parents and by the preparatory schools in which boys profess to be grounded, we are not prepared to decide.

But it is not in class lists nor in the note-books of examiners that the grand result of English public school education is to be looked for. We must not go to the Universities alone to see what they have done for us, but to the halls and the rectories, the society, the Church, the state, the history of England. Whatever manliness of character, whatever capacity of self-government, whatever healthy independence, whatever public spirit Englishmen pride themselves upon, they have had more than their share of forming, of teaching their pupils to be not only accomplished scholars, but to bear without reproach 'the grand old name of gentleman.'

- ART. VIII.—1. *Jerusalem Explored; being a Description of the Ancient and Modern City, with numerous Illustrations, &c. &c.* By ERMETE PIEROTTI, Doctor in Mathematics, &c. &c. Translated by THOMAS GEORGE BONNEY, M.A. 2 Vols. folio. London and Cambridge. 1864.
2. *Le Temple de Jérusalem. Monographie du Haram-ech-chérif. Suivie d'un Essai sur la Topographie de la Ville Sainte.* Par LE COMTE MELCHIOR DE VOGÜÉ. Paris, Londres, Liège: Livraisons I, II, III. 1864.
3. *The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus: with a Journal of a recent Visit to the Holy City.* By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq. London. 1863.
4. *Dr. Pierotti and his Assailants; or, A Defence of 'Jerusalem Explored.'* By the REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D. *With an Appendix of Documents.* London. 1864.
5. *The Holy Places at Jerusalem; or, Fergusson's Theories and Pierotti's Discoveries.* By T. G. BONNEY, M.A. London. 1864.
6. *Golgatha og Christi Grav.* Af P. W. BECKER. Kjobenhavn (Denmark). 1864.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been done of late years for the geography and archæology of Syria and Palestine, by such exhaustive explorers as Drs. Robinson, Eli Smith, and Thompson, by Van der Velde, Porter, Miss Beaufort, Dean Stanley, and others, it is quite clear from the advertisements of recent publications, and still more from those which are announced as in the press or preparing for publication, that the subject is far indeed from having lost its interest, and that this field of research has ever new treasures with which to reward the toils and perils of the increasing band of investigators.

It is a special subject of congratulation to Biblical students, that the geology and natural history of Palestine, in which scarcely anything has been attempted for very many years, have been at length taken up and prosecuted by persons competent before all others to do justice to them. Mr. Tristram, the well-known naturalist, has already given us a foretaste of the pleasure which we may anticipate from the publication of his work, in the lively extracts from his Journal already published in the last volume of 'Long Vacation Tourists.' It is a great satisfaction to know that his researches have resulted in many and important additions to the Fauna and Flora of Palestine; that his piscatory recreations in the Sea of Tiberias have brought up from the

depths of that sacred lake new specimens of fish, of the existence of which in those waters no naturalist before had any conception; and that his double-barrel has brought down from the heights of Hermon ornithological rarities, whose *habitat* was supposed to be confined to the Arctic regions. We await with eager interest Mr. Tristram's promised contribution to this most important department of Biblical study.

Still more rich in promise are the results of the important expedition, from which the Duke of Luynes has quite lately returned, after a most successful prosecution of well-considered researches in a field which has hitherto baffled the enterprise of English, French, and Americans alike. This nobleman, already well known to Oriental scholars for his diligent and successful prosecution of Phœnician studies, and particularly by the publication of the great inscription on the sarcophagus of the Sidonian king Esmunazar, now in the Louvre at Paris, after a long and careful preparation commensurate with the importance of his undertaking, has during the current year conducted a party of explorers to the East, where no pains or expense were spared to realize results worthy of the enterprise. An iron boat, constructed at Toulon expressly for the navigation of the Dead Sea, and successfully launched on its heavy waters, has compelled that reluctant lake to reveal its long hidden secrets, which English, Irish, and American sailors had before investigated at no less a penalty than their lives. It is, indeed, a subject of great gratification that this deadly sea, after exacting three victims—Lieutenants Costegan and Molyneux, of our royal navy, and Lieutenant Dale, attached to the American exploring expedition of Captain Lynch—has, however grudgingly, surrendered at discretion to the indomitable perseverance of European science. Twenty-seven days' sailing, without the slightest difficulty, on these hitherto mysterious waters, not much larger in extent than some of our English lakes, while it will serve to check, and, if necessary, to rectify, the surveys of Molyneux and Lynch, will probably leave nothing to be added to our knowledge; while it may be hoped that the considerate liberality of the Duke in presenting his boat, when it had served his purpose, to the Arab inhabitants of the shores of the lake, will enable enterprising travellers, at least for some few years to come, to verify for themselves the accuracy of his observations.

But the Duke of Luynes has not confined his attentions to the Sea of Lot, as it is styled by the natives. The great crevasse of the Ghor, as the Jordan valley is called, and of Wady Araba, between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, have been thoroughly surveyed; Kerak, Machærus, Arak-el-Emir (of

which more presently), and Jerash have been explored; as has also the country of Edom, including Petra, for so many past years closed to travellers by the feuds of the Arab tribes in the vicinity. In all these regions, not only have geological surveys and hydrographical observations been made with the utmost care, but all have been laid down with the nicest accuracy (and the appliances of photography have not been neglected), so as to furnish the elements for an accurate atlas of a country which had heretofore been only skimmed by travellers, whose hasty passage through the dangerous and inhospitable region afforded neither time nor opportunity for a scientific examination. Finally, on the Duke's return to France, the officer of the Imperial navy who accompanied his expedition remained behind to make a careful survey of Palmyra, where he has taken photographs of all the most important objects, and determined the exact position of the city by a series of astronomical observations. We sincerely congratulate the Duke on his safe return, and tender him our hearty thanks for his eminent services to the great cause which we all have at heart; and we trust that in no long time we shall be able to announce that Sacred Literature has been enriched by the publication of his work.

With little less impatience do we await the new volume of travels by the author of '*Le Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*,' which is to contain the account of his recent excavations at Jerusalem and beyond Jordan, at Arak-el-Emir, and other newly explored sites on the borders of the country of Moab. All that proceeds from the pen of M. de Saulcy is worth reading; and even when his arguments fail to carry conviction, they serve, at least, to confirm our confidence in his industry and honesty; and our admiration for the zeal and ability with which he advocates his somewhat startling theories, disposes us to deal leniently with his too lively imagination, the deductions from which will not, perhaps, always bear the test of rigid criticism. He has set himself a hard task if, as we hear, he is undertaking to prove that the contemporaneous inscription on the coffin-lid which he discovered in the Tombs of the Kings assigns it to the wife of Zedekiah, king of Judah, and so proves the square Hebrew character to be anterior to the Babylonish captivity; or that the monuments about Jerusalem, which bear unmistakable traces of an acquaintance with the classical forms of architecture, date back to the era of Solomon. We can safely leave these interesting subjects in his hands, with the conviction that he will do all that can be done for the vindication of his interesting and ingenious theories.

Most important of all, in an archæological view, are the recent researches in Palestine, the Hauran, and Central Syria,

of the Count de Vogüé and his companion Mr. Waddington, an instalment of which is now before us in the magnificent work on the Temple of Jerusalem, the title of which stands at the head of this article. All who are interested in these studies are fully aware that the Count de Vogüé is no tyro in this field of investigation. His beautiful book, entitled '*Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*,' was the first to bring into prominent notice many still existing remains of pointed architecture, erected by the piety of the Crusading Franks during their brief occupation of the country in the twelfth century, most important for their bearing on the history of Gothic architecture in the West, serving as they do to illustrate and exemplify the influence exercised by the Saracens upon the Christian architecture of Europe, and to supply a missing link in the chain of architectural history.

We cannot resist the temptation to dwell for a few minutes on his important excursions in 1862, if only to prepare the reader for the treat which is in store for him, when the results of these most successful researches in Eastern and Central Syria shall be presented to the world in the dress in which two most able and conscientious antiquaries will be sure to clothe them, accompanied with some two thousand inscriptions, hitherto unedited, revealing the history of two new worlds in the zenith of their civilization.

Mr. Porter and Mr. Cyril Graham have given us some idea of the extent of the field which they could only partially explore; and Dr. Wetzstein, the Prussian Consul at Damascus, has prosecuted his researches still further eastward of the Hauran, in the districts of Safa and Jebel-Ses, of the very existence of which we have only recently been informed. But the descriptions of these travellers had not prepared us for such a rich harvest as Count de Vogüé and Mr. Waddington have now brought back in their portfolios and note-books, with the examination of which we have been favoured; and we question whether the history of civilization contains a page so curious and interesting as that which has yet to be written from the inscribed monuments of Auranitis and its adjacent provinces.

'In fact, the Greek inscriptions of the Hauran present us with a complete history of the country since it has had a history, *i.e.* since the accession of King Agrippa. The earliest inscription shows us the new sovereign reproaching the inhabitants with their savage life, comparing their manners and their habitations to those of wild beasts, and calling them for the first time to civilization. Some years later, these same people were building temples, erecting statues, and engraving inscriptions in honour of their benefactor. Then came the

'Roman Empire, represented by many hundreds of inscriptions which contain valuable details concerning the organization of the provinces, the military forces, the Arab tribes. With the fourth century commences the series of Christian inscriptions, which conduct us to the eighth century, and furnish us with the names of bishops, information concerning the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the worship of saints, chronology. In this last series are found many inscriptions relative to the Gassanite kings, whose names appear for the first time in some Greek inscriptions.'

Still more startling are the revelations from Central Syria, for which we are also indebted to these enterprising travellers; because, lying so much nearer to the beaten track of Eastern travel, and being much more accessible than the parts of which we have just spoken, it is strange that they should have been so long overlooked, particularly as Pocock had indicated, however briefly, the existence of ruined churches and monasteries in that district. But as to the extent of these monuments of Christian antiquity, and their perfect preservation, we had no indications from any previous writers.

The following graphic description refers to a mountain district lying between Antioch, Aleppo, and Apameia, on the right bank of the Orontes, the several parts of which are known in the country by the names of Jebel Riha, Jebel Ala, Jebel Alaka, and Jebel Semaân, the last of which derives its name from the magnificent church dedicated to S. Simon Stilites, briefly described by Pocock, in his 'Description of the East,' a beautiful drawing of which was exhibited by Count de Vogüé, last year, in the *Architectural Exposition*, of Paris. Writing of this district the Count says:—

'I do not believe that there exists in all Syria a collection which can bear comparison with that presented by the ruins of these countries. I am almost tempted to refuse the name of ruins to a series of towns almost intact, or, at least, of which all the elements remain, sometimes overthrown, never dispersed, the sight of which transports the traveller to the midst of a lost civilization, and reveals to him, so to speak, all its secrets. In passing through these deserted streets, these forsaken courts, these porticos where the vine entwines itself round mutilated columns, we experience sensations analogous to those which are felt more strongly at Pompeii—for the climate of Syria has not preserved its treasures so well as the cinders of Vesuvius—but more freshly here, for the civilization which we here contemplate is less known than that of the Augustan age. In fact, all these cities, which are more than a hundred and fifty in number, within a space of thirty or forty

‘leagues, form a whole, from which it is impossible to detach any part; where all is tied and chained together; belonging to the same style, to the same system—in short, to the same epoch, and that the epoch of primitive Christianity, hitherto the most unknown in an artistic point of view; extending from the fourth to the seventh century of our era. We are here transported into the midst of a Christian society, and discover its manner of life: not a life hid in catacombs, not, as has been commonly imagined, a degraded, timid, suffering state of existence, but a life of freedom and opulence, addicted to the arts; in large houses built with huge blocks of dressed stone, perfectly arranged, furnished with their covered galleries and balconies, beautiful gardens planted with vines; with wine-presses, cellars, and stone casks; with large subterranean kitchens, and stables for horses, in courts surrounded with cloisters; elegant baths; magnificent churches supported by columns, flanked by towers, encompassed by splendid tombs. Crosses and monograms of Christ are sculptured in relief on most of the gates, and numerous inscriptions may be read on the monuments; in which, however—from a sentiment of Christian humility, which forms a remarkable contrast with the vain-glorious display of pagan inscriptions—are to be found no proper names of individuals; only pious sentences, passages of Scripture, monograms, and dates. But the tenor of these inscriptions points to an epoch closely following the triumph of the Church. . . . By one of those phenomena, of which the East offers frequent examples, all these Christian towns were abandoned on the same day, probably at the time of the Musulman invasion; and since that time they have remained untouched. But for the earthquakes, which have thrown down many of the walls and columns, nothing would be wanting but the timber and wood-work of the houses.’

It is a subject of very sincere congratulation to the lovers of Christian art that these copious materials for the history of the ecclesiastical and domestic architecture of Syria in the palmy days of the Church of Antioch, should have fallen into the hands of archæologists competent before all others to do full justice to so important a subject.

If we have been beguiled by this very seductive theme into a fuller account of the recent discoveries in Central and Eastern Syria than we had contemplated, it will be found that they have an important bearing on that which was to have formed the principal subject of this paper, and to which we shall now endeavour to confine ourselves—viz. the progress of archæological and architectural discovery at Jerusalem since our last notice, in June, 1862

In resuming this discussion, it is very far from our intention to enter at any length upon those topographical and historical inquiries which have occupied us in times past. One remarkable result of the investigations of archæologists in this field of research—which cannot but be most flattering to their self-respect—is this: that however widely their theories differ, however diametrically they may be opposed, one and all are sure to claim every fresh discovery as confirmatory of his particular view. Thus, *e.g.* M. de Saulcy has returned from his recent visit, we are informed, more convinced than ever of the soundness of his startling hypotheses, more satisfied than before that his identification of the 'Tombs of the Kings with the Sepulchres of the Kings of Judah in the City of David, is the only tenable theory. Mr. Fergusson, again, who has quite lately returned from his first visit, writing to the *Times* on the Mosk at Hebron, avails himself of that opportunity to proclaim to the world that, after an exhaustive examination of the localities at Jerusalem, he has 'come back more confirmed than before in the correctness of all he has written or said with regard to the Holy Places;' which, considering what he has said and written, certainly implies a strength of conviction which it would be equally difficult to measure in thought or to describe in language. For ourselves, we must admit that the study of two of the most important works which have lately appeared on the subject of Jerusalem topography has obliged us to modify our previous views to some considerable extent, and we shall confine ourselves in this paper chiefly to those points which we think have been established beyond all reasonable question by Count de Vogüé and Signor Pierotti, whether they agreed with our preconceived notions or not.

In proceeding to 'Jerusalem Explored,' it is impossible to ignore the curious literary controversy to which its publication gave rise, and which, for a time, occupied a very considerable space in the columns of the *Times*. Not that we are going to discuss the merits of the points at issue between 'Dr. Pierotti and his assailants,' Messrs. Fergusson and Grove. The necessity of doing so is in great measure superseded by the pamphlet which bears that title, with the conclusions of which we should be glad to acquiesce, did not the possession of further evidence, not within reach of the author of that pamphlet at the time of his writing it, force upon us the conviction that Dr. Pierotti has appropriated the labours of others, particularly of Mr. Catherwood, to a much larger extent than is admitted by himself or his champion. We deeply regret the necessity we are under to make this avowal; for we are fully sensible of the obligations we owe to Signor Pierotti for the patient and persevering efforts

which he made, during a residence of eight years in Jerusalem, to illustrate its topography and history; and the use which we shall forthwith proceed to make of his great work will prove how highly we estimate it. But this only leads us to regret the more that from some fatality—for we cannot adopt the theory of a lack either of opportunity or ability—he should, in the first instance, have laid himself open to the charge of plagiarism, and then have lacked the moral courage to acknowledge the full extent of his obligations to his predecessors.

The most important facts established by Signor Pierotti's topographical surveys, are: first, the confirmation of the views of former explorers as to the course of the first or old wall along the northern brow of Sion, and the commencement of the second wall near the Gate Gennath; secondly, the entirely new line which he ascribes to the third wall, or that of Agrippa; and thirdly, the arrangement of the Temple and its courts, which results from his most important subterranean discoveries in and about the area of the Temple. We shall say something on each of these points, chiefly in the language of our author; on which we may, by the way, compliment the translator, as having performed a difficult task in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, rendering the original Italian into vigorous and perfectly idiomatic English, so as effectually to disguise from the reader that he is reading a translation; no small praise when so much of the terminology was necessarily technical, and consequently demanded an amount of professional knowledge which one would have had no right antecedently to expect in a clerical Fellow of a College in Cambridge.

1. In identifying the towers of the modern Castle of David with those of Hippicus, Phasaelus and Mariamne, Signor Pierotti does but accept an hypothesis generally acquiesced in by archæologists, since it was first published in 'The Holy City,' some twenty years ago. His attempts to discover traces of the old wall of Sion along the line of David Street, which runs eastward from the Jaffa Gate to the Bazaar, were not altogether successful; but happily, since he quitted Jerusalem, an English traveller has supplied the chain of evidence which was wanting to place this question beyond all controversy. Part of the wall, with its flanking towers, has been actually seen and measured and plotted by Mr. Lewin. The following description relates to a spot on the northern brow of Sion, west of the entrance to the Bazaar from David Street.

'In excavating what he called "the cliff of Sion," that is, the part next to and on the north of Kanâter Mar Botrûs, they came to a cistern lined with cement; but on further clearance, it was found that what had anciently been used as a cistern had, in still more remote times, been a tower, measuring in the

interior eight feet from north to south, and nine feet from east to west, and on the west side was a gateway five feet wide, with a round arch at the height of eighteen feet from the floor of the tower. The whole depth of the floor from the level of the street above was thirty-six feet. At the distance of sixty-four feet to the east was found another tower which corresponded, with the exception that it had no gateway, but projecting stones in the interior as if for supporting a staircase. Between the two towers, and on the south of them, ran a massive wall. I examined the wall, and it consisted of large stones, but not at all equal in size to those at the corners of the Haram, and not bevelled. What was the thickness of the wall I do not recollect to have heard, but it must have been very considerable, for Mr. Schick, finding no other foundation, proceeded to build the wall of the house upon it. This led to a contest between the architect and the civic authorities, for this old wall, instead of taking exactly the line of the street, projected a few feet southward into it, so that the thoroughfare would be proportionately curtailed by carrying the new wall along the same line. However, the want of any other solid foundation was strongly urged, and eventually the new wall was allowed to rest on the back of the old one. To the north of the towers the ground was excavated to a depth of ten feet more, but no rock appeared, but "only very small stones, looking like the filling up of a trench." Here, then, we seem to have the old first wall of Sion flanked with towers sixty-four feet apart, and overhanging the Tyropæon valley on the north. Mr. Schick has no classical knowledge, and is perfectly innocent of Josephus, and his words that the valley was filled up with "only very small stones, looking like the filling up of a trench," are very remarkable, as the Jewish historian particularly mentions that when Titus had taken the first and second walls, he cast up two mounds against the upper city, one by the Pool of Hezekiah, then called the Almond Pool, and the other at the distance from the first of thirty cubits, or forty-five feet; and if, as is likely, the second mound was forty-five to the east of the other, its position would coincide with the part of the valley where these "small stones," as if "for the filling up of a trench," were noticed by Mr. Schick. At first sight it may appear singular that if this was the Wall of Sion the gate of the tower should turn toward the west, but a little reflection will furnish the explanation. To the north of the wall was a deep valley, and no direct approach was practicable. The road, therefore, was brought up the valley in a slanting direction, and so came to the side of the tower, and the west side was chosen as the most convenient for the traffic along the thoroughfare now occupied by the Jaffa Gate.—*Lewin*, pp. 216—218.

Of the course of the second wall, which ran from the Gate Gennath northward, Signor Pierotti has discovered other traces besides those pointed out by Mr. Williams and Dr. Schultz, the former of whom was the first to propose, as the latter immediately accepted, that hypothesis for which Signor Pierotti, Count de Vogüé, and Mr. Lewin now adduce additional evidence.

Having described the round-headed arch at the western entrance to the Bazaar, Signor Pierotti thus proceeds:—

‘In the immediate neighbourhood of the tower Hippicus, I was not able to find any ancient remains, and therefore suppose that the wall commenced at this gate. I sought for its ruins, along a line northwards from this point, but was at first unsuccessful, although I found a fragment of a building on the east side of the plot of land formerly occupied by the convent of S. Mary the Great, which may possibly belong to an early period; but I had afterwards three opportunities of learning that I was not mistaken, in expecting to find the required evidence somewhere in this part. 1. In January, 1857, the weight of

a quantity of fallen snow threw down a part of the wall of a Mohammedan bazaar, called the Meat Bazaar, near the above-named convent. By order of the Governor I repaired it in 1858, and in digging down to the rock to lay the new foundations at a depth of ten feet below the surface, came upon large stones, boldly rusticated, and arranged in a manner that reminded me of the Phœnician work of the time of Solomon. This wall is nine feet thick, and consists of three courses of stone,—the first, which lies on the rock, being $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, the second 2, and the third $2\frac{1}{2}$; thus an extension both north and south was proved by this fragment. 2. In 1858 the Russian mission at Jerusalem, by my suggestion, obtained a piece of land near to the Church of the Resurrection, on the east. In 1859 they cleared away the accumulated rubbish, and during the work the corner of a Jewish wall was discovered, the stones of which were rusticated to a depth of 4 or 5 lines, and carefully finished; these were the remains of a restoration of the time of the Herods on the ancient foundation of Solomon's wall. 3. In 1860 the dragoman of the French consul built a house, close to the west side of the present Judgment Gate, and in digging down for the rock found, at a depth of 18 feet below the surface, a fragment of a wall, resembling in all respects that described above in the first case. From these three points I ascertained the course of the west side of the wall; it remained therefore to search for the northern face towards the Damascus gate, and an opportunity occurred before long, when the Greek Archimandrite Bisarion repaired and strengthened a house (now temporarily occupied by the Russian consulate). I dug some pits to examine its foundation, but no remains of antiquity were discovered, and the only result of my labours was to ascertain the true level of ancient Jerusalem at this spot.—*Jerusalem Explored*, pp. 32, 33.

The second of these vestiges of the second wall we suppose to be the same with that subsequently identified as such by Count de Vogüé, whose description of the venerable relic we shall anxiously look for in a subsequent part of his splendid work now in progress. It is the first, we presume, which is noticed by Mr. Lewin in the following extract, where he is speaking of the—

‘Intended site of the new Russian consulate, in the angle whereof the eastern limb is formed by the bazaars in Damascus Street, and the southern limb by the street which runs off westward from Damascus Street, on the south side of the court of the Holy Sepulchre. Here the ground has been excavated some ten or twelve feet, and very interesting remains have been brought to light. They consist of massive bevelled stones, each about 7 feet long and nearly 5 feet wide. Those at the east of the angle are apparently not *in situ*, for they are isolated and not connected with other stones of a similar character, either above or below or at the sides. Those, on the contrary, which make the angle itself are in their original places; and what must not escape notice is, that the stones are bevelled on the southern and eastern surfaces, but not on the northern and western, nor are the walls of a sufficient breadth to have served for an outer fortification. It must therefore be inferred that either they belonged to some public building, or if they entered into the outer city wall, there must have been other stones joining on to them on the north and west, which increased the thickness, and might have been bevelled on the exterior; or else, which is perhaps more probable than all, one of the towers stood formerly on this spot, and the angle which still remains was on the interior. What is the most striking feature about the stones is that they are precisely of the same character with those seen at the Wailing-place and at the corners of the Haram, namely, the bevel is very shallow and the surface finely smoothed. They must, there-

fore, be referable to the highest antiquity, and may be a remnant of the second wall erected by David or Solomon.'—*Lewin*, p. 158.

We cannot at present acquiesce in the course of the second wall from the Gate of Judgment, as drawn either by Count de Vogüé or Signor Pierotti. According to their idea, it turned at a sharp angle and crossed the valley of the Tyropœon almost in the line of the Via Dolorosa, until it joined the outer wall of the Fortress Antonia. Our principal objection to this hypothesis is, that it so greatly circumscribes the limits of the Lower City of Josephus, and actually leaves no hill at all corresponding to Acra, which certainly is described by Josephus as occupying a gibbous-shaped hill which supported the Lower Market—a comparison utterly unintelligible on the theory of the Acra of the two Plans now before us.

2. We pass on to the third wall, that of Agrippa, as to the course of which there is so close an agreement between Dr. Rosen Signor Pierotti and Count de Vogüé, against all that have gone before them, that it seems scarcely possible that it can be accidental, or the result of independent researches. It is true indeed that the comparatively recent discovery of the large excavations under the northern hill of the modern city, known by the natives as the Cotton Grotto, and identified by general consent of antiquaries with the Royal Caves of Josephus, would probably have modified the views of Drs. Robinson, Schultz, and others, who having been taught to identify the Royal Caves of Josephus with the Tombs of the Kings or other sepulchral excavations in the Upper Valley of the Kedron, were forced to give the third wall an enormous expansion in this direction, in order to satisfy the language of the historian. There can, however, be no question that the course now assigned to it, identical with that of the northern segment of the modern city wall, from the Tower of David to the Mosk inclosure, much more nearly corresponds with the details of measurement given by Josephus; and although we have not yet had the advantage of considering the arguments of Count de Vogüé in favour of that new disposition of the wall, we must say that those of Signor Pierotti, a summary of which we proceed to give, seem to leave us no choice but to surrender the more extended line of defence set up by former travellers, and to take our stand behind the less ambitious but much more defensible works which the architect engineer of Surraya Pasha has been the first to erect. We must do so, however, with one word of hearty reprobation for Josephus, whose habit of exaggeration, so justly appreciated by Count de Vogüé (pp. 17, 18), was well calculated to mislead unwary antiquaries, when once so important a landmark as the Royal Caves had been lost from sight.

Signor Pierotti thus states the case for the third wall, as he draws it, and we observe that he is not only entirely at one with Count de Vogüé as to the course of this wall, but that they also agree in fixing the site of the Psephine Tower to the north-west angle of the modern city, where the massive remains of ancient masonry, known to the natives as *Kasr Jalûd*, Goliath's Castle, and to Europeans as Tancred's Tower, still preserve in their form and structure a reminiscence of that masterpiece of Jewish fortification.

'In laying down the course of this wall I differ from all those (in particular Barclay, Schultz, and Robinson) who, up to the present time, have written on the topography of ancient Jerusalem. I am led to do this by the careful investigations which, during a long time, I carried on in the district north of the city. It is my positive opinion that the ancient walls did not extend to the north beyond the present inclosure; that is, that they began at the Jaffa Gate, passed by the Damascus Gate, and ended at the north-east corner of the *Haram-es-Sherif*. Let me now state the facts which have led me to this conclusion.

'In 1860 the Greek convent repaired the building outside the Jaffa Gate, now used as a custom-house. Wishing to lay some foundations against the city wall, I came, on digging down, upon those of Agrippa's, which rest upon the rock; now we know that this wall near to Hippicus was defended by the steep slope of the side of the valley, and that where this ceased, towards the north-west corner, a ditch was cut in the rock. This may still be seen, and is a proof that I am right in supposing the present to be the wall that went from Hippicus to Psephinus.

'At the north-west corner a massive ruin still exists inside the city, rising about twenty feet above the ground, and built of small stones joined with strong mortar; in the south-west corner however are found large stones, rusticated after the Herodian pattern. On digging about the shapeless pile, I discovered that courses of similar stones continued down to the rock. I also found two sides of masonry, and many large rusticated stones buried in the rubbish, and traces of a great cistern. Hence I consider this to be the site of the tower Psephinus, an octagon in form, and seventy cubits high. Beyond these ruins, outside the present wall, is a ditch cut in the rock, unquestionably a work of the Herodian age, for no later conquerors would have had the time or desire to execute such a great and costly work. It is now concealed by rubbish, but it runs eastward parallel to the present wall, which therefore can scarcely have extended beyond it, in the course laid down by Barclay, Schultz, and many others.

'The position I assign to Psephinus is the highest point in the city; therefore as the tower was seventy cubits high, we can understand that from its top the confines of Arabia and the sea (the Dead Sea) might be visible; indeed, the latter may even now be seen from the terraces of the highest houses in the neighbourhood of the ruins.'—*Jerusalem Explored*, pp. 34, 35.

Time and space forbid us to follow our author in his careful survey of the ground along which the north wall is carried, and in his conscientious investigation of the text of Josephus, by which he establishes his points one by one to our entire satisfaction; but we must extract another passage in which he seems to us to dispose most effectually of those who would still maintain the theory of a more extended expansion of the wall of Agrippa.

‘Let us also consider the conformation of the ground on the north. Josephus has distinctly stated that the city was inclosed by a triple wall, except on the side of the valleys, where there was but one, as this part was inaccessible. These few words appear to me to be fatal to any theory that lays down Agrippa’s wall near the Tomb of the Kings. If he had begun to build it on the ridge south of the upper part of the Kidron valley, the Jews would of course have completed it on the same spot, and Josephus would not have omitted to state that the city was defended to a considerable extent by a valley on the north. But on this point he is silent, and finding his description correct in other respects, I cannot suppose that he has made an omission in this.’—*Pierotti*, p. 41.

‘Lastly, I assert that no signs of defensive works, natural or artificial, are found to the north or north-east of the present walls. From the Jaffa Gate to the Tombs of the Kings, and thence to the north-east corner of the walls, there is not the slightest trace of the foundation or the masonry of the outer walls; no great hewn stones scattered over or buried in the ground: nothing but twenty-six vaulted cisterns hollowed out in the rock, and four very small pools, which could not have supplied the large population that must have covered this space; the rock, though in places worked, is generally rough and untouched by any tool: the soil is everywhere red and clayey, its natural condition; another proof that it was never built over, for where the houses have been destroyed by fire or age, it is of a blackish or greyish colour, and contains fragments of walls, or at least hewn stones in plenty. Let any one examine the south part of Sion or Ophel, and contradict my assertion if he can. On the south, heaps of broken stones and rubbish are scattered over a grey soil; on the north is bare rock, or a scanty, though rich, virgin earth.

‘Some, however, infer an extension of the city to the north, from the occurrence not only of cisterns but also of small cubes of stone, belonging to mosaic pavements, and of certain walls, which, without proper examination, have been considered to be ancient Jewish work. But these remains are not of any value, because, as stated by Josephus, there were houses and gardens in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem to the north. We may, indeed, infer the same from the words of Nehemiah, because we cannot imagine persons engaged in the service of the Temple living elsewhere in the environs of the city, on account of the great number of tombs in every other part. Houses also stood here at the time of the Crusades, and a church dedicated to the Martyrdom of S. Stephen; therefore the occurrence of some mosaics and stones is easily accounted for. For all these reasons I deny that the walls extended farther to the north than their present position; and if the advocates of other theories are not convinced, I invite them to examine the places for themselves, when they will see that I have spoken the truth.’—*Pierotti*, pp. 42, 43.

3. We have yet to direct the reader’s attention to the most important of all Signor Pierotti’s discoveries, viz. those which resulted from his subterranean investigations in and about the Haram, the full value and significancy of which it will take some years to realize.

The first of these which we shall notice is a grand gallery or vault which passes under the Via Dolorosa, a little east of the point where it is spanned by the arch of the Ecce Homo, of which arch it may be noticed in passing that its side portal on the north, with a niche and other details of its construction, fully vindicate its claims to be considered a veritable Roman

gateway, belonging, as Signor Pierotti believes, to the period of Hadrian's restoration of the city as *Ælia Capitolina*.

He was engaged upon a building for the establishment of the Filles de Sion, on the north side of the Via Dolorosa, in close proximity to the arch.

'In order to build a buttress at the north-east corner, and at the same time to lay new foundations in a small plot of land on the north, I was obliged to dig a hole, 18 feet deep below the level of the street, which rises towards Bezetha; and on the 3d of June came upon a layer of large slabs, each 4 or 5 feet long, 3 or 4 feet wide, and 9 or 10 inches thick. On removing two of these I found a square hole, through which I entered, or rather fell, into the vault I was looking for, but the intense heat and foul air compelled me to beat a hasty retreat, and have the aperture enlarged to permit the air to circulate more freely. Meanwhile I continued excavating a little to the north, and met with the wall bounding the vault on that side, and found $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below its top (measured from the outer surface) the original entrance; by which I obtained easy access for myself and afterwards for many others.

'The end of the east side of this gallery is just at the south-east angle of the building on the north, separated from the body of the convent by a small level street; and it terminates at the north-west angle of the *Haram-es-Sherif*; the floor throughout the whole length slopes slightly and is formed in the rock; though the place was partly filled with earth at the north end, and with filthy stinking mud at the south, I thoroughly examined it and made a plan and elevation. At the entrance a stone staircase, with steps about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, afforded an easy descent; but unfortunately I was obliged to mutilate this, in order to construct a pier to sustain the weight of the north-east corner of the building above. The side walls are founded on the rock, which appears above the level of the floor, at a distance of 69 feet from the entrance, and gradually rises in them up to the southern extremity. They are built of squared blocks, generally $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and from above 2 to 3 feet high, perfectly fitted together. The semicircular vaulting is admirable, being formed of oblong stones, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and 8 inches high. Its exact regularity is its most striking feature.

'I consider that this gallery was remodelled during the Roman period, because some holes in it to admit the water are no part of the original design. In the east wall is a semicircular arched door, built up, whose width and height show that it was formerly the entrance of a passage. Along the side walls are semicircular headed apertures, which, together with the two openings of the same shape, opposite one to another, near the south end, are also no part of the original design. These two are the beginnings of conduits, one of which ran eastward down to the Pool of Bethesda; the other westward, into the Tyropœon valley. The accumulated water and filth did not allow me to make a close examination of these, but, as far as I could see at the openings, the masonry and shape of the stones led me to think that they formed part of a Roman restoration. A short distance from these the gallery is closed by a wall, entirely of Arab work; but I made a temporary opening in it, and was able to continue my examination as far as the *Haram-es-Sherif*; the ground of which is about 8 feet above the top of the vault. The quantity of water, earth, and filth, prevented my approaching the rock at the end, and ascertaining the means of communication with the surface at the *Haram*, but as I saw that the south-east corner was built up, I have no doubt there had been access at that point. It immediately occurred to me that the vault had originally been a passage between Bezetha and Moriah, and was the "Strato's Tower," where Antigonus, younger brother of Aristobulus (the sons of John Hyrcanus), was murdered by the treacherous devices of the Queen Alexandra.'

Before leaving this arch we must notice another curious and important discovery made by Signor Pierotti, while engaged upon these works, which excited great interest among the inhabitants of Jerusalem, specially among the Jews, who, regarding the discovery of a source of living water in the Holy City by the light of Zechariah's prophecy, supposed that nothing less than the immediate appearance of their long-expected Messiah could be harbingered by this fountain.

'I have, however, not yet exhausted the objects of interest afforded by the property of the Convent of the Daughters of Sion. On continuing the excavation to the north in order to lay new foundations at a depth of 36 feet below the street, water was met with in abundance. At first I supposed it had filtered through from some cistern; but as it did not increase or diminish, I had the excavation deepened and enlarged, and then discovered, to the north of the water, a perpendicular face of hewn rock; and on digging deeper, a small conduit cut in it, through which the water ran from north to south. I was anxious to follow it in these directions, but was prevented by the depth of the soil, the houses in the neighbourhood, and above all by the customs of the country, and so was obliged to restrict my researches to that spot, and even there the owner did not allow me to do much, fearing to attract the attention of the Mohammedans. I ascertained, however, that this water did not enter the gallery, because after drawing off all that was found there, no more appeared beyond what drained from the street after rain, while the stream flowed continuously southward, yielding a constant supply for building purposes. During the first three days its water was muddy and brackish, but afterwards it gradually became clearer, but always had a disagreeable taste and contained the same ingredients as that at the springs of the *Hammam-es-Shefa*, and at Fountain of the Virgin in the Kidron valley. From the day of its discovery (June 12, 1860), to the end of January, 1861, it yielded a daily supply of from 200 to 250 gallons without any diminution, and was not affected by the fall of rain or snow. At this time I resigned the charge of the works to a master-mason, as all the difficulties had been overcome, but I am told that the water continued to flow, and has done so abundantly up to the present date (April, 1863). From several investigations which I will mention in the chapter on the waters, I infer that this stream enters the well of the *Hammam-es-Shefa*.'—*Pierotti*, p. 63.

Our last extracts from Signor Pierotti's volume shall be those which relate to the series of discoveries connected with the water-supply and sewage of the Haram-es-Sherif, which can only have belonged to the Jewish Temple, and so serve to fix the site of that building, beyond all reasonable doubt, on the raised platform of the Mosk area, in the native rock of which most of these cisterns and conduits are excavated. We know nothing more interesting in the whole range of modern antiquarian discovery than the narrative of these investigations in which Signor Pierotti recovered one link after another of that chain of evidence which, when completed, supplied a demonstrative proof of the fidelity in all main points of the rabbinical writers' accounts relating to the Temple, as well as of the trustworthiness of the oral traditions with reference to the site.

We commence our extracts with one in which he argues on

à priori grounds for the existence of large subterranean aqueducts and sewers under the Temple area, a point on which the reticence of Holy Scripture is certainly remarkable.

'As Solomon had built in the Temple inclosure houses for the Levites, besides the laver and altar of burnt-offering, it was necessary for him to construct conduits and cisterns to bring, to keep, and to carry off water for the religious ceremonies and the various purposes of daily life, as well as to remove the blood of the victims and other refuse. On this point the Bible is silent; but we can easily see that there were not any sources of drinkable water in the Temple and its vicinity, or indeed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and that the rain-water alone could not be depended upon for a supply sufficient for the wants of the place; we may therefore assert with confidence that Solomon must have made great works to bring water from distant sources, as from Etham (Eccl. ii. 6), where an abundant quantity could always be obtained; with cisterns to keep it and conduits attached to convey it to different parts of the platform of the Sanctuary.

'We are told that the victims were slain on the north, the blood sprinkled about the altar, and the refuse cast away towards the east, in the "place of the ashes," and the priest's chambers, built on the north side of the altar of burnt-offerings. Hence it follows that drains must have existed at the altar of burnt-offerings, on the north side, and at the "place of the ashes." That these and many other things were constructed by Solomon, we shall presently see from my investigations in the *Haram-es-Sherif*.'—P. 49.

We shall follow the order of Dr. Pierotti's narrative in his discovery of the various meshes of this complicated network of aqueducts and sewers; because, although it has the inconvenience of commencing at the end of the series, it appears to represent chronologically the progress of his discoveries, and so intensifies the interest with which we watch the gradual development of that masterpiece of engineering skill and invention, which devised and executed this elaborate system of drainage some three thousand years ago!

After repeated inquiries among the natives of Jerusalem, and some faint and unsatisfactory hints of hidden passages, from the *fellahîn* of Siloam, accident at last led him to the first identification of the great sewer by which the blood of the victims was carried from the Temple area to the Pool of Siloam, along the steep and narrow brow of the hill, parallel to the wall of the Haram, which is now occupied by a Moslem burial-ground.

'In the month of September, 1857, I was walking outside the east wall of the Haram, and stopped to watch an Arab who was digging a grave near the southern extremity of the cemetery. I entered into conversation with him, with a view of quietly examining his excavation; but on reaching a depth of three feet he stopped, as his work was finished; for the dead Arabs like the earth to lie light upon them. However, by a present I induced him to continue his labour; but, after going down about 2 feet more, he again desisted, at the instigation of another workman, who in the meantime had come to bring him some food. A little more money set them both at work, and after sinking 2 feet lower, they came upon something hard, which on examination proved to be a wall, belonging, as I suspected, to a conduit; and by widening the excavation a little, we found the corresponding side wall at a distance of 3½ feet, both being of great age. I would gladly have had them continue their

work; but they were both tired, and also afraid of being seen digging so deep, in the company of a European and Christian; besides, the corpse was expected before long; so they partially filled up the hole as quickly as possible. I was, however, satisfied with what I had seen, and a few days after, having obtained permission from the Pasha, on some trifling pretext, I employed them, with two other workmen, to make an excavation opposite to the south-east corner of the Haram (not being able to dig farther to the north on account of the graves); and after two days' hard work we found, at a depth of 11 feet, remains of a conduit resembling the former, and, like it, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth. The walls were $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, but had been higher, the upper part having been destroyed.'—P. 93.

Our author next conducts us to the causeway on the west side of the Mosk inclosure, where the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools enters the Sacred Precinct; and which was called in the times of the Second Temple the 'coming down of the waters.'

'During the winter of 1858 and 1859 no great quantity of rain fell at Jerusalem, and the cisterns were in consequence not filled; so that in the summer months there was a scarcity of water. Under these circumstances, Surraya Pasha ordered the conduit from Etham to be repaired, in order that it might supply the Haram. I availed myself of this circumstance, and entered many of the cisterns in that precinct, which were either almost or quite dry, under the pretext of inspecting them to see if they needed repairs. In the year 1856, when Kiamil Pasha was governor, the Turkish engineer, Assad Effendi, had restored the aqueduct, and I had assisted him as a volunteer, and been able to offer him some useful advice; which was the reason that I was now employed.

'I will now relate my discoveries in connexion with this conduit, commencing at the point where it enters Moriah.

'It comes down by the dyke or bridge crossing the Tyropæon, and at the present time empties itself into a small basin opposite to the entrance of the Mekhemeh; but formerly it flowed into a large reservoir, still existing in the lower part of that building, whence it went on into the Temple. This chamber is now disused and filled with rubbish. Thus by their carelessness the Moham-medans lose the benefit of all the works of antiquity in Jerusalem. From the above-named basin two conduits branch out; the smaller and newer supplies water to the fountain in the middle of the Mekhemeh, and then rejoins the larger and older one ($2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high), which, after passing under the Bab-es-Salsala, enters the Haram, and then, after running some little distance southward, turns off at an angle and goes to the fountain opposite the Mosque-el-Aksa, whence it proceeds to the great cistern called Birket-es-Sultan.'—P. 95.

Dr. Pierotti then describes this remarkable rock-hewn cistern, Birket-es-Sultan, which fulfilled the important office of controlling and regulating the water supply of the Temple according to the season, and according to the exigencies of the sacrificial services.

'The water in the Birket es-Sultan (Prince's Pool) was, at the time of my visit, a foot deep; the sides and vaulting, with the piers supporting it, have been hewn with great pains out of the rock. It is 32 feet in height. In the wall near the opening from the fountain are notches cut in the rock, obviously to be used as steps. There are two apertures in its west side, the one already mentioned as coming from the fountain which almost touches the vaulting; the other 4 feet lower down and blocked up, which is the end of the conduit

coming from the cistern near the Mosque of the Mograbins. There is another opening on the north which I could not examine; it is under the vaulting. On the south-east, 4 feet below the vaulting, is an opening walled up, corresponding with the great chamber at the south-east angle of the inclosure, as I was able to ascertain by examining the north-west corner of that place, after removing a quantity of earth. On the south is another opening (now closed with Arab masonry), 3 feet above the floor, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; the beginning of a conduit mainly excavated and vaulted in the rock, but for a short distance built with stones and roofed with large slabs, which I have traced with difficulty and labour along its whole course quite close to the Fountain of the Virgin. At certain points it is 5 feet wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high.'—P. 96.

We come now to the most wonderful of all these marvels: to the solution, namely, of the grand difficulty connected with the mysterious cave in the Sacred Rock of the Haram, beneath which, according to Moslem tradition, was the 'Well of Souls,' in the hidden depths of which our first mother, Eve, and the Virgin Mary, were engaged in spinning wool and weaving garments for the souls in Paradise!

The delusion was dispelled in a manner not altogether agreeable perhaps to the poetical imagination of the inventors or propagators of the legend, but very satisfactory for historical and archæological purposes.

'We will now examine the cisterns to the north of the Mosque es-Sakharah. On entering the northern one ($29\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep) I found the floor covered with wet mud to the depth of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At the first glance I saw an opening on the south side, 3 feet wide and $4\frac{1}{2}$ high, half built up with Arab masonry, and after clearing away some of the stones, earth, and mud that blocked it up, I passed through it into another cistern in the same direction, 32 feet deep. These are both very ancient, and are wholly excavated in the rock; and I have no doubt that they belonged to the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. On the south and on the east of the deeper cistern are the openings to two passages; the first leads to a conduit (3 feet wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ high), descending from the west; but after going a few feet along the passage we find another conduit of the same size as the above, coming from the south, and leading upwards into a double cistern, as I had always expected. The form of the lower chamber is an irregular sphere, about 22 or 23 feet in diameter, its floor is covered deep with dry mud, with a few stones (but rather too many for me to remove). On a careful examination I saw, at a height of $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the mouth of the hole leading to the upper chamber, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and 4 feet long, and the marble slab which we have already mentioned as covering it. This it was that the Santon struck with his foot or stick to prove the existence of the "Well of the Souls" below! There is a conduit on the south, into which I entered through an aperture (now walled up), and by a very gradual ascent reached the other extremity at the fountain opposite to the Mosque el-Aksa. The whole depth of the double cistern is $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the top of the rock, and $23\frac{1}{2}$ below the pavement of the mosque. The reader may imagine my joy at this result of my labours, so long desired and so anxiously sought, and the gratitude I felt to God for granting me this boon of ascertaining the position of the altar of burnt-offerings, and the cisterns and conduits for blood belonging to the ancient Temple; an ample recompense for all my toil.'—P. 98.

Only one link was now wanting to complete the chain which

would bind together the aqueduct from Etham with the sewer of Siloam, and this was soon supplied in those large rock-hewn cisterns, which underlie the area to the east of the raised platform and south-west of the Golden Gate, which have channels running into them from the west and north, and one running out of them on the east.

‘On entering the cistern, excavated in the rock on the west of the Golden Gate, I found that it was 20 feet deep, and that on the west side was the mouth of the conduit, which I partially examined from the cistern north of the Mosque es-Sakharah. I was able to pass along it for some distance on this side also, and found it to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 3 high. The only thing that now remained to be done was to find the conduit leading out of the cistern towards the east; and after a long search I had begun to despair, when a labourer, who was working at the south side of the chamber, told me that there were signs of an opening there; in a few minutes it was uncovered, and through it I entered into another cistern, whose floor was 4 feet below the level of the former; and on the east side of this was a conduit, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 3 high, running towards the Haram wall, which must have communicated with that the ruins of which I had found outside the east wall. I had thus completed a chain of evidence, which established the course of the conduit for blood, as laid down by me, at every point.

‘Marks of another opening appeared above the soil on the south side of the same chamber, but I had not time to uncover it, being recalled into the first cistern by the discovery of another passage on its north side; through this I entered a series of cisterns on a level of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the central. In the last of these, at the north end, was the entrance to a conduit ($2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and high) which sloped upwards in the direction of the Pool of Bethesda. It was impossible to follow it up; but from its direction, level, and design (as I will presently show), it must have corresponded with the opening (walled up) to which I called attention at the south-east corner of the above pool.’—P. 98.

We present the deductions from this series of discoveries in the language of our author, only expressing our general acquiescence in his conclusions, so far as we have been able to test them.

‘Having thus narrated the investigations I have made and the information I have collected, I will now state my conclusions on the connexions and purposes of these underground works. They are as follows:—1. That from the time of the building of the Temple the conduit from Etham has emptied itself into the cistern beneath the *Mekhemeh*, whence the water was conveyed into the Temple by a branching system of conduits, the chief of which I have traced. 2. That the cistern north of the Mosque of the Mograbins was used as a reservoir to supply Ophel, where, at the present time, but few traces of these works are found. 3. The conduit leading from this into the *Birket-es-Sultan* must have been intended to carry away any excess of water, and also by this means to relieve that which now goes to the fountain, especially when it might be out of order. It is obvious that these filled the *Birket-es-Sultan*, and consequently the great reservoir at the south-east corner of the *Haram*. 4. It is probable that the numerous cisterns on the west side may also have been fed by different conduits, but I had not sufficient time to ascertain this. If not, they might have been supplied by the drainings from the courts, the terrace-roofs of the cloisters, and the Temple itself. 5. The fountain opposite to *el-Aksa* is Saracenic, but not the basin in which it stands. This supplied water to the cistern under the altar of burnt-offerings, to cleanse it from the blood that

flowed down from above. Hence the stream ran into the cisterns on the north, and thence into the "place of the ashes" on the east, which I believe to have been the southernmost of the underground chambers; and from this it went outside the wall, and after passing along parallel to it, finally emptied itself into the pool near the Fountain of the Virgin. 6. In the "place of the ashes," in which they cast the crops of the birds, the entrails of the victims, and other refuse, a larger quantity of water would be needful, especially at times when the sacrifices were numerous; and I suppose that the conduit from the Pool of Bethesda was constructed to augment the supply; also I fully believe that if I had found time to uncover the apertures on the south of the "place of the ashes," and on the north of the *Birket-es-Sultan*, and to examine the cistern on the south-east of the *Sakharah*, I should have discovered that this cistern (where I place the "bronze sea") was supplied from the *Birket*, and discharged its waters into the "place of the ashes."—*Pierotti*, p. 100.

And now that we must reluctantly take leave of 'Jerusalem Explored,' we can but regret that our limited space has allowed us to do but scanty justice to this great work. We have been obliged to leave some of its most important discussions entirely untouched, and cannot so much as refer to many of the most original and interesting theories of its author. With all deductions that the most hostile criticism can demand for some serious blemishes in the plans and other illustrations—which need not here be detailed, as they have been already unsparingly exposed in the columns of the *Times*—Dr. Pierotti's work takes its place as one of the chief authorities on the topography and archæology of Jerusalem, and the author may indeed congratulate himself that his toilsome labours and costly sacrifices have not been expended in vain.

The fag end of a long article is not the place to do justice to such a work as that of the Count de Vogüé, which we have hitherto noticed only incidentally on account of the remarkable coincidence of some of his views on topographical questions with those of Dr. Pierotti. Indeed, we are scarcely yet sufficiently acquainted with this splendid work (of which the fourth part has reached us as we were going to press, and which is not yet complete) to venture on a lengthy notice; for although we have followed his arguments with intense interest, so far as he has already gone, yet we have been too often baffled in our attempts to consult his maps and plans—essential to the clear understanding of the text, referred to in the notes, but not yet published—to suppose that we have really mastered the subject.

Reserving this work then for future notice, we must here limit ourselves to the performance of a promise which we made at the opening of this paper, which was this:—to trace the connexion which exists between the recent discoveries which have been made on the east of the Jordan and in Central Syria, to which we have here called attention, and the questions in debate

among archæologists as to the date to be assigned to the architectural remains of Jerusalem.

Setting aside the Saracenic masonry, Count de Vogtié has satisfied himself that the real antiquities of Jerusalem belong mainly to two periods, those of Herod the Great and the Emperor Justinian. To the former he assigns the large bevelled masonry with which all are by this time familiar, and which it has been the practice to assign to Solomon and his successors the kings of Judah; to the latter those richly ornamented works, the remains of which are seen in the Golden Gate and the Gate of Huldah. The analogies of the latter he has found in the ruined cities of Central Syria, already described, which belong to precisely the same era; the earliest example of the former he has traced to Arak-el-Emir, with the following notices of which we conclude. It is happily a dated monument, erected about 176 B.C. by the elder Hyrcanus, under circumstances thus described by Josephus:—

‘However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone, to the very roof; and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew around it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him, and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once: and the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one: it was for his own preservation lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built the courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judæa beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon.’—*Whiston’s Josephus, Antiquities*, Book xii. ch. 4, sec. 11.

The ruins of this castle were first discovered and identified by Mr. Bankes, in company with Captains Irby and Mangles, early in this century, and are thus described:

‘We left Heshbon, passing by a stream which, if followed, would probably have led to the pools. We then proceeded along the road to Szalt, and in about four hours arrived at a place called by the natives Arragel-Emir. Here are the ruins of an edifice constructed of very large stones, some of which are twenty feet long, and so broad that one constitutes the thickness of the wall. The ruin is situated upon a square platform or terrace of some extent, with a stream below. From the situation, and from the circumstance of large beasts, in relief, being sculptured about it, Mr. Bankes believed it to be the palace of Hircan, who, according to Josephus, being driven across the Jordan by his brother Alexander, king of Jerusalem, had built a palace in this neighbourhood, surrounded by hanging gardens, traces of which are yet visible. There are many artificial caves in a large range of perpendicular cliff near it;

some of these are in the form of regular stables, in which feeding-troughs still remain, sufficient for thirty or forty horses, with holes in the live rock for the head fastenings. Some of the caves are chambers and small sleeping apartments, probably for servants and attendants. There are two rows of these chambers; the upper one has a sort of projecting balcony across the front of the chambers. There is one large hall finely proportioned, with some Hebrew characters inscribed over the doorway; the whole is approached by a sort of causeway.'—*Irby and Mangles, Travels*, p. 473. Ed. 1823.

How little could those travellers have anticipated the important rôle which that ruined castle was to play in the illustration of the Architectural History of Jerusalem under Herod the Great!

In conclusion, we cannot dissemble the satisfaction which we feel in the conviction, that the result of all recent researches into the topography of Jerusalem, is to confirm the principal traditions relating to the Holy Places. The state of the argument, and the evidence on this long and earnestly-disputed question, is very ably and dispassionately stated by the learned Dane, the title of whose recently published pamphlet stands at the head of this article. We hail the appearance of a Lutheran advocate for the authenticity of the traditional sites as a hopeful sign that theological prejudice is no longer to prevail over reason in the consideration of this subject; and the authors quoted in this elaborate treatise prove that Dr. Becker does not stand alone, when he concludes as follows:—

‘Conformably to the whole preceding argumentation we cannot but express our agreement in every essential point with Chateaubriand, Williams, and Berggren, in giving our assent to the old traditions in reference to the site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre.’—P. 28.

- ART. IX.—1. *Manchester Church Congress*. 1863.—Official Report.
2. *Guardian* for October and November, 1864.—*Bristol Church Congress*. *Mr. Disraeli's Speech at Oxford*.
3. *Union Review Almanack* for 1865—Hayes.

THE writers who so complacently talk of the Church movement of 1833 as a phase long past and forgotten, of the religious and social progress of England, are every day convicted of egregious self-deception. No doubt the movement has gone through many changes since the publication of Tract No. I. It was an 'Oxford' movement; now Cambridge seems asserting itself as a centre of orthodox Church life. It was a 'Tractarian' movement, but the Tracts were extinguished more than twenty years since. It was the 'Newmania,' and it is full twenty years since Dr. Newman was with us. It was 'Puseyism,' but it is long since Dr. Pusey has appeared in the attitude of continuous public leadership, although at the present moment much *ante ora virōm*.

What, however, it was at the first, and what it continues to be down to the day on which we are writing, is a movement having, as its motive power, a deeper recognition than has for many generations existed among us, on the one hand, of a visible universal Church, and of sacramental ordinances, as the logically necessary correlative, 'through the ages all along,' in that Church, of the Incarnation; and on the other, of the Church of England, as fulfilling, within its limits, the idea of such a Church, and as supplying those sacraments. If this view of Christianity (no matter for the argument whether true or false in itself) stands out conspicuously and in greater prominence throughout the 'Establishment,' and if it shapes the actions, the language, and the writings of members of that Establishment to an incalculably greater degree than it did before 1833, then the movement which came to maturity during that year has not died out, as Latitudinarian optimists would like to prove. We can understand the neologist expressing his contempt for the Church system, or the Puritan banning it; we can understand the Romanist, specially if he be a *divert*, treating the manifestations of such a system in the English Church as deleterious and dangerous hallucinations; but we cannot understand one of these men shutting his eyes to 'Anglicanism,' so called, having revealed itself in England as a great, and to this century a new power, both in relation to the

spiritual life, and also to the public actions of members of the national Church. When we had occasion five, and again, three years ago, to review the condition of Church matters, we expressed our strong conviction that what was once known as the Church party, had been broken up, and that the Church was all the same widening and strengthening itself. We make the same assertion to-day in respect to the one compact Church party which seemed at one moment ready to have marshalled itself in opposition to the well-disciplined ranks of Puritanism. It has been broken up through many causes. But while this one Church party has disappeared, there has been a signal revival lately of the spirit of partizanship within the Church of England in respect of different matters, some of a temporal, some of a spiritual, and others of a mixed character; while the accidents of this complex condition lead to strange permutations and combinations of men who used to be easy to find, either on a right or on a wrong side, but who are now perpetually changing positions like the performers in an old-fashioned country-dance. We are not making this statement either in praise or in blame, but as it is a fact, it may as well be acknowledged. The old lines were necessarily broken up as soon as that vague appellation, 'Broad Church,' had slipped into current vogue, and had been accepted by men of the most different temperaments and systems of belief, simply as an escape from the difficulties of partizanship. Undoubtedly it has, at the same time, its good side, when it results in the unostentatious adoption by those who have hitherto been classed as Low Churchmen of a distinctively Church platform, from which to work any one question of the day, as, for instance, the extension of the Episcopate.

We may generally sum up the different Church questions of the day which lead to these diversities of attitude under three heads. First, comes the practical and political side, for those two phases of Churchmanship have, by force of circumstances, been oddly amalgamated; next, we may reckon the doctrinal one, in reference, chiefly, to recent outbursts of scepticism from dignified quarters;—and finally the ritual side, running in some cases into sensational excess. In arranging these topics in this order, we have no idea of hinting any opinion as to their relative importance. We have simply arranged them as they best suit the tenour of the present article.

The co-operation for several forms of practical work, as well as for the maintenance of the Church in its corporate privileges as a portion of the body politic, of moderate members of the different parties, admits, in the first instance, of an easy solution. They felt, in one view of the matter, that it was their

duty to do something to pull together, if they meant to continue members of the same Church; and in another, they felt that there were certain things which ought to be done at the cost of a certain amount of mutual concession, so long as conscience was not violated. Naturally, the possibilities of joint action were limited to practical and political Churchmanship—any attempt at hasty doctrinal fusion would have risked opening the ugly discrepancy as to the value of the Sacraments, which is the essence of the difference between High and Low. The old game of cross-purposes which Churchmen and ministers have been playing was also, in its way, conducive to the issue of a joint Church action, after the model of a company with limited liability. Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell had, some time since, stultified themselves in the eyes of most zealous Churchmen of either complexion, by the votes they gave in favour of the Church-rates Abolition Bill. But, in compensation for this blunder, Lord Palmerston held the proxies of the entire Evangelical party, in return for the concession of episcopal patronage which he had, a few years previously, made to them; while—still preserving their favours—he was filling the four primatial sees with men bearing the orthodox names of Longley, Thomson, Beresford, and Trench; and the dioceses of Gloucester and Ely with Professors Ellicott and Harold Browne. No doubt these appointments were subsequent to the rise of the new associations. But assuredly they helped to complete the estrangement. Churchmen felt that *aide-toi* was not a meaningless adage, when it had to do with the faith they were told to put in ministers. The Church Institution was the first shape which the experiment took, and the activity of that body soon galvanized the obsolete and obscure office of rural dean into a new line of usefulness, as convener and chairman of little social societies of joint clergy and laymen, periodically meeting to debate on topics of Church interest. Of course, in a system of such novel, not to say hasty introduction, based on so little of precedent, and so much less of positive authority, the amount of talk talked, in proportion to work done, was frequently excessive. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that these meetings have done considerable service of a protective kind, besides directing public attention to questions of progressive improvement, such as diocesan synods, more bishops, and so forth; and that, above all, they have made the people who attend them feel, that to belong to a Church is to have contracted obligations of an objective kind to a visible corporate body. Withal, the rural office has been worked very hard, and cynics might be tempted to say that at bottom a zealous Church Institutionist looked on a rural dean as the keystone of the

Christian Church. The climax of incongruity was attained when the rustic title was attributed to the rectors of the large old parishes in the metropolitan boroughs. Still, the stress laid upon the decanal division was in itself harmless; and perhaps the absolute absence of sanctity or authority in the office made it an easier channel through which to work a voluntary organization, than if those clergymen had been recognised and full-blown prelates.

It was to the credit of the Church Institution and of the Church Defence Societies, *πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μόρφη μία*, that between four and five years since they felt that fragmentary meetings and a weak central body in London, itself working with half-manacled hands even as to questions of Church politics, was not sufficient to maintain the truce or strengthen the alliance between the Churchmen who had taken up the new Church movement. 'Church Congress' was the next rallying cry, originally raised in the Defence Association at Cambridge, in which University the first gathering of the kind was held in King's College Hall, in December, 1861.

The notion of a Congress was a direct offshoot, as far as England is concerned, from the British Association, which seems to have been the first to teach the lesson that men might meet in peripatetic session, by the easy elective process of buying a ticket, to lecture, to talk, and to mould each other's notions, without the final conclusion of a formal vote. Archæology soon followed suit, and later the airy nothing called 'Social Science.' The Evangelical Alliance, too, was in the nature of a congress. 'Congresses'—antiquarian, humanitarian, &c.—have also for the last twenty years or thereabouts been in fashion on the Continent; and so we should be inclined to attribute the fact of Church Congresses having made a simultaneous appearance in the Churches of England and Rome to an involuntary cyclic coincidence. Two Congresses at Mechlin, one of them distinguished by M. de Montalembert's brilliant plea for political liberty as the best safeguard of Catholicism, and the other carefully guarded from any such explosive element, but in compensation garnished by an exceedingly rich exhibition of mediæval Church art; and one at Munich, headed by the enlightened Döllinger, and snubbed accordingly from Rome, sum up the Roman Catholic list, with, we believe, some minor gatherings at Cologne and elsewhere in Germany. In England the Church Congresses have been four. The small one at Cambridge heralded a more imposing gathering at Oxford. Church Congresses at both these places were treading on velvet. Those who wished well to the movement felt that its real crisis had come when the off-hand acceptance of a spontaneous invitation to

Manchester had pinned the congressionists to holding their third session in that city during the autumn of 1863.

The objection so frequently urged against Church Congresses that they settle nothing, we put aside as trivial; or, to speak more candidly, we accept it as their distinguishing merit. A Church Congress might not find its place under a condition of Catholic perfectibility. It is just because the work is incomplete, abrupt, illogical, and unsatisfactory, that such institutions, with their prudent abstinence from claiming perfection, come in so usefully. If the truth be admitted, that opinion must now be left to regulate many things which used to be regarded as within the province of authority, machinery which is successful in bringing together so many leading representatives of so many diverse schools in the Church, for free and friendly discussion, with the hope of agreement rather than of division, must be of proved utility.

Whatever else may be doubtful in the results of these 'parliaments,' to use the term in its etymological sense, it is certain that from no juggling, as some unscrupulous organs of Puritanism try to make out, but by the irresistible logic of facts, the party which holds its own the best, and gains the most upon the other side, is the High Church one. The lesson to him who will see is obvious. Common sense compels any knot of men, among whom clergy stand in a large proportion, who meet together to debate on the good estate of their own community, under the chairmanship of its magnates, to make the common law of that community, and not their own crotchets, the rule of action. So many honest and zealous Low Churchmen, who had hitherto never been fairly brought face to face with the Church as a corporation, discovered, when volunteering to act in a combined Church gathering, that the unquestionable common law of that corporate Church contained useful elements of which they had hitherto been ignorant, or of whose importance they had hitherto made light. The other side had not this difficulty to overcome: the lesson they had to learn was one of personal forbearance and an elastic appreciation of antagonist positions, irrespective of their own intrinsic soundness.

A more solid objection, which was urged with considerable power in a paper read before the Bristol Church Union by Mr. Pocock, is the number not of open, but of *closed* questions, which in dread of a row must be entered on the 'Index Expurgatorius' of each successive Congress. We fairly say that the objection does not admit of an answer which would be logically satisfactory. Practically we believe that the half loaf of a Congress, held under the restrictions of this expurgation, is better than the no-bread of unchecked meetings, which would be impossible

from no one daring to adventure their stormy contingencies. After all, everything cannot be talked over in three days, and by a body which elects itself for five shillings a head, so that the harm of a rigidly exclusive list of subjects comes to be of a negative kind. There is one benefit arising from these Congresses which should not be overlooked, although it accrues rather to the bystanders than to the members themselves. The Congress is peripatetic, never meeting twice in the same place. It stands to reason that this sudden vision of the Church of England, in such large numbers and so great bustle, periodically flashing across the eyes of the population of a large town, must tend to exalt the idea of the Church in the place, as a large social and political power (if not also as something better), in a totally novel way. It comes to them neither in a dignified nor in a polemic guise, but large, loud it may be, brisk and popular. In coming years, when a good number of towns have been visited by this apparition, the Church will at least have been seen as it never was before. The comments of the Manchester and the Bristol penny papers on the throngs of unwonted visitors, during the Octobers of 1863 and 1864, already indicated a new sensation. It is noteworthy that the Roman Catholic Congress at Belgium did not on either occasion assemble beyond the walls of the sacerdotal city of S. Rumbold and the protection of the cardinal archbishop. Had it ventured to meet in Ghent and at Liege the parallel with England would have existed.

Upon the whole, the Congress at Manchester proved very successful. There were one or two personal contests during the earlier part of the proceedings, which adverse newspapers tried to make the most of, but in very fact they were but slight interruptions to the general gravity of the work. Free Trade Hall, time after time, was crowded. High Church and Low Church were each strongly represented; and both sides, thus for the first time brought together in large masses outside of the restraining influences of academic cloisters, made heroic efforts to behave well, and did behave as they should have done. The fact was evident to strangers, and has, we hope, not been forgotten since by the residents in the northern capital. It was clear that the Church of England, in its various phases, no doubt, but still as the Church of England, with its high side decidedly entering into the composition, so far from being unknown, or borne down by dissent or Romanism, or both, was a very strong and growing influence in Manchester, and was capable of great results there if it had confidence in itself to assert its strength. The vast rapt crowd crammed into every corner of the cathedral, which with its double aisles and galleries, if not altogether a minster-

like pile, is one of the most capacious auditoria which the English Church now possesses, and drinking in the manly sermon with which Dr. Hook started the proceedings, was one of the most striking spectacles of popular Churchmanship which the Church in these latter days has beheld.

Bristol was Manchester over again, with a difference, and that just the difference which exists between the two places in their material aspect. Both are big, bustling towns, but Manchester is the bigger and more bustling. Manchester, beyond the old Collegiate Church, now a Cathedral, and the little knot of half-timbered houses that lie between it and the Irwell, is all modern, and in no part built for pleasure. Bristol is composed of a large, staid old quarter, full of ancient houses and mediæval churches, yet refurbished up for modern needs and commerce, at the bottom of the hill, and of a genteel, half-gay, half-evangelical watering place above. Bristol and Clifton together make up one place without themselves being exactly one. So the Bristol Congress was not quite so full as the Manchester one, and matters there were taken perhaps a little more easily. The quality of the debates was certainly superior, and yet to the local community the whole affair may not have been quite so much of an event. Still, in its way, it was quite as important. The friends of Church Congresses no more desire them to become sensational than flat, and as, except in one incident, of which we shall have to speak farther on, there was no sensation about this meeting, so certainly it could not at all be accused of flatness; while the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol went to the presidential chair much better prepared for his functions than the episcopal president of the year before, clever as the Bishop of Manchester undoubtedly showed himself in learning his duties as the Congress moved on. There were also some influential persons present at Bristol who certainly would not have shown themselves there if they had not believed in the reality of the affair.

We will only mention one name. If there is a man in England who is respected for the peculiar attribute of wise caution—wisdom no doubt, but wisdom always strongly tinged with caution—it is Lord Harrowby; last year Lord Harrowby only made a spasmodic appearance at Manchester, and that as the advocate of an unpopular body, the Ecclesiastical Commission. This time he not only sat through the entire Congress, but also came forward constantly and cheerfully, to take a useful part in its deliberations. The extension of the Episcopate, or rather the multiplication of Bishops, and the introduction of something approximating to collegiate organization in large town parishes, separately debated as they were, were at bottom

phases of the same problem, the introduction of more corporate action, more systematically combined into one Church system than at present exists—the great question, in short, of order as against independency. In its own special line the multiplication of bishops received a more emphatic approval than, as far as we have means of concluding, it ever before met with, except perhaps at the Oxford Congress. The principal paper on the subject was that of Canon Kenaway, who advocated the make-shift of episcopal curates, or otherwise, of ‘suffragans.’ We do not believe that in the long run this expedient would satisfy any one. Still, merely as an expedient, it is better than that untold troops of children, ay, and of adults, in village after village, and town after town in every county, should go on lacking the grace of confirmation. After all—even with a bishop per county all round—that bishop would be none the worse for having his curate, on the same grounds of common sense, just as any vicar within his diocese would be better off with similar help. In favour of doubling of the episcopate, that is, of assigning a bishop generally speaking for every county, instead of the present average of one for two, the emphatic and unexpected testimony of Lord Harrowby may now be quoted. When a Churchman of his school—an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, moreover—stood up so manfully to communicate his personal desire for so wide a reform, to many hundred auditors and the representatives of the London press, it was clear that the subject had reached no early stage of ripeness. The Court of Appeal, remanded to a section, evoked a debate in which Dr. Pusey’s and Mr. Keble’s now unwonted appearances in congregated throngs elicited long and fervid applause. Church architecture and decoration were in their turn down-rightly handled as matters which deserved to be treated on their own merits, as topics of solid importance in a Church gathering, not by way of disparaging comparison, never brought in with some shambling excuse about externals, non-essentials, and such other stuff that no man thinks of, and no man vents when planning or extolling his own house. The debate on the Irish Church, which elicited a really eloquent and logical oration from the Dean of Cork, stood in favourable contrast to the parallel discussion at Manchester. The education of the Clergy was a novel, but every day increasingly important, topic for public discussion. The subject which was most feebly handled, was the cardinal one of foreign missions. One speech there delivered—that of Canon McNeill—has been characterised, by a calm and moderate critic, in terms of reprobation which we will not repeat. But apart from this unfortunate ebullition, the whole of that evening’s debate was of very inferior quality. There were *ad*

captandum appeals and nice anecdotes prettily pointed, but the appeals and the anecdotes did not rise above the average platform level, and seemed to be rather addressed to the bonnets, which formed an indiscriminate stranger's gallery all about the meeting, than to the uncovered heads of the lords of the creation, both lay and clerical, in whose hands rested the practical arbitrament. The final lecture on Church music must also be exempted from our praise, as with singular want of tact the lecturer took advantage of his position to utter a tirade against recognised Church arrangements, going so far as to advocate the admission of women into choirs.

Next year's Congress stands fixed for the Eastern Counties at Norwich. The President will be Bishop Pelham, and the seat of the meeting the town in which Brother Ignatius has fixed his headquarters. We hope the meeting will be concluded as pleasantly for Church prospects as those which have gone before it, but there are already ugly omens in the sky. In one respect the Norwich meeting might and ought to improve upon its predecessors—in the attendance, we mean, of Bishops. It is a very short-sighted policy in our prelates in these times, when, as we have said, opinion must often be substituted for authority, not to gain influence by showing a genial and unsuspicious readiness to take the lead in such gatherings, which if not formal and official, are assuredly not irregular in any offensive sense. At Manchester the episcopate was represented by the Bishops of Manchester, Oxford, Sydney, Mauritius, and, we believe, British Columbia; at Bristol by those of Gloucester and Bristol, Chichester, Ely, and Antigua; and the Archbishop of Armagh would, we believe, have been there had not business detained him. A bishop of this generation ought never to fear entering into a debate, even at a mixed meeting of clergy and laity. He may not be agreed with, but he certainly would be treated with respect and gain in future influence. Bishop Ellicott did, in fact, maintain a running line of comment on all the speeches, but the Chairman, of course, was not to be answered.

The Bristol Congress had been closed for about six weeks, when another Church event of the speaking kind came off. In the diocese of Oxford a society with a useful and definite, though not brilliant mission, has for some years been at work, having as its object the raising of funds wherewith to increase the endowments of poor livings within the three counties of which the diocese is composed. The Bishop of Oxford, wishing to give an impulse to the society, borrowed the Sheldonian Theatre for a meeting in the latter half of November, and bespoke a strong cast of speakers, comprising, among others, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Walter, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Mr. Hubbard. There was also Mr. Disraeli.

The other speakers, the Bishop included, confined themselves to a plain and earnest advocacy of the claims of the ill required incumbents; Mr. Disraeli, however, had other objects in view. He has, for some years past, been accustomed to make an occasional rural appearance as a friend of the Church. His arena has, however, been the inn's public room or a national school-room, and his audience a ruri-decanal meeting. Now fortune had thrown in his way the Sheldonian Theatre, with the *élite* of a University and two or three counties as audience. Moreover, the University was the one whose more famous member was the orator who was at once most conspicuously pitted against Mr. Disraeli in public life, and who stands the most conspicuous negation of the absolute identity of Churchmanship and of political fealty to Mr. Disraeli's party. To beat Mr. Gladstone at Oxford would be the *bonne bouche* of a general election, to beat him on a Church cry would be *sauce piquante* to that *bonne bouche*. So Mr. Disraeli is not much to be blamed for having taken a very comprehensive view of the opportunity so luckily dropped into his mouth, while he left the poor clergy to the care of the remaining speakers, and made the Oxford Theatre ring with a manifesto of 'Church policy.' The policy itself is, in most particulars, that which we have ourselves consistently advocated, and its adoption by the English politician who, like Louis Napoleon, with all his astuteness, dreams when he thinks, is a proof how strongly the general atmosphere must be charged with the electricity of Church progress. The speech itself was very ingenious, almost eloquent in parts, and daringly shotted with personal epigram. But perhaps it reads, in passages, better than it sounded. There was a point in the speech where Mr. Disraeli found himself compelled at a sudden turn to inventory the party in the Church whose system is sacramental—the Anglo-Catholics, in a word. A brief but awkward moment of embarrassment resulted in 'there are some who are 'sustained by symbolical ceremonies, and feel that their soul is 'only adequately satisfied by ecclesiastical arrangements of that 'character.' This pronouncement was, on the testimony of the *Guardian*, received with cheers and laughter. The opposite party 'can only be sustained by the ecstasy of spiritual enthusiasm.' But, mildly remarks the statesman, 'as long as they 'who counsel or pursue these modes'—*i.e.* arrangements and ecstasy—'meet on the common platform of true, sound Church 'principle,' 'I do not think that such a course of conduct is to 'be regretted.' Which course of conduct, the arrangements or the ecstasy? We are not surprised that the advocates of decisive ceremonial are a little disconcerted at the unconscious evidence which this passage affords of Mr. Disraeli's complete want of sym-

pathy for, and innocent ignorance of, their position. A little further on the versatile orator was again visibly getting into the shallows, from a confusion of ideas between 'creeds' and 'articles of faith,' which appeared to be synonymous terms in his mind, as it seemed to cool bystanders. Happily, the present participle came to his rescue, and by aid of 'repudiating creeds and rejecting articles,' the speaker regained his footing, till at last Sidonia himself walked the earth again, 'in the incantations of Canidia and the Corybantian howl.' Finally, warmed by his subject, Mr. Disraeli informed his delighted auditory that whenever these questions have been 'brought before Parliament, 'I have always opposed alterations of creeds, articles, and sub-
'scriptions.' Flushed with his well-known senatorial triumphs, in which, as the future Macaulay will record, the member for Buckinghamshire has so efficiently resisted the successive attempts of the Liberal party to edit the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, our erudite theologian then launched into that spirited rebuke, which has echoed through the British islands, of the neological school, man by man, for the unpardonable offence of using for personal ends second-hand information. Far be it from us to take up the cudgels in their vindication. They deserve their castigation, while the most mortifying as well as grotesque feature of it must be, that it fell from those particular lips.

After all, the important question to all good Churchmen in regard to Mr. Disraeli's speech is, what is it worth? It is, as it stands, a bountiful offer, and we have to ask whether the tender is made in coin or in paper. Few, we believe, will attempt to say that it is not in the latter currency; and not many will attempt, if hard pressed, to say that the paper must be taken at other than a considerable discount. So appreciated, we have no hesitation in saying that so outspoken an acknowledgment of the Church's righteous claim to more bishops, a reformed Convocation with lay representation, a settlement of Church rates, better courts, and something done for the Colonial Church, coming from the mouth of the leader of one of the great parties in the House of Commons, is of considerable value, although on the face of it delivered as an electioneering assault upon Mr. Gladstone's headquarters. All we have to say to Churchmen is, that if they mean to derive their advantage from it, they must deal with Mr. Disraeli on their own appraisement, and not let him take them all round at his valuation.

One of Mr. Disraeli's points leads us to remember that a few years ago there was a great and long protracted Church-rate agitation, in which the enemies of that impost, after a series of parliamentary victories, found themselves most mysteriously

driven back and routed. Since then there has been a truce. In sundry new parishes, thanks to a recent judgment of Dr. Lushington, the rate has for the first time been levied; in others an obscure series of fights has gone on; in the greatest number they have been quietly paid; in a minority never thought of; while the 'liberation' faction has sat by in an ominous attitude of sulky silence. Happily, the Church Institution and the dependent societies, in spite of much good will that way on the part of many of their members, have always been induced to pull up at the point of advocating the No-surrender policy, and the Establishment party, comprising leading High and leading Low Churchmen, have never as a whole been compromised to that tenet. We have not shrunk in the time of Church-rate discussion from advocating, as the only possible and one desirable compromise, the exemption of Dissenters, coupled, for those who will pay, with the maintenance of the existing system under renewed legal sanction. To this we adhere in these days of lull. When the storm again rages, we hope the time will not be past to advance that which is now, we feel, a theory of the closet, into a plan of practical adjustment.

The confiscation of the revenues of the Irish Church, a scheme which holds the same place on the platform of the unfettered Liberal as the confiscation of the Maynooth endowment does on that of the unimproved Tory, was for some reason forgotten by Mr. Disraeli. He probably concluded that Oxford would neither feel nor pretend any interest in the sister kingdom. As a political question, there can be no doubt that this confiscation would be a direct and long first step towards breaking down that which all true politicians have for many years been striving to create—a complete assimilation between England and Ireland. In equity, too, the Established Church has held those revenues quite long enough to have set up many Statutes of Limitation; even if she could not prove that she was by episcopal descent the representative of the old Irish Church, as against the antagonistic Romanist hierarchy, descended as that is from a new importation of bishops, hastily consecrated from Rome in place of the former conforming prelates. Besides, as a merely practical question, the revenues are not so very excessive as not to be at least quite as useful in fostering the soil over which they have been so long spread, as they could possibly be if dissipated over a much wider area. Again, what would that wider area be,—the Anglican, Roman, and Presbyterian communities rateably accommodated, or a miscellaneous mob of educationists, philanthropists, and jobbers in general, each jealously clamouring for his share of the plunder? We believe, in a word, that the two confiscations, that of the long held property of the Established Church, and that

of the recently given endowment of Maynooth College, stand on the same footing of impossibility and of unfairness, while we are sure that either would seriously jeopardise the political safety of Ireland itself. English Churchmen in general are, we believe, inclined to look upon the Irish Church as the member of the family which had better never be spoken about. That body has its great faults and shortcomings, and its position as the Church of the minority is the striking evidence of some misconduct or other at some earlier epoch. Yet there is, we believe, a revival of Churchmanship in progress among the Protestants of Ireland, which the Englishman, who is not familiar with the Irish character, would not guess. An Irishman is naturally traditional, and naturally polemical, so that the loud denouncer of Popery, and all that he believes or thinks assimilating to Popery, may often at bottom have an uncultivated store of something very like genuine, though imperfectly developed, Churchmanship, in duty to which he has persuaded himself that he does right in hoisting the No Popery banner. Of all most unexpected forms the Church movement has taken an ecclesiological one in Ireland, and stands confessed in the new cathedrals, built or building, in Kilmore, Cork, and Tuam, not to speak of the one projected for Belfast, and those restored or under restoration at Dublin, Limerick, Kilkenny, Killaloe, and Londonderry. Again, synodical action seems on the point of being advocated in that Church. Whatever Ireland takes up, it takes up rapidly and hotly, so there is no reason why a very decided High Church movement may not be a coming phase of its Anglican population. As it is, the reasons for its actual shortcomings were sketched with a very friendly, but yet fair as well as clever pencil, by Dean Magee, of Cork, in a characteristically but wholesomely high speech which he made at the Bristol Congress.

There is another point, of a character partly doctrinal and partly political, on which we may as well say a few words in this place—the agitation for a reformed system of subscription in the Church of England, which Lord Palmerston very adroitly postponed by the appointment of a Commission of unimpeachable weight and respectability. What its report may be we do not yet know, but enough seems to have oozed out to show that the ostensible grievance will be remedied, a form of subscription of workable stringency introduced, and the hopes of those who expected to enter the ministry of a Church where endowments would count much and faith little, considerably chilled. If so, we shall not say that the Commission met for nothing, little as we like meddling with a Church's belief or practice by way of Commission.

Church Congresses were, as we have seen, a bold experiment in bringing together opposite schools among members of the Church of England. Such societies as those for the benefit of poor livings in Oxford and other dioceses, are organized on a similar but less hazardous system of fusion, in reference to single methods of unpolemical usefulness. Larger and more complex schemes of practical improvement sometimes are and sometimes are not worked conjointly. There are those which are carried on upon the give-and-take principle; while, in other cases, each side has quietly dropped into a tacit understanding to work its own machinery with uncordial peacefulness. A large experiment has, however, been made in that city whose population reckons by millions, and whose area is a province, to introduce the system of friendly compromise into a complicated experiment of manifold aggressive energizing. The Bishop of London's Fund tumbled, there is no doubt, into bigness. Bishop Tait, with great good feeling, called a large select meeting of picked men rather early in 1862, to talk over the spiritual destitution of the metropolis. The men he brought together happened, at the moment, to be full of energy and full of suggestions, and before any one, Bishop or invited, very well knew where he was standing, they all found themselves pledged to a large promise of raising and distributing a grand sum. Since then, this Fund has gone on increasing and modifying itself—perhaps too much so—till, instead of a conduit pipe with a well perforated rose, it has become a species of tribunitiate for overhauling the spiritual concerns of all London north of the Thames. Hitherto, give-and-take have done their work, and, as outside critics, we are bound to note the Fund as a remarkable phenomenon.

In no diocese of England, since Exeter in 1851, has a Diocesan Synod been held; but the idea of the necessity of such institutions is steadily gaining ground, and any irregular gathering of Churchmen is a fresh argument in favour of their orderly revival. Only we trust that the Bishop who convokes the next will have duly weighed the various constitutions that he can give to the body, before endowing it with life. A synod of all the clergy of any diocese would probably be too unwieldy for cool deliberation, and so would sink into a machine for registering the Bishop's determinations. Again: the laity must somehow find their place in the synod, if the institution is intended to secure general acquiescence. How the laity had best be represented in it is a question far too wide for the present discussion. Our own idea is, that some method of representation by orders might be devised, which would be a break upon the more democratic plan of the mere representation of numbers or even of parishes.

From political and practical Church questions, we now pass

on to those which affect doctrine; and first, we have to consider the case of that pernicious volume, the 'Essays and Reviews.' Speaking, in this instance, the individual opinion of the writer of the present article, we must own that we have never felt quite clear and satisfied in our own mind as to the expediency of having made any portion of the book the subject of a judicial prosecution, unless it could have been made abundantly clear before starting that the actual courts would accept and act upon the common law of the Catholic Church. What we mean is that a prosecution under civil common law, is a very different thing from a prosecution contravening the XXXIX. Articles. We owned to the uttermost the scandal and the mischief of that ill-starred and discreditable publication; but, when we had done so, we were driven back to the question with which we started—'Is it needful, and is it expedient, to take up rather than to ignore the offensive publication?' Ignored, it would probably have taken its unobtrusive place in the unnumbered host of clever literary failures. Ignored, it will have been sufficiently judged by the gentlemanly common-sense of the world, which has pronounced, in mess-rooms and in clubs not less than in combination-rooms and in rural deans' parlours, that the men who could have written the obnoxious 'Essays' ought not to have been reckoned among the clergy of the Church of England. Ignored by authority, the 'Essays' might have been crushed by antagonistic logic and learning. No censure was passed, for no censure could have been passed, on Boyle for setting up Phalaris, and yet, by the mere polemical force of Bentley's argument, Boyle stands to all time a literary heretic, condemned past extenuation. In days when either side equally accepted authority, and the only controversy was which authority—Athanasius or Arius, Nicholas or Photius, Tetzels or Luther, Luther or Zwingli—was to prevail, there was no alternative as to fighting out every question. Now that authority is not universally received, while opinion is everywhere respected, as much by those who revere authority into the bargain as by those who do not care for it, it might have been right to ask whether the side which had hitherto been victorious against 'Essays and Reviews' in the equitable court of opinion, was wise to appeal from their own success to the law court of authority. At best, it was a game of double or quits. The judicial condemnation of 'Essays and Reviews' would not make the British public like them worse than they already did; while the punishment of their writers would only evoke that sympathy for the weak man which is so general as well as so generous, though often illogical, a characteristic of the Briton. On the other hand, those that sympathised with the book were just the people who did not care a rush for authority, and who were actively looking

out to catch authority making itself unpopular by passing from the censure of opinions to the oppression (as they would say) of men. So much for success. Failure, on the other hand, might involve the 'rehabilitation' of the Essayists in the eyes of public opinion, as men who had not, after all, acted unhandsomely to the Church in and on which they lived, not to talk of the extent to which the Church itself might or might not be corporately implicated in their false doctrines, if the voice of the Church's tribunal pronounced them 'not guilty.' Moreover, as we have hinted, orthodox men were bound to consider that the weapons which they were preparing to employ had been forged for quite another conflict. It was not clear that the courts could let them fight on the ground of the general conformity of Anglicanism to the Catholic faith. If kept to Anglican formularies, they would have to make the best of certain specific formularies drawn up to meet quite another class of errors in a totally different condition of things.

The analogy of the Gorham case might undoubtedly have been brought as, at least, a plausible *argumentum ad hominem*. But the analogy would really have been worth nothing. In the first place, it must not be forgotten that the Gorham suit was the crucial experiment as to the reliance which the Church had a right to put in the temporal courts when the sustentation of the Catholic Faith was in question. The experiment was fairly tried, and fairly broke down; and we do not see why a burnt Church may not allowably feel as a burnt child is known to do. But the Gorham case, at the stage in which it became a public question, was the direct reverse of that of 'Essays and Reviews.' The original examination and rejection of Mr. Gorham was a matter of private import between the Ordinary and the presentee to Bramford Speke. When the curtain rose, Mr. Gorham was plaintiff, and the Bishop of Exeter defendant, and the summons to the Church party was to rally to the support of the impugned party. In the more modern case, the Essayists (the two, we mean, against whom proceedings were taken) were living upon their incumbencies when the law was invoked to bring them to punishment for their writings. In the Gorham case, at its public stage, the Bishop was defendant, and Mr. Gorham plaintiff. Yet the Bishop failed. In all the subsequent Church *causes célèbres*, with the single exception of the anomalous Heath case, the assailant (whether High Church or Low Church) most impartially broke down. Mr. Westerton broke down against Mr. Liddell, Mr. Ditcher against Archdeacon Denison, and finally (though at a date subsequent to the commencement of the Essays case), the Bishop of Capetown against Mr. Long. Under these conditions Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson were brought into court.

In the Arches Court they were condemned to a penalty so trivial, in comparison with the reason for it, as to render justice a mockery and orthodoxy a bye-word. They appealed to the Judicial Committee, and, on appeal, the subject-matter of the contestation was so thoroughly rasped down, as at last to have assumed the shape, not of a judicial inquiry into the doctrines contained in the Essays of the two impugned writers, but of the bald question, whether Dr. Williams' and Mr. Wilson's views upon the inspiration of Scripture and the eternity of punishment were so 'economical' as to be beyond the elastic limits of the Articles, interpreted in all the literality of their vagueness. So handicapped, the Cambridge and the Oxford neologian easily won, and their winning was, without doubt, a grievous offence and misfortune to the Church, although the assertion of the alleged truth of Holy Scripture, and of the alleged measure of God's vengeance for sin, dropped from the lips of Lord Chancellor Westbury.

We do not say that those who were responsible for the suit ought to have foreseen this result. It was, as we have stated, a game of double or quits, and quits won. The indignation of Churchmen took a threefold form: Synodical action, a popular movement, and practical reform. The Synodical action, as all know, determined in a condemnation of 'Essays and Reviews' by the Convocation of Canterbury. It is open to those who demurred at the first to judicial proceedings, to regret that the attempt should have been made to counterbalance the formal, though unsatisfactory, sentence of the Judicial Committee by the indeterminate gravity of a Convocational censure. The Bishop of Ely had the courage, in the Upper House of Convocation, to raise his warning voice against the Committee on whose report the censure was based—a voice in which no one would pretend to find an unorthodox ring—while he protested against the attempt to fight erroneous opinion by inoperative authority. Convocation has not so securely made good its position—it has not so completely proved its equitable right to speak out in its unreformed condition—as to entitle it, without misgiving, to enter on proceedings which could not affect Dr. Williams' or Mr. Wilson's legal status, and could not stop the sale of one copy of these Essays, but which might bring down upon Convocation, yet struggling into position, the enmity of powers mightier, if not more righteous, than itself. The Committee of Inquiry was named, their report duly presented, and then the censure founded on that report passed both Houses of Convocation, although the division in the Lower House showed, out of a minority of twenty, such names as those of Archdeacons Thorp, Sandford, Allen, Hale, Hony, Moore, and Lord Arthur Harvey, and of Canons

Blakesley, Harvey, and Selwyn; none, surely, men tainted with suspicion of unbelief. Happily for the credit of the Church, Convocation was not long left in the wrong, if in the wrong it ever was. A few days only elapsed, and it found itself reinstated on the pedestal of moral dignity, strong enough to despise or to forgive the ribald buffoonery with which, from the woolsack, the Lord High Chancellor attacked that venerable institution through its most brilliant member.

A popular movement, which we counted as the second element in the opposition provoked by Lord Westbury's report, on which the Judicial Committee's Judgment was founded, had simultaneously come into play. The first form it took was that of a declaration affirmatory of the doctrines impugned by the Chancellor, which was signed by eleven thousand of the clergy. All that we desire to say of this declaration is, that we are very glad that each signer was not called upon to give his own gloss on the declaration, and that all these glosses were not published in the brochure which recorded the signatures. The idea which undoubtedly underlay a vast number, perhaps a preponderating majority, of the signatures, was one which merited all respect—the notion that whereas the Faith of the Church had sustained damage by the pronouncement of the Judicial Committee, therefore a vast, albeit informal, counter assertion would purge the offence and neutralise the damage. Our own impression is, either that the Church of England cannot have so deeply sinned the sin of Jeroboam as these excellent people believe, or that the remedy which they propose is inadequate to the ill. Either the Essay upon the Essays, delivered by the Chancellor, is parasitical to the Church, or else if it be the formal voice of the Church, informal protests cannot neutralise its venom. We derive our confidence from holding the first position. Openly since the Gorham judgment, implicitly long before, the Church of England has lived a double life. Her ordinal and her formularies insure her orders and sacraments. The Catholic Creeds are hers, and the language of Catholic tradition overflows in her ritual and symbolic writings. This is her inward life. Her outward one, the life of the 'Established Church,' has, to say the least, been a tangle of inextricable inconsistencies; yet the inward life has not been submerged by this complication, but, on the contrary, all adown the times of the greatest entanglement, it has, for the last thirty years, manifested itself in more and more salient demonstrations of tender yet strong vitality.

After all, the theory of this double life is not a greater difficulty, we should be almost inclined to say that it was a less one, than that of Anglicanism itself, viewed in its most characteristic aspect of the assertion of the possibility of an outwardly

divided Catholic Church. The Roman assault on our position always begins, and often ends, with the denial of that possibility. Our rejoinder is that its possibility proves itself by facts. Such a premise must be fertile in conclusions, and these conclusions can hardly tend in the way of unity. We beg that we may not be misunderstood. A divided Christendom, or a national Church with variances between its inward and its outward life, are equally misfortunes. But they are misfortunes which must be faced and accepted by the man who holds to the English Church, nothing wavering. When England is on its trial as against Rome, or Greece, or Irvingism, or that *ignis fatuus* a 'Free Church,' other considerations come in; but 1850 ought to have taught Churchmen the dangers of choosing their physicians from men who are experimenting on the vitality of the body which they are professing to cure.

The contrast of the inward and the outward lives was not unmanifest during the past summer in the pastorals with which the two Archbishops addressed the Church and the public, in free criticism, well argued and congruously framed, upon the Judgment. The publication of these documents led to the preparation of an address of thanks to the primates for their really excellent publications. The address was, as far as its terms went, quite unexceptionable, and it received at first starting the signatures of persons who concluded that it was to be confined to the select few who might be supposed to have some reasonable comprehension of the writings on either side. But no sooner was this nucleus of names obtained, than the document was sown broadcast through the land, addressed to clergymen and to churchwardens, to gather up all or any signatures of men or women who might be induced to thank the archbishops for issuing two brochures, which many of them never had read, nor meant to read, and could not understand if they did read them, in reply to obnoxious writings which they equally never had and never meant to read, and, if they did read them, could not understand. How many doubts this fresh advertisement of the Essays might raise to one which it could allay, never seems to have occurred to the promoters. However, 137,000 signatures were obtained—no great number, if it really were that crucial movement for Christianity itself, which the promoters seemed to assume—and the Archbishops received and replied to the memorialists in speeches in which the practical and wise advice to live down Essayist infidelity by unwearrying zeal in the missionary work of the Church shone out conspicuous.

It was natural that the Judicial Committee, being the *fons et origo* of the scandals and troubles, should have provoked attention to its own composition, and to the possibility of practical

remedy for the future in the way of its reform. The same phenomenon took place after the Gorham judgment, but there the aggrieved party was not so numerous as in the present instance. As we have shown, the weakness of the moral obligation of the Church to believe in the Judicial Committee is the Church's gain. The reformers of the Court of Appeal will do well to see that their most praiseworthy efforts do not end in the formation of a Court of Appeal which, while it may be strong enough to demand compliance, is yet not so strong as to secure conviction for its dicta, nor so learned as to ensure the orthodoxy of those dicta. It must never be lost sight of, that infallibility is nowhere promised to any national Church in its collective form, and still less to its selected delegates. The weak side of the present demand of course is, that it comes from the party which has, however unrighteously, been beaten. However much the plea may be ostensibly and honestly one for a better form of Appellate Court, the *subaudito*, will always be felt, 'and one which may one of these days undo Lord Westbury's mischief.' If a new Court accordingly could be formed, and if it should happen some day to have to reconsider the same questions, and that the improved tribunal were to disown that Lord Westbury had so cunningly fenced round his dicta as to have them formally unassailable in law, the Church indeed might, as a formal corporation, be the better for its new Court, but the authority of Lord Westbury's aberrations would be strengthened. We hope from the bottom of our heart that the intimations so plentifully cast about, of making this new Court a hustings' cry, and of strengthening that cry by general discussions of the deep doctrines involved in the Chancellor's report, were merely the strong ejaculations of wounded feeling. To those who appreciate how awfully solemn these questions are, and who have any acquaintance with the moral quality of electioneering, even at the best, the notion was indescribably painful. Even if such a cry were to succeed, its success would have been secured by throwing treasures, which ought for ever to have been reverently guarded, into the mire of the crowded street; it would have been an attempt to bolster up authority by an appeal to the most ignorant and most democratic form of mere opinion. Whispers, also, have occasionally been heard of a 'Free Church,' in default of a new Court. We are convinced that the idea has no more vitality about it than the similar one in 1850. In the mean while, its ventilation is an unmixed misfortune, especially when supported by gentlemen so sanguine as those who expect to be allowed to carry their Churches over with them.

The audacity of the Essayists was left far behind by the reckless

and obtrusive Jacobinism of Bishop Colenso. Happily, the preface with which, after the manner of the 'Arabian Nights,' he produced his intelligent Zulu, as the cause of the subsequent narrative, went far, by its naïve absurdity, to counteract much of the possible mischief of the ponderous lucubration. Still, the book was a scandal and an outrage, as well as a misfortune to the whole Christian Church, and the Bishop of Capetown deserves the thanks of all honest people for having taken energetic steps, in concert with his comprovincials, to release the diocese of Natal from the superintendence of its bewildered Bishop. The adequate cause, all things considered, existed there, in that centre of missionary work among the heathen, as it hardly did in the case of the two country incumbents who are resting under Lord Westbury's ægis. But he had more than one way of acting. He has adopted the one which leaves the question at this moment to be solved by the always recurring Judicial Committee. This, of course, leads us anxiously to inquire how far Bishop Gray has been careful to maintain the due distinction between those spiritual attributes which Dr. Colenso was very certain never to get any court in England to reimpose upon Natalese or Zulus, and that tenure of his freehold in a queen-given bishopric, considered as a mere property, irrespective of ecclesiastical considerations, of which the court might naturally constitute itself the guardian. The Bishop had himself, not long before, sustained a defeat under rather similar circumstances, at the hands of Mr. Long. Mr. Long might have been to any extent contumacious, but the Judicial Committee held that the Bishop was not within his powers in interfering with his incumbency. It would have been dexterous policy in the Bishop of Capetown to have swung himself round into the position which Mr. Long had himself made for him, and left Dr. Colenso on the pavement of Whitehall, enjoying the temporalities of a despiritualised office. Had the Bishop, with his assessors, declared that Bishop Colenso's aberrations had rendered him unfit to exercise his duties until he had repented of those heresies, and had in consequence released his clergy from their allegiance to him, and delegated himself, as metropolitan, to undertake the supervision of the diocese of Natal until Dr. Colenso had made his recantation, we believe that he would have placed himself and the Church in that colony in a position, which might perhaps be, technically speaking, a little irregular, but which would be unassailable by any court, colonial or imperial. Of course we assume (as facts have since shown to be the case) that the metropolitan could rely on the Clergy of Natal to go with him. The fact that the Colonial Church, as an institution, has grown up simultaneously with,

though independently of, that theory of responsible government in colonies which successive colonial secretaries have worked up, it is well, for reasons of expediency, never to be too eager to bring the patents of colonial dioceses under the scrutiny of jealous tribunals ; more we might say, but *adhuc sub judice lis est*, and we forbear.

Happily, no other colony has been disturbed by a doctrinal conflict. The Australian Church, as far as we can gather, seems holding its own, and a little more, without signal successes or signal reverses, founding here and there a new diocese, and completing works such as Sydney Cathedral. In New Zealand itself, missionary work, in face of the sad war now raging, must pretty well be at a standstill ; not so, we trust, Bishop Pateson's labours in the dark islands. The Canadian Church is quietly consolidating itself under the metropolitical rule of the Bishop of Montreal. As far as we can gather, the Diocese of Huron is the only antipathetic element in the province. We conclude that the fusion of British America into a political federation will be sooner or later followed by the adhesion of the dioceses of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, to Bishop Fulford's province. The Bishopric of British Columbia is, we trust, itself the germ of another province, and already the formation of a second Bishopric within its limits is under discussion. Of the Central African Mission, embalmed as it is in the memory of Mackenzie, we do not see our way to speak at length. There is a new Bishop and a new start, and this start has the advantage, which is as important in spiritual as in military strategics, of a base of operations. A confirmatory illustration of this truth has come to hand from another corner of the mission field. Every one knows that Great Britain holds in fee a small dependent island of Borneo, called Labuan, and that Great Britain has moreover great social, if not political, influence in the mainland of the island through the acquisition by Sir James Brooke of the vassal lordship of the district of Sarawak. Every one ought also to know that the Church of England has followed up this arrangement by the mission of a Bishop, who is on one side a diocesan of the Colonial Church as Bishop of Labuan, and on the other the head of an independent Church in communion with the English Church within the principality of Sarawak. The appointment of the Bishop of Sarawak under the seal of Rajah Brooke was as formal as that of the Bishop of Labuan by Queen Victoria.

Bishop Macdougall is too practical a man not to have realized the advantages and the peculiarities of his double position. Finding his mission ripe for decisive action, he held, on the last

23d of May, a Synod of the Diocese of Sarawak, at which, besides himself, six clergymen were present; no large number, but enough to debate and to legislate. The proceedings, of course, began by an address from the Bishop, in which he pointed out that, 'as a complete Missionary Church in a foreign territory, we are free to act for ourselves.' The use which Bishop Macdougall makes of this freedom is to pronounce that, 'as Bishop of Labuan 'I am subject to the Archbishopial See of Canterbury, and as 'Bishop of Sarawak I consider myself under the same patriarchal jurisdiction.' What the synod had to do was to organise a provisional form of constitution for the diocese; and, 'among 'the matters which it was desirable to take first in hand, were 'forms of shorter services for daily use in Dyak Churches,' as well as forms of prayer and thanksgiving for seed and harvest time, together with 'rules of penance and discipline, with some 'suitable form for the public admonition of offenders and the 'readmission of penitents to communion.' Further on the Bishop observes: 'I hope the day is not far distant when our 'synod will be enlarged, not only by the addition of fresh 'clergymen, but also of good and pious laymen who take an 'interest in our work.' This synod, so convened, sat for three days, and the chief practical results of its deliberations were the ordering of a preparation, 'from the Anglican Prayer-book, of an Order for Common Prayer for the use of Dyak Churches,' comprising the special preparation of a Preface to the Order of Confirmation 'to be used at the confirmation of persons baptized as adults,' the appointment of a Committee (a specially wise step) to 'agree on certain theological terms to be used in all translations,' and an inquiry into the pre-existent customs of the tribes among whom the Missionaries were working. The Church of Sarawak is a very small one, but its recent action has been so wise as to deserve particular notice as a model of catholic and sensible missionary regulation. Humanly speaking, its Bishop could not have done what he has done without the base of operations which he possesses. It is much to be hoped that that base may be widened and strengthened by the transfer to him of Singapore, with its large and wealthy, civilized and European population, and its spacious church, and its well-ordered system, as the future seat of his see—a change loudly demanded at Singapore itself by Churchmen and Presbyterians alike. If Singapore be hopeless, then Penang would also be an excellent centre. In the case of the mission to Honolulu, the antecedent civilization of the Sandwich Islands, their imperfect Christianization, and the royal power, together furnished the base. For a moment the king's death seemed to have thrown all back; but his brother and successor, an abler, we imagine,

though hitherto not so devoted a man, seems thoroughly inclined to follow in his predecessor's footsteps.

Church matters in the United States have, to the casual English reader, passed under a cloud since the *Guardian's* correspondent has been pleased to fill his inkhorn with blood. Now and then news of good omen reaches us, as when we hear that Dr. Coxe has been elected Assistant-Bishop of Western New York, or that, in spite of Bishop Potter's high-and-dry opposition, the New York Convention has been discussing the division of dioceses and the provincial system. At other times, English Churchmen are pained and humiliated to hear of eminent Churchmen, of whom they expected better things, giving the public *accolade* to the brutal and 'infamous' Butler. Next autumn the triennial Convention will reassemble, and we hope that it may separate after a legislative session spent in something more useful than the lengthened word fights of 1862. Of the Church in the Confederate States we know still less; but, without precise information, we may make sure that the Clergy and the members of that Church are strengthening and ennobling their countrymen in their glorious struggle.

It would be a great oversight on our part if we were not to make some reference to the crisis through which our Church in Scotland has passed, and which has resulted, on the one hand, in the revision of its canons, and, on the other, in the tardily granted repeal of the prohibitory enactments with which the government of George II. was pleased to punish its faithful loyalty to the Stuarts, by refusing privileges which the converted Roman Catholic priest can claim for himself. All in all, that Church has full reason to be thankful, though not to rest. The Scottish Eucharistic Office is, to be sure, deposed from its status of 'primary authority,' which it would have been difficult to have sustained, but it is authorized nevertheless, and thus the Anglican Church still enjoys throughout all its branches the advantage of possessing within its communion, though rarely and locally used, a form of liturgy in which the primitive and catholic doctrine is so grandly enounced, in words which, from not being identical with those of our own Prayer-book, are on that very account valuable as a support and an explanation of the English Use.

We may be asked, Do you, then, who favour this breach of absolute identity between the English and the Scottish Prayer-books, and who quote with approbation the reforming resolutions of the Sarawak Synod, acquiesce, as in consistency bound, in the agitation of those who, truly alleging the normal imperfection of human things, wish to see whether the 'Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments' cannot be mended? Our answer to this plea is, as the lawyers would say,

by way of demurrer,—We refuse to entertain the question itself until we find that it is put by an authority which comes into court with legitimate credentials to act as our interrogator. The agitation for Prayer-book reform has not always been prompted by any real, simple desire to improve the book in its literary character, to make it more practically sound and useable, or to import into it a deeper and wider learning. Undisguisedly it has, from first to last, been a dodge of the party which is bent upon excising or cutting down the assertion of sacramental doctrine which runs through the formularies of the Church of England. From crochetty Mr. Bingham, downwards, all the reformers harp on that string. They may have been a little too early outspoken in the way they have shown what part of the Prayer-book it is which they dislike, but they evince much worldly wisdom in agitating for a change in the formularies. Their conviction is, that the party which will, by the laws that govern all great revolutions, be almost certain to win, if the lines of the *status in quo* be given up, must be themselves, and not the persons who are enthusiastic enough to imperil that *status in quo* in hopes of attaining something more catholic. The catholicity of the existing Church of England, explicit or implicit, is, we believe, quite strong enough to keep the book, as it is, afloat: it is not strong enough to guide it through a revision.

We do not for a moment pretend to say that we think the Prayer-book is perfect—we have our own notions as to the points in which it might be improved. For example, it would be all the better if it possessed some special service for Christmas Eve, proper psalms and a proper preface for the Epiphany, lessons for Ash-Wednesday, and psalms for other days in Holy Week than merely Good Friday. But we are not so enamoured of the policy of ‘coming and being killed,’ that, for the chance of carrying these and maybe other alterations, we should risk turning over the book to the tender mercies of Lord Ebury and his compeers. We have little doubt that, when the *mêlée* came, other persons would flock in, whose projects of catholic modification far outran ours. The prospects of success for their claims would be *nil*; but not so their influence for harm. Their plans would set up John Bull’s No-Popery susceptibilities, and thus their urgency would assuredly play the game of the ultra-Protestant innovators. The present Prayer-book is a compromise, binding both Church and State; and holding it to be a compromise, we refuse, as the world now is, to have its contents opened up within the limits of the English and Irish Establishments; although in countries such as Sarawak, where the Establishment ‘runneth not,’ and where the liturgical legislators act from practical and not polemical motives, we warmly welcome any serious

endeavour to adapt it to the wants of a heathen population. The more elastic employment of our actual formularies, especially the now universal recognition of the separate use of the Litany and of the Eucharistic service, is sufficient for the present necessity; and it behoves impatient reformers on either side to try a little longer and a little harder what they can do by those simple means, before they busy themselves to pull down the house under which they have so long rested.

We feel the inexpediency of touching the Prayer-book so strongly, that we are inclined to stand aghast at the facility with which the Archbishop of Canterbury, generally so cautious, threw on the floor of the House of Lords, without consultation with his brethren, or with the remaining clergy or laity of the Church, a promise to open up the Table of Lessons. We are not afraid to say why we are frightened at this movement. We do not think that the selections from Leviticus, Deuteronomy, or Ezekiel are absolutely the best chapters that could be chosen, or that there is any conclusive reason for throwing out Chronicles and the Song of Songs. But we should look upon it as a great misfortune to the Church of England if the use of the Apocrypha in her public worship were to be called into question. The Apocrypha is the Apocrypha, and the books contained in it are Deuterocanonical. All parties agree to that. Then comes the divergence. The innovationists protest that, because they are so, they should be made sealed books to the Christian congregation. The more conservative minded Churchman looks to his Thirty-Nine Articles, and desires, like S. Jerome and the English Church, still to have them 'read for example of life and instruction of manners.' It is nobody's business to settle the precise value of that most venerable collection. It is sufficient to say that the Universal Church has ever rated that volume very highly—in some portions of it, and in later times, too highly; that the Church of England in her lectionary orders the Apocrypha to be read, and in her Articles of Religion gives an excellent reason why that reading should take place. To expunge the Apocrypha now would be wilfully to dis sever a link between our own actual Church and the purer Church of undivided Christendom. Is it, then, cowardice for us to say that we are sorry to see the *status in quo* of the lectionary given up in face of a fanatical party, which is openly and vehemently clamouring for the condemnation of the Apocrypha?

We have imperceptibly found ourselves drifting into the consideration of the ritual side of Church prospects. This leads us to our last topic, the sensational movement. It may not unreasonably be guessed, that we do not intend to let this section pass without venturing some opinion upon the doings of the

soi-disant Brother Ignatius. Before, however, we come to him, we have one or two points which we must note. First, we venture to give a couple of extracts from the 'Notitia Liturgica,' appended to 'The Union Review Almanack, an Ecclesiastical Kalendar for the Year of Grace, 1865':—'On Sundays and festivals, incense should be used at evensong during the singing of the *Magnificat*. This canticle—a daily memorial of the Incarnation—being its' (evensong's, we suppose) 'special feature, some of those who are taking part in the service should indicate this by gathering together in front of the altar while it is being chanted, taking up for the time being such a position as that described here.' Then follows a diagram indicating, among other points, the 'priest officiating' before the altar, as if he were celebrating, two 'acolytes,' and the 'lectern (facing East)' with two 'cantors' at it, besides choristers. This is followed by directions for a 'silent' benediction, with threefold crossings of the incense, and the incensing of the altar, as features of the *Magnificat*. There is something grandiose and scenic in the audacious un-wisdom of this recommendation; but what are we to say to the following in the directions for baptism?—'The violet stole is assumed at the commencement, and laid aside for the *white* stole immediately before the prayer for blessing the water.'

We are not so vain as to dream of influencing the clergy who use such observances, of which we have only given two examples, to a conviction of the peril of the game which they are playing. We do not flinch from the reproaches which may be cast upon us for warning them of it. When men are blind, daylight comes in vain, and the promoters of this ritual are blind to those elements of the actual character of the Englishman, which make him shrink from and fear the minute and the 'tinsel,' as he would call it, while willingly welcoming the stately and the reverential in the worship of Almighty God. Sensational ritual is a direct invitation to a popular outbreak, such as that which disgraced St. George's-in-the-East, and, as is usual in such cases, those who are no way responsible will be sure to suffer in the confusion. But even if an outbreak should be staved off, these proceedings will assuredly, if not intentionally create (if, indeed, it be not more correct to say that they are created by) a sectarian spirit in those who substitute sensation for the simple and legitimate working out of existing forms and rubrics. The churches in which such worship as we have quoted is conducted—the churches in which the afternoon 'litany' is stuffed and overlaid by some other litany, taken straight from a Latin original, and publicly sung in defiance of Church order and the Act of Uniformity—may be assemblies of devout men, as certainly they are not Roman Catholic or Greek Churches. But in spirit

they are only to a modified degree limbs of the great English Church.

If they go on in quiet, which is possible, their doing so may be but a proof of that relaxation of order which is not the least alarming token of the present condition of the English Church. Possibly the strain which saves them from molestation may be itself a wrench to the already weakened cords, while they owe their own impunity to a frame of mind which tolerates and applauds priests of our Church joining with hot-headed laymen and nonconformists, preaching in Antinomian rhapsodies, upon the stages of the minor theatres and in the orchestras of dancing saloons. No break of order, no dodging with the spirit or the letter of an existing regulation can ever be perpetrated, without thereby affording a precedent to those who desire to break that order and dodge those formularies in another direction. Nor can we blame them if they see and take their advantage.

It is far from our wish to counsel any timid repudiation of ritualism. It is because we believe that ritualism is the natural law of the English Church's worship, and because we believe that Englishmen are coming round to that conviction far more extensively and far more completely than we could have thought possible some years since, that we regret the blindness of those who would drive back this happy tendency by overlaying the legitimate ritual of our Church with a mass of startling observances, which to the common mind speak nothing but Rome. What we desire to see in general use would be a code of ritual, of which the salient features should be (1) the adoption of musical modulation (we use the term in its largest sense) as far as practicable in all parts of Divine Service which are not lessons or exhortations, as the most congruous accents wherewith to approach the footstool of Heaven; (2) the antiphonal method of performing the choral service, involving of course surplices, and the use of the chancel as the 'clerks' place; and, (3) at the Eucharistic celebration, the eastward posture of the celebrant, with due subordination in the place of his assistants—the whole encased in churches to any degree (for Englishmen will gladly accept substantial æsthetics) beautiful in architecture, rich in material, ornate with fresco, mosaic, carving, and stained glass.

Such a ritual as this, so framed in the pile which is consecrated to its use, is a worthy offering of man's devotion to his Lord. Such a ritual shows forth completely, though not elaborately, that Incarnation, of which the Sacraments, in their full significance, fully recognised, are the appointed complement. More than that may be beautiful, may be symbolical, may be touching, may be popular with the few, but it is not essential,

nor is it practical towards the conversion or the growth in grace of the millions whom, first of all, we have to look to in our own generation.

We say this, well aware that it may be retorted on us, that all which is now being carried out in the most pronounced churches, is but the filling up of the picture foreshadowed in such works as the '*Hierurgia Anglicana*,' nay, that the pages of the '*Hierurgia Anglicana*' contain startling evidence that ritual of what would now be considered the most impossible description, had been in occasional use in the early days of the Reformed Church of England. We should not shrink from the challenge, while, as to its personal side, we should observe that growth in the perception of the possible among writers who did not wait to be old to take up the pen, is not tergiversation. As to its historical truth it is a fact that such ritual did once prevail, how extensively is not the question. But it prevailed, with several other things likewise, the end of all being that an Archbishop went to the scaffold on Tower Hill, and a King at Whitehall, and that when King and Bishop were brought in triumph back, the Churchmen of the second Caroline era—even the grand relics of the older time, such as John Cosin—seemed with one consent to drop ritual like a hot coal, content, in their wisdom or their apprehensions, to preserve the Prayer-book. The ritual with which we close may be bald compared with that of Elizabeth's, or Andrewes', or Laud's chapel, but it is sumptuous alongside of that which contented Jeremy Taylor, Sancroft, or Ken. It is, moreover, we venture to say, incommensurably better than either as a whole, when the standing accompaniments of the structure, as churches may now be built, in their art and in their arrangements, are taken into account.

We believe that the thing which in some people's eyes most hopelessly stamps the parish priest as 'not going far enough,' is his not lighting the candles at Holy Communion. We have no intention of saying one word on the abstract beauty, significance, or desirableness of the rite; what we have to urge absolves us from handling that topic. The fact is, that those who held the procurator of ritual-loving Churchmen, as managers of the famous Liddell and Westerton suit, early in the case, and with the consent of those they represented, gave up this lighting to save the candlesticks. Dr. Lushington's Judgment, in the lowest Court, went all against them in every particular, except the grudging non-prohibition of the chancel screen, and the allowance of candles on the Lord's Table, provided they were not lighted, except when actually wanted for light. The managers, after grave consideration, felt bound to accept this latter measure of success, rather than, by asking for more, risk losing the whole in an appeal the

success of which was so very doubtful. So Dr. Lushington's judgment on these points was closed with: the rest, being appealed against, went to the Arches Court, to meet with a second defeat; and then to the Judicial Committee, with what success is now matter of history. Bystanders might differently appraise the legal value of this incident, but those who were personally connected with it are fairly committed to uphold it in its integrity. In other respects a judgment which has exalted the cross in its place of honour, fenced the chancel, accepted the recognition of the Christian seasons in the changed altar vestments, and restored the table of prothesis to our sanctuaries, stands out a solid gain to the orthodox side.

Since this important settlement the Church has made good its advantage in another field where success might have seemed least likely, the general and semi-authoritative adoption of a hymnal, embodying, along with popular modern productions, translations of the masterpieces of the collective hymnology of the Western Church from the earliest ages. Twenty-seven years ago Dr. Newman, still firm in his allegiance to the Church of England, wrote, in a preface to a collection of Latin hymns, extracted from the Paris Breviary:—

‘Our Church, with the remarkable caution which she displays so often, has not attempted it. She has received the Psalms and Songs from Scripture; and, rejecting the Roman hymns, has substituted in their stead, not others, but a metrical version of the Psalms. This abstinence has led on the one hand to some of her members on their own responsibility supplying the deficiency, and has incurred the complaint of others who argued that she ought to have taken on herself what, being right in itself, will certainly be done by private hands, if not by the fitting authority. But in truth, when it was necessary for her to abandon those she had received, nothing was left to her but to wait till she should receive others, as in the course of ages she had already received, by little and little.

‘We began the world again. This is the proper answer to inconsiderate complaints and impatient interference. There have before now been divines who could write a Liturgy in thirty-six hours. Such is not our Church's way. She is not the empiric to make things to order, and to profess to anticipate the course of nature, which, under grace, as under Providence, is slow. She waits for that majestic course to perfect in its own good time, what she cannot extort from it; for the gradual drifting of precious things upon her shore, now one and now another, out of which she may complete her rosary and enrich her beads, beads and rosary more pure and true than those which at the command of duty she flung away.’

Now-a-days the churches in which ‘Hymns, Ancient and Modern,’ are in use, are absolutely innumerable, and the publisher boasts that he has sold a million copies, while some of the translations, such as ‘Jerusalem the Golden,’ have *per saltum* taken their places among our classics by the side of the old familiar Christmas and Easter hymns. Too much praise cannot be given for this success to Mr. Neale, who is notoriously the chief

translator of the ancient hymns (mostly adapted from the 'Hymnal Noted' of the Ecclesiological Society), which have sprung into vogue. Still, the soil must have been prepared to receive the seed, or else it never would have germinated so rapidly. If to the churches where the ritual is altogether correct, be added those in which modified reforms have been adopted, such as chancels properly fitted though not properly used, or else filled with unvested choirs, and those in which, while all other things are satisfactory, the officiator occupies a sideward prayer-desk; if, too, the structural and decorative beauty, enhanced, restored, or given from county to county, to churches old and new, under all conceivable circumstances, be reckoned up, it will not be too much to say that the worship of the English Church is undergoing a silent revolution.

That, however, which is hardest to find in the best appointed church is the one thing which, in its distinctive simplicity, is really of the deepest importance—the eastward posture of the celebrant, showing forth (as his predecessors of all times have done) the Lord's death till He come; not presiding, as a Zwinglian minister, at the head of a table spread for a mere 'love-feast.' We venture to suggest to those who are so eager to group the singers of the Magnificat in a *tableau vivant*, and to change stoles during the baptismal service, that it would be a less sensational, but a far more useful task, quietly to co-operate in inducing the clergy of England throughout the land to acquiesce in the adoption of that attitude at the most solemn moment of the most sacred rite, which alone coincides with the traditions of the Catholic Church, and alone corresponds with the teachings of the ordinal which they are working out. The timid Churchman, who is doubtful where to stand at the prayer of consecration, will certainly not be won to the right position by the perusal of the 'Union Review Almanack.'

The sensation movement in the Church of England reaches its climax in the proceedings of that active young deacon, Mr. Leicester Lyne, who calls himself Brother Ignatius, and signs 'O. S. B.' How Mr. Lyne dresses, and what his pretensions are, we need not fill out our pages to detail, for he is one of the lions of the day. Supposing that he could have excited himself up to the conviction that a revival of monasticism *tout cru* was the likeliest method of working a missionary enterprise in the Church of England, we cannot understand the logical process by which Mr. Lyne persuaded himself that he ought to be, or that he could be, a Benedictine. The Benedictine order is, by many centuries, the oldest existing corporation in the world—at least, if we except the college of Cardinals, who have so far deviated, as the Benedictines have not done, from their primi-

tive constitution. This venerable body has its visible centre at Monte Cassino; its rules, method of admission, tenets, and work, cut out. Gregory and Austin were Benedictines. A man may like the Benedictines, and he may, if he thinks it wise, imitate them, but, unless he belongs to the genuine corporation, he has no more right to put O. S. B. after his name, than he has to sign himself 'Alderman.' But to let this pass: Mr. Lyne wears gracefully the habit of the order to which he does not belong, he is good-tempered; and he has shown, by his *débat* at the Bristol Church Congress, that he possesses the talents of a ready, though not a deep, popular speaker—a fact which he evinced by the adroitness with which he filled so much of his allotted ten minutes with a picture of the spiritual needs of our great towns, which would have been about as appropriate in the mouth of an advocate of theatre-preaching or of a ranter's revival, as in that of a pseudo-Benedictine. Consequently, he has been able to realize a certain amount of evanescent popularity, or, at all events, of toleration, which other pioneers of Church extremes, such as Mr. Brian King, have, from their deficiency in the arts of conciliation, been totally unable to compass. One reason for this may be found in the fact that, whereas they all along professed, and honestly though unwisely strove, to keep within the *littera scripta* of Church law, however obsolete or unworkable, Mr. Lyne has fairly kicked over the traces and stands on a system which has for its foundation the repudiation of all precedent, order, or law, except the fiat of the 'Superior' of the English Benedictine 'order.' The bare statement of his position will absolve us from the imputation of having put the case too strongly against him. Mr. Lyne is in deacon's orders only, not merely being no priest as yet, but never, we believe, a candidate for priest's orders. He is casually resident in the diocese of a Bishop whose licence he has never held, and who has placed him under an inhibition. He has brought round him a very small knot of young men, several of whom, we imagine, are still in the eyes of the law infants, and he has become, together with his companions, occupant of a house in Norwich, the see of the inhibiting prelate, within a parish, whose incumbent, we fancy, he has never consulted. No doubt the occupants of a house can, within their own walls, dress as they like, say what prayers they like, and call themselves Benedictines or Bonzes as they please. So long as they keep their own doors shut on themselves they influence only each other, and they will be reckoned at their own value by outside public opinion; but when a knot of gentlemen, calling themselves Benedictines, without even so much as a priest belonging to their community able to claim orders (though they be but orders without juris-

diction), throw open a chapel fitted up within that house to the general world, for the constant celebration of a novel and an unauthorized system of public worship, partly, we hear, composed of an extravagant representation of the Eucharistic Office of the Church of England,¹ partly of an edited revival of the Benedictine Breviary, and partly, and lastly, of the introduction of one of the most unprimitive rites of modern Romanism—a rite which cannot be used in the Church of England without direct violation of the existing formularies—the ‘Benediction of’ (i.e. by) ‘the’ (necessarily reserved) ‘Blessed Sacrament’—then, we say, that Mr. Lyne and his friends are not in a position in which they can claim the silent forbearance of those Churchmen whose wish and whose work is, by patience and prudence, no less than by straightforwardness, to preserve, to strengthen, and transmit the Church of England, with its collective doctrines and Catholic worship, unimpaired.

Mr. Lyne bespoke the sympathies of Churchmen at Bristol on the score of the practical character of his work; and Lord Harrowby mildly responded with the question, ‘Why run the ‘risk of making this work unpopular and unfruitful by the unwonted and startling garb in which you perform it?’ But we distinctly say, that this claim can only be accepted with great allowances in face of devotions so lengthy and so exhausting (involving the night offices, with ‘1 A.M.’ set down as the hour for rising) as those in which the Norwich fraternity indulges. It is an historical fact, that the vast and complicated structure of worship, which in an abridged form was therefore termed the Breviary, was the product of ages in which printing was unknown and newspapers unthought of. With their marvellous interchange of Scripture, fathers, and memoirs, of Psalm and hymn, of versicle and antiphon, these services were a body of literature as much as a system of worship. They were the literature which suited the capacities and the antecedents of those good unlettered folk who for so many centuries formed the staple of the Benedictine body. No doubt the features of these services which are doctrinally most objectionable, are, on the other hand, in a literary point of view, picturesque contrasts to the rest. In short, as, century after century, the Breviary deteriorated in catholicity, it became more abundant in the poetic element—may we be allowed to say, in sensationism? True to its principle of never owning a change if it can help it, Rome, (except during a brief moment of reform under Quignonius’ inspiration) has never in so many words confessed that the age of general literature had antiquated the earlier and more lengthy

¹ We give the most moderate interpretation of the ‘daily mass,’ but it *may* be the Benedictine mass itself.

worship. But in its practice Rome has made brief work with the Breviary, by the allowance of anticipation, lumping, private recitation, and so forth; while the modern counterparts of the old orders, such as the Society of the Jesuits and the Congregation of the Oratory, enjoy immunity from the formal and continued use of the Breviary. We can, therefore, call it nothing short of absurdity for a set of self-willed youths to revive such usages in the English Church, and then go out begging for help because the English alleys are surging with vice and ignorance.

We are not talking without book in our description of Mr. Lyne's ritual observances. We have before us two newspapers, one of which contains a programme by the 'Brother' himself, the other a long description of the life and services in 'S. Mary and S. Dunstan's Priory,' by an enthusiastic visitor, fenced by a somewhat faint disclaimer of responsibility from the editor. Mr. Lyne puts down the 'Convent Mass' for 9.15 A.M. which the visitor describes as 'celebrated in the prescribed vestments, and with every possible ritual adjunct.' It will be noted that this is not the daily Communion of Mr. Hillyard's church of S. Lawrence, by inhibiting which the Bishop of Norwich put himself so thoroughly in the wrong, but a daily Eucharist celebrated in Mr. Lyne's own chapel, but open to the world, under, we conclude, the ordinary jurisdiction of the 'Superior' himself, certainly under no other. Mr. Lyne, it must not be forgotten, is only a deacon, his companions laymen, where, then, does he find the celebrant? This the papers keep prudently in the dark, and if we could we should not attempt to find it out. It is sufficient for us to know that Mr. Lyne himself publishes to the world, through the newspapers, the fact of the daily 'mass,' and on that we have no hesitation in saying that somebody or somebodies of higher order than the diaconate must have very eccentric ideas on the subject of mission and of canonical obedience. We confess to considerable pleasure at having seen in the papers the other day that Deacon Marchmont, if he is a Deacon, was had up before a London magistrate for conducting a very ritualistic and elaborate service, without holding the licence either of an Anglican clergyman or of a dissenting minister. To be sure, Mr. Marchmont added the profanity, of which we do not believe Mr. Lyne could be capable, of himself pretending to consecrate the Holy Eucharist. But, as a matter of Church order, we do not see how the public but unauthorized services of Deacon Lyne are one whit more defensible than those of Deacon Marchmont, who himself, be it noted, takes up the ritualistic side, although, we gather, confining himself to the Prayer-book service. Mr. Lyne's services are, we distinctly say, not claustral and not intended to be claustral. He boasts of the con-

gregation which throngs his services being '800, who would be many more if there were room for them.' Why, then, his admirers will say, hinder what is so manifestly the Lord's work? In reply, we have only to say that, being members of the Church of England, we do not and we cannot see our way to clergy of that Church flying in the face of its plainest laws in view of any supposed expediency. The theatre preachings have been crowded, but we are unable to applaud them; Mr. Marchmont has, we believe, been very popular, yet we denounce him. It is said that we ought to take warning by the mistake made by the Bishops in Wesley's case. Mr. Lyne is exactly inverting John Wesley's career. Wesley began by converting tens of thousands to a religious life, and afterwards defied all Church order, and spurned all Church authority. Mr. Lyne begins where Wesley ended, for we have yet to learn his successful missionary work in the colliery or the crowded alleys.

But to return to the 'Priory.' The visitor tells us—

'On Saturday I was privileged to be at one of the most striking services I ever witnessed; namely, the weekly Benediction of the most Holy Sacrament. This is held on Saturday evening, the Superior told me, because, being an evening when it is difficult for most persons to come to service, only those who really are devout will take the trouble to come, and the Blessed Sacrament is thus not exposed to a crowd of irreverent gazers. The chapel was quite full of almost exclusively the faithful. Numbers had brought simple bouquets of flowers to adorn the altar, and it was a very pleasing sight to see them present their offerings, one after the other, to the Superior, who twice had to leave the chapel with his arms loaded with bouquets; about thirty bunches must, at least, have been thus presented. When Vespers were finished a procession entered by the west door of the chapel, consisting of—1. The crucifer, attended by acolytes bearing torches; 2. cantors in copes; 3. priest in cope; 4. officiating priest in cope and stole, attended by two boys as cope-bearers. These proceeded to the altar, which was quite resplendent with candles and flowers. The Sacred Host was taken out of the Tabernacle and censed, while *O Salutaris* in English was sung; then followed the Litany of our Lord, and hymns and collects in honour of—1. The Blessed Sacrament; 2. The Festival of All Saints; 3. St. Benedict. Ave Maria was then sung, after which the Benediction was given by the priest making the sign of the Cross with the Host over the people, during which "*Tantum ergo*," was sung the bells rang, and clouds of incense descended. All the hymns, &c. were in English, and I may remark that all direct petitions to our Lady and the Saints are rigorously excluded from the offices, though mere salutations are permitted, such as the "*Ave Maria*," for the part commencing *Sancta Maria* is not said; this, all may not be aware, is not found in the old *Sarum* books.'

We need hardly say that Benediction is among the novelties of Rome's later system, and we trust that we need not add that it is one whose introduction amongst us, except by a subterfuge, is inadmissible. As to its own intrinsic import, we cannot do better than quote what we said exactly fourteen years ago while treating of the tendencies of modern Romanism, when certainly there was nothing which we less anticipated than that we should

have to protest in the *Christian Remembrancer* against an attempt to introduce that rite into the Church of England.

'The Real Presence, *irrespective of the Sacrifice which makes it*, (a development of the idea of Transubstantiation as distinct from the Catholic verity of that awful presence;) a doctrine out of which has grown already the exorbitant importance given to the rite of "Benediction of (or rather by) the Blessed Sacrament;" a rite, the essence of which is the blessing of the flock by bringing forward the Hostia to an increased proximity with them.'—*Christian Remembrancer*, for January, 1851, *Art. Oratorianism and Ecclesiology*.

As an argument *ad hominem*, we cannot refrain from pointing out the great ignorance or inconsistency of Mr. Lyne, who justified his choice of the Benedictine rule at Bristol by its primitive character, thus eking out his ritual with so modern a Roman invention.

The fact of the Deacon Superior taking upon himself to conclude the day's service by giving, from his seat, solemn 'precatory' benedictions not only to the young gentlemen who, like himself, assume the Benedictine disguise, but to all who care to kneel for it, is a noteworthy fact towards forming conclusions as to the *animus* of the entire movement. The gushing visitor believed that he was witnessing a revival of the 'ages of faith' when he beheld a civic magistrate prostrate before Mr. Lyne. We are not familiar with the composition of the Norwich bench, but if the entire corporation were successively to genuflect themselves before the Superior, we should still be compelled to ask, who gave him his authority. One thing we do know, and that is, that if Mr. Lyne finds his prototype in the old Italian Church, he will do so not among the great Benedictines, but among the unscrupulous Franciscans. He calls himself a monk, and he simulates a friar.

Our opposition to Mr. Lyne's chapel doings proceeds from no dissatisfaction at the already established usage of services, external to the Prayer-book, being often employed in the domestic chapels and oratories of private houses, and of institutions religious or charitable. These services, to be admissible, must fulfil five necessary conditions. 1. Their spirit must be that of the Prayer-book. 2. They must honestly be meant for the use of the inmates of the house in which they are held, and not as a substitute for Church services to an outside public. 3. Even to those who use them, they must be subordinate in importance to Church worship. 4. Where they occur in formal establishments, they must be sanctioned or connived at by the same authority which sanctions or connives at the establishment itself. 5. They must strictly be of the lesser order of worship, the celebration of the Eucharist (except in the casual case of a sick communion) being out of the ques-

tion, unless with the express licence of the Ordinary. Mr. Lyne's chapel system flies in the face of every one of these conditions, and so its practical effect, of course, will be to check the timely growth in England, on English principles, of an elastic system of succursal worship.

We do not predict a very long existence for the pseudo-Benedictine brotherhood itself, although we see that its promoters boast that its 'third order' of laity (a graft from Franciscanism, which would have sorely puzzled S. Benedict) boasts several hundred members. If it stood alone accordingly, we should not have spent much time in its dissection; but, unluckily, it is patronized by that section of the clergy who have otherwise made themselves conspicuous for excessive ritual; and in its train, no doubt, other movements, equally unwise, will follow. Their organs boast of an attempt to get up a pro-celibacy league among the clergy, and we know that circulars have been sent round inviting them to join it, and to place themselves under the command of a head who has invested himself with very despotic powers. We leave this fact to tell its own tale. It is therefore due to our credit and consistency—it is due to the hope still existing that we may be able to do some good in our own generation, our own country, and our own Church, in spreading the knowledge of the Christian truth and its saving ordinances—to say, that the feverish extravagance of Norwich Benedictinism and of similar outbursts, is no genuine offshoot of the great Anglican Church Movement.

In contemplating those phenomena we are bound to ask where they are likely to end, and whither they will probably lead their promoters. This question cannot, however, be handled without taking into account yet another phenomenon which we have purposely kept out of consideration hitherto. It is one of higher aims, and worked by a wider circle of men than the pure and simple sensation movement. Still, unfortunately for its own ends, it has certain marked external affinities with that phase of Churchmanship. We mean the Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity (an object in itself never to be spoken of without sympathy and approbation). That blessing for which our Lord prayed must ever be the dearest object to the devout Christian. The weak point of the present Association is not that it prays for the peace of Jerusalem, but that it seems to have worked itself into a belief that all probabilities are running in favour of a visible and speedy accomplishment of its own idea of unity in the way which it has forecast for itself, and that it has accordingly shut its eyes to the prodigious practical difficulties environing the notion. The general complexion of the body was, in its more spiritual

aspect, that of an Association, organized in 1857, of members of the English, Roman, and Greek Churches, and numbering, so it is asserted, 17,009 members, bound to unite in certain prayers for unity, with an apparent understanding among the clergy to preach occasionally in aid of the same end. Its mundane machinery was the establishment of a periodical, entitled the *Union Review*, with the double object of being simply a High Church Anglican and Conservative Organ, and also a channel for the communications of the Unionists of all communions. It has been written with considerable cleverness, although its double intention has made it somewhat unworkable. As was natural, a periodical conducted on such principles proved a god-send to a class whose lips were otherwise padlocked, the discontented, or disappointed Roman Catholics—*mauvais coucheurs*—who had lost the *Home and Foreign Review*, and who were sure of being refused admission to the ordinary run either of Romanist or Protestant periodicals. Of communications from such writers the most remarkable was a long paper with the unfortunate and unworthy title of ‘Experiences of a ‘Vert’ (i.e. convert or pervert) which has, from internal evidence, been publicly and without contradiction, attributed to Mr. Ffoulkes, formerly B.D. and Fellow of Jesus’ College, Oxford, author of the ‘Counter Theory,’ in reply to, though several years later than, Dr. Newman’s ‘Essay on Development,’ and now a married man in lay Roman communion. It is needless for us to epitomise this paper, which has been reproduced at great length in the *Guardian*. Its practical summing up was a ‘rehabilitation’ of the English Church, and a dissuasion from individual secession. Its publication led to a result for which the Association was strangely unprepared. Hitherto it had gone on in the conviction that ‘the Association ‘has been approved in the highest Ecclesiastical quarters, both ‘among Latins, Anglicans, and Greeks. The Holy Father ‘gave his blessing to the scheme when first started, and repeated that blessing with a direct and kindly commendation ‘to one of the English Secretaries who was more recently ‘granted the honour of a special interview.’ So, too, we are told that the Ex-Patriarch of Constantinople had done the like. This statement regarding the Pope was subsequent to the event which we have to record, and has been confirmed by the Mr. Nugee, who has declared himself the person who heard the Pope so speak. No doubt Pius IX., who is, as all know, both kindly and courteous, not to say gushing in his manners, and thoroughly ignorant of English matters, would be very likely to give his blessing off-hand to a body of which all he knew was that it was an Association to promote Christian Unity.

Indeed, the Encyclic with which the Pope has recently astonished the world is proof positive that he could not have meant anything in particular, or known anything about the Association, when he gave that blessing.

However, the Vert's paper changed everything. It is absurd to say that the tone in which he talked of the existing Roman Church, and in particular of its recent English manifestation, was, as might have been expected, uncomplimentary and aggravating, however true in Anglican eyes. To a zealous Roman Catholic his outspoken language might not unreasonably wear an even darker colour, as a deliberate attempt to check the work of God, in the reclamation one by one of individual souls from heresy to the true fold. We cannot therefore much wonder, nor, from their point of view, blame very severely the Roman Court, moved thereto it is said by Dr. Manning, and the Pope as prompted by the Court, for answering Mr. Ffoulkes by a very peremptory condemnation of the whole Association, so far as it was participated in by Roman Catholics, and by placing the *Review* in the Index. It is, perhaps, equally true to nature that the Association cannot see the matter in the same light, and resents the Papal condemnation, although obtained subsequently to the provoking article, as if it were inconsistent with the antecedent blessing, *valeat quantum*.

With all sympathy for the excellent members of the Association, placed as they are in so disagreeable a dilemma, we really think that the embranglement has its value, and may even help the object they have at heart—the visible reunion of Christendom. It is well that they should learn thus early in their career that, short of an immediate, visible, overruling miracle, the task on which they are embarked is, in its merely human aspect, the most perplexingly difficult undertaking in which the human mind ever engaged itself. An association to restore the 'Holy Roman Empire,' would be (we talk of the labour of the work, not of its utility if accomplished) a mere trifle in comparison. The reason is plain; it is an undertaking to the accomplishment of which the highest and the lowest motives alike of people, sects, and classes, are variously and discordantly, yet strongly opposed. One, as the Anglican, the Roman, and the Greek Churches are in their belief in the Creeds, in the possession of Holy Orders, and in the consequent validity of their sacraments; they are in all innumerable secondary matters—to the naked eye in short—quite different bodies, and the satisfactory adjustment of these innumerable secondary matters is an enterprise before whose difficulty the most daring and the most patient might stand appalled. The difficulty is, of course, greatly augmented, when

the body out of which the movement for that adjustment proceeds is the one of the three on which the two others look down, and which is far more different from either than either of them is from the other. If a further surplusage of difficulty be needed, it is found in the fact that within that third body itself exists a large school, who look upon the desire to unite with Rome in any form as sinful, and who must, *pari passu*, be conciliated, unless the 'Unity of Christendom' is to determine in the break-up of the Church of England.

It is hardly possible to believe that a fair poll of the inner intentions with which the various members of the Association accepted their membership, would reveal a joint basis of action, sufficiently stable to stand a really crucial stress. Some good people have, no doubt, joined the body from impulse rather than logic or learning, and would therefore be the more easily frightened or chilled off when it became necessary to reason or to diplomatisise. Others may have persuaded themselves that it only needed a little quiet explanation, to induce the 'Patriarchs' of Rome and Constantinople to sit down with the Archbishop of Canterbury, happy in the joint practice of a developed Anglicanism—acceptable alike to the 'Gesu' and to Exeter Hall. Many of the rest, while they uttered 'unity,' muttered under breath, 'Cathedra Petri,' and played with the Association as a machine made to hand wherewith, at the cost perhaps of a few non-essential concessions, to bring a rich fresh harvest into the garners of the Holy Roman Church. Others again looked into the exclusive past and deemed Christianity anchored on the rock of the changeless East. We blame none of these sections: all would be equally sincere from their respective points of view. Before there could be any reasonable hope of bringing Rome to unity, Rome must be brought to think no worse of us than she does of the 'Photian schism' or the 'Armenian heresy.'

But this is not all. Christian unity being the object, how dare we overlook that vast Armenian Church, and the other smaller Eastern episcopal bodies, who (however incomplete their profession of the Catholic faith) ostensibly possess Orders and Sacraments? Yet curiously, the Association seems to ignore them. Furthermore, would it be a satisfactory 'Unity' if there were any large bodies, calling themselves Christians, outside the pale of the visible United Church? Still, we cannot discover that the Association has taken, or intends to take, steps to win co-operation from those millions of Protestants in the British Islands, on the Continent, in America, and in Australia, who, although devoid of the Apostolic succession, believe in, and baptise in the name of, the ever Blessed Trinity. We find this

position unequivocally stated in a Charge, addressed to his annual synod in 1863, by a prelate of whom no Churchman should speak without respect, the Bishop of Brechin, and which is reprinted in the 'Sermons on the Reunion of Christendom,' published by the Association, with a preface by the Secretary, recapitulating its objects: 'nor can a unity be said to be complete ' which does not assimilate with itself all that is good and pious ' in the Protestant bodies.'

But we have wandered from the question which we proposed to ourselves of the probable future of the present extreme school, whose most respectable side is to be found among the members of the Unity Association, and its most sensational manifestations in the make-believe Benedictines of Norwich. Taking all these different manifestations of uneasy acquiescence in the actual Anglican system into consideration, we have to ask ourselves whether these movements are likely to repeat the history of the school of 'extravagantes' represented by Mr. Newman, Mr. Ward, Mr. Oakeley, and Mr. Faber, and, after a course of gradual weaning, fall into the comprehensive embrace of Rome; or will they repeat the second crop of converts matured in 1851, and more abruptly lost to us from purely doctrinal causes in consequence of a single defeat? We do not think so. If we gave as our first reason that the wind had turned, and the fashion of Romeward conversions had died down, we might be taxed with implying, in guarded words, that there was some lack of power or real originality in the leaders of this section, and that they were more prone to be influenced by than to lead a popular fashion. Even if we did mean what might be thus put in our mouths, we should not on that account be arraigning the ability or the sincerity of the school we have been speaking of, or their excellent intentions.

Assuming, then, a latitudinarian bias to be the theological vice of this quarter of a century, as a Roman one was of that which closed in 1850, we believe that the excesses of this school will take the colour of their own generation. We think we hear some of our readers exclaim, Latitudinarianism! what Latitudinarianism can lurk in the proceedings of men who model their observances according to the rubrics of the Union Review Almanack? Mr. Lyne's proceedings would be a sufficient answer to the question, but perhaps it is better to explain our meaning more fully. The present *régime* in London tends very much to a general permission to everybody to do what he likes, provided he is, or says that he is, active; and London gives the cue to England more than England would like to admit. The party, if not Roman, is assuredly not Anglican in

its feelings and interests. There are two futures before them. On the one side is, of course, the risk of a popular riot, from which those who are labouring for the restoration of genuine English ritual, and who recollect the terrible autumn of 1850, will be certain to emerge sufferers. If this is happily avoided, this party, secure in the immunity of a latitudinarian *régime*, will shrink within itself into a *Petite Eglise*—each clergyman satisfied in the maintenance of his own congregation, and each a material hostage for some corresponding divarication on the deficient or ultra-Protestant side by some other loose-sitting incumbent. And in this way single, and as it were private, churches will be pointed to and marked off, and each will not improbably be a check to the healthy development of ritual in some twenty others. If inhibitions come to trouble the calm of the scene, the example of the wandering deacon playing at abbot in the streets of Norwich will furnish a dangerous precedent for indiscriminate disobedience.

Still the problem of the Unity of Christendom will rest unsolved. Will visible unity ever be again vouchsafed this side of the Day of Judgment? Prayers and hopes say, yes. Reason says that the idea is a pious aspiration, not a stable assurance. The basis of the Anglican theory, the possibility of intrinsic oneness without visible unity, is a doctrine which is not measured by centuries; either it may hold good to the end, or it cannot have held good up till now. If the Sacraments are the same lifegiving ordinances wherever they are duly administered, we may conceive the number of God's elect being accomplished age after age, and yet the ages debating, as they now do, in the various branches of Christ's Church. But if in God's counsels ultimate unity is decreed while the world is still in its actual attitude of expectation, we might almost dare to say, *pax paritur bello*. Many debates—general disintegration—man's wickedness working as much as man's religion—country against country, diocese against diocese—must, short of a miracle, be the state of the Christian world before the huge inert masses can be sufficiently broken up to admit of the freed atoms being reunited as a homogeneous whole. Again, when the Churches which now own the Apostolic ministry are fused together, what will be the condition of the Protestant communities all over the world? While striving to magnify the wisdom and mercy of God by scheming to reunite the Roman, Greek, and Anglican communions, are we to refuse to bestow a thought on the future of those huge bodies of Christians? Who will dare to call that 'unity' which would leave those, by that time ancient, communities of baptized men—men working out their own salvation with the scant aid of vacant rites—out in the cold night, punished

for the sins of their remote ancestors, cut off for evermore from the visible fold of the Catholic Church?

In the meanwhile, as the first and foremost of personal duties, as the simplest and therefore the most efficacious of contributions towards unity, let us quit ourselves like men in that Church in which our own lot has been cast, working out its system in doctrine, in ritual, and in practical usefulness, according to the exemplar of that Prayer-book which, until we become very much better than we ever have been, is likely to continue a sufficient guide to lead us through our present difficulties to the quiet land of everlasting peace.

NOTICES.

EVEN a slight acquaintance with the rationalistic literature of our day, must convince all thoughtful men that the Holy Gospels will soon become one of the main objects of attack. Not only from pens avowedly hostile to the Christology of the Catholic Church, but even from quarters where friendship is proclaimed, there proceeds a murmur of more or less dissatisfaction and doubt. One of these utterances, in *Fraser's Magazine*, for January, 1864, has called forth a pamphlet, entitled 'Modern Scepticism,' from a writer of distinguished academical reputation, Mr. Gregory Smith, of Tedstone-Delamere. Mr. G. Smith's pamphlet is marked throughout by great candour, and displays much insight into the mind of modern free-thinking and the real nature of the questions at issue. The style is finished and scholarly, and often suggests even more than it openly expresses. Where so much has been done, it may seem ungracious to ask for more. Yet we cannot help expressing a hope that the author of this really valuable production may one day pursue the subject, and enter into still further details upon some of the points mooted by the critic in *Fraser's Magazine*. We must not, however, omit to mention that Mr. G. Smith has already added to his *brochure* an excellent little epitome of the life of Christ, based in the main upon the arrangement made by Bishop Ellicott in his Hulsean Lectures. It will prove useful to teachers, and may well form an introduction to larger works.

We have frequently had occasion to commend Mrs. Gatty's admirable 'Parables from Nature.' Messrs. Bell and Daldy have collected the four series into a volume, which has been illustrated by first-rate artists. Whether we look at the paper, type, plates, or matter, the work leaves nothing to be desired. It is one of the most original, instructive, and beautiful books we are acquainted with in that department of literature, and is equally appropriate to the school-room, the drawing-room, and the library.

M. Emile de Bonnechose's 'History of France' is too highly appreciated wherever the French language is known to need any recommendation. Many of our readers may, however, be glad to know of the appearance of a thirteenth edition, in two volumes, 8vo. (Paris: Firmin Didot). This edition is greatly enlarged, and contains, among other additions, a thoughtful and remarkable Preface, as well as a lengthy and impartial account of the reign of Louis Philippe. During the last twenty years many Histories of France, more or less meritorious, have been published; but M. de Bonnechose's stands decidedly first and best. Few French

historians write with the same patience of investigation, the same calm philosophical impartiality, or the same regard for truth as M. de Bonnechose ; and, let us add, still fewer are animated with the same kind and generous feelings towards this country.

Dr. Godfray edits for the Anglo-Continental Society, with his wonted care and accuracy, the correspondence which took place between Archbishop Wake and Dupin, on the scheme of union between the Anglican and Gallican Churches, which was discussed by them. Together with the Letters, an historical *resumé* of the subject is given, which is interesting and instructive. In the Appendix, the Thirty-Nine Articles, which were commented on and criticised one by one, by the Doctors of the Sorbonne are given at full length in French. A short preface introduces the pamphlet, a great part of which has already appeared in the pages of the *Union Chrétienne*. The title is, 'Projet d'Union entre les Eglises Gallicane et Anglicane' (Rivingtons).—Three other Italian publications have been brought out by the Anglo-Continental Society during the past year—(1.) a short and somewhat insignificant tract on 'Order in the Church,' from an unpublished manuscript of the late Rev. George May ; (2.) a very valuable chapter, extracted from 'Allix's Churches of Piedmont,' in which the author proves the independence of the Church of North Italy, and its freedom from all, even canonical, subservience to Rome for the first thousand years of its existence ; and (3.) 'Ten Letters to a Statesman on the Affairs of the Church in Italy, by Five Ecclesiastics.' The Statesman to whom the Letters were originally addressed is, we believe, Sir James Hudson.

NOTE.—We are requested to observe in connexion with our article on the Irish Church (Christian Remembrancer, No. CXXV.) that the statement is incorrect that there are 200 ecclesiastical sinecures in Ireland. There are not a dozen. This error, for which our contributor is not responsible, has arisen from a mistake connected with *united* parishes, which has been long and widely circulated. There is daily service in St. Colomba's College, Limerick ; Christ Church, Dublin ; Armagh Cathedral ; St. Anne's, Grangegorman, St. Peter's and St. Stephen's, Dublin. There is weekly communion at St. Nicholas, Cork ; St. Nicholas, St. Anne's (for the past year) ; St. Peter's, Rathmenes ; Molyneux Asylum Chapel, and Bray, in the archdiocese of Dublin, in addition to those mentioned at p. 35. In the case of some of the sinecures, a suspension will take place when they are next vacated.

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1865.

ART. I. — *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston.*
By JOHN WEISS. Two Vols. Longman & Co. 1863.

THE life of a man like Theodore Parker should be better known in England than it is. He was a fair and favourable representative — 'far in the front,' as Mr. Weiss is fond of reminding us — of a school of thought, which, partly in consequence of its own apparent freshness and vigour, but far more in consequence of the shortcomings of others, is rapidly extending its influence. Parker himself was a Unitarian minister, but he quickly transgressed the limits of Unitarian orthodoxy; and, after he was rejected by his own sect, he was revered as a guide, almost as a prophet, by disciples of the most opposite opinions. As a preacher unattached he wielded an influence which had never fallen to his lot before — an influence which, perhaps, in an equal degree, falls to the lot of few. While he was still living, his works not only had a large circulation in the United States and in England, but had also been translated into German, and largely circulated on the continent of Europe. They had even found their way to Calcutta, where they attracted so much attention that the native reforming party of Young Bengal have recently published a sketch of his life and death in their periodical organ, the *Patrika*. All this was the result of no unusual powers of the man himself, though in talent he was certainly far from being deficient, and for untiring energy and steadfastness of purpose he was remarkable. But both his natural character and his external circumstances combined to bring his mind into harmony with an intellectual tendency, which already, without his aid, was, as it still is, strongly stirring in the minds of men, not only in America but in England, not only in Europe but in Asia. Surrendering himself with unreserved completeness to this influence, he was borne in advance of others by a power not his own; and representing, as he did, their foremost

thoughts, every word he uttered seemed to be beckoning them onwards to 'fresh fields and pastures new,' and holding out the promise of a full satisfaction for all their longings in the promised land which was still in front of them.

We cannot wonder that he found many to listen to him. We cannot wonder that great numbers of those who listened seemed to themselves to be spiritually saved and strengthened thereby. The rousing of thought in the thoughtless, the gift of a purpose to the indifferent, the kindling of hope in a mind which had not cared to look into the future, must always have the appearance of a resurrection unto life. The question what that life shall be, and how long it may last, is one which we may perhaps in some measure be able to answer when we have examined its foundations. Few studies can be more full of interest and instruction than the life of a man who has occupied such a position as that in which Parker was placed. If we rightly understand him, we have possessed ourselves of a key to the hopes and aspirations, the strength and the weakness, of vast numbers, who are living round ourselves, and with whom the Church in this generation has ever more and more to deal. The tendency which he represented is spreading very widely among the intelligent portion of our own working classes. They are asking questions touching the very foundations of the faith—questions which the Church is bound to answer; and she abdicates her high commission if the answer she gives is either contemptuous or confused.

As we have very recently reviewed Mr. Weiss' 'Life of Parker' as a biography, we shall, on this occasion, confine ourselves chiefly to his theology. Mr. Weiss has done good service in presenting us with materials from which we may gain an apparently correct view of the history of his mind. In doing so he has also supplied us with interesting information with regard to the goings on of religious life and religious sects in America. But we cannot help complaining that he has thrown upon his reader much of the labour which properly belongs to himself. He has written down the main facts and events of Parker's career, and he has collected a vast mass of letters, many of which throw great light upon his inward life. But when that is done, the work of a biographer is only beginning. He must not only collect his materials; he must digest and arrange them. He undertakes to show us the picture of the life of a man. Life can only be seen in its growth. We wish to be made spectators of its development, from the bursting of the seed to the full maturity of the forest tree. We care far less for the conclusions at which the man arrived than for the mode in which he reached them. We may set small value upon the doctrines which he taught,

but the manner in which he was led to teach them must always be a useful lesson. And this is precisely the lesson which the biographer undertakes to impart. Mr. Weiss has done little more than supply us with a rather superabundant quantity of materials from which we may gather it for ourselves. We may not grudge the labour; perhaps in such a case it repays itself. Still the reader feels that he is doing work which the author, by the title of his book, had promised to do for him. Mr. Weiss is so full of admiration for the character of his hero in its maturity that he is impatient of his day of small things. Before the flower is blown he is already clutching at the ripe fruit. While we are watching the progress of Parker's mind in its early youth; he interrupts us that we may examine the thoughts and feelings of twenty years later, with which as yet we have no concern. And on the other hand we have sometimes to travel through two or three hundred pages before we reach some fragment of a letter, or some notice of an event, which, if it had but been given to us earlier, would have made the past, to which it properly belonged, much more intelligible. The book is valuable as it is, for the reasons we have mentioned. A little more care exercised in the selection of letters for insertion, and in the arrangement of other materials at the author's command, would have much increased its value.

The life of Theodore Parker is an epoch in the history of Unitarianism. We need not warn any student of Church history that no source of error is more frequent or more fatal than the hasty assumption that a similarity of name or of doctrine necessarily implies any great corresponding similarity between the sects which bear the one or profess the other. The form of words which express a doctrine is one thing, the religious life and belief from which the doctrine springs is another and often a very different thing. And this caution is most particularly to be borne in mind when we find ourselves marshalling men of widely separated periods of history under the banner of one dogma, and that dogma a negation. For if Unitarianism properly means the assertion that God is one, it may with equal propriety mean the denial that God is more than one, which is quite consistent with a large amount of unbelief in the existence of a personal God at all. Within the second or perhaps even the first century of the Church there were persons who denied the truth of the Trinity; but the followers of Theodotus and Artemon on the one side, and those of Praxeas and Sabellius on the other, differed from one another even more widely than they differed from the Church. Yet both again were called Monarchians or Unitarians; and both were very far removed from what we now call Unitarianism.

For Unitarianism is essentially a modern system. Neither in its history nor in its nature has it any connexion with those early heresies to which we have just alluded, nor with the Arianism which followed in the fourth century. The human mind had a long journey to travel before it could reach this particular form of denial, and we question whether it would have been possible for it to appear at any period previous to the Middle Ages. The present generation of Unitarians, much more advanced than their fathers and grandfathers, would think it a very small compliment indeed to be told that their faith is no better than that of the Apostles. And we are willing to grant to them that their creed is of a kind which could scarcely have appeared in the primitive ages of the Church.

The history of the Middle Ages is now very much more studied than it was some few years ago, but it does not even yet receive a tithe of the attention which is its due. Men still speak of 'the Dark Ages,' and still forget that it is precisely in the darkness that the seeds of life are wont to germinate. Dark they unquestionably were; but without the previous darkness the light which has followed could never have shone, nor, if it had shone, could we safely and intelligently walk in it. We do not hesitate to say that in the Middle Ages lie hid both the germ of the whole of modern history, and also the necessary key to the understanding thereof. It is there that we must look for the sources of its good and its evil, its glory and its shame, its knowledge and its ignorance, and, if not also of its faith and its unbelief, at all events of the forms in which that faith and unbelief are clothed.

When Roscellin, towards the close of the eleventh century, founded his Nominalistic School at Compiègne, and boldly challenged the long-dominant Realism to a combat of life and death,—when Anselm sprang forward into the lists to accept the challenge, a warfare was commenced which the combatants on either side knew to be a great one, but *how* great they probably little dreamed. Each party must have seemed to itself to be fighting for the very essence of the faith; but not discerning that it needs the whole Church to preach the whole Gospel, and that truth had its warriors on the opposite side as well as on their own, they were each surprised at the strength by which they were resisted, and would have been still more surprised if they could have foreseen the duration of the contest. 'You would have us worship as God the conceptions of our own mind,' was the reproach which the Nominalist cast upon his opponent; and the retort was ready, 'You are denying the very existence of truth, and leaving us nothing but notions in its place.' The contest about the existence of Universals may

seem to be a mere word-contest of idle pedants, but it can only seem so to those who are themselves too idle to recognise the vast interests at issue. Neither party was able to conquer its opponent ; yet each of them won a victory of a far more glorious kind. Men were compelled to ask themselves what they meant by their words, whether the doctrines which they had learned by heart were mere theories or substantial facts, whether in heaven or earth there was any firm foundation to rest upon. It was a contest which very far outlasted the lives of those who first commenced it ; and among the thousands and tens of thousands who were its spectators, and who watched it with a breathless interest at which this nineteenth century can only wonder, there must have been vast numbers who attained by its means to convictions more deep and firm, and a faith more vigorous and intelligent, than were possible before. The din and smoke of such a battle were great and bewildering, but in the end it brought a clearer sky, and the things which could not be shaken were seen to be more visibly firm than ever.

But evil ever dogs the steps of good. And one evil of an age of controversy is that scepticism and doubt are quickened to an unhealthy life. The same period of contest which has braced the faith of the Church as a whole, and has left behind it an abiding strength for future generations, has yet cast a shadow upon the spirits of some, and left behind it a corresponding seed of weakness for future trial. When all things are seen to be questioned, it is no wonder that the inference begins to be drawn that all things are questionable. And when some minds are but little in earnest, and others are weak, and others are ignorant, and all are tempted to rash and hasty judgments, it is no wonder that new forms of doubt and unbelief continually appear, and that Faith, while she moves victoriously through the clouds and fogs of human history, should always be accompanied by a false and distorted image of herself, reflected on the mist. Another evil of an age of controversy is that it almost necessarily gives an undue preponderance to the mere understanding or intellect. Controversy may be often a necessary and a holy thing, but it can scarcely fail to be an affair of the natural man. That in man which is spiritual, that which holds communion with God, and to which God speaks, that which hungers and thirsts after righteousness, and which looks for a joy which the mind of man cannot *conceive*, is overshadowed and forgotten among the conceptions of the intellect ; while on the other hand the reasoning faculty, that which forms conceptions and asserts propositions, which constructs syllogisms and draws logical inferences, gradually absorbs into itself the whole activity of the mind, and threatens to

reduce the character to its own level. This is an evil which almost necessarily results from habitual breathing of the air of controversy, and is quite independent of, and distinct from, the bitterness and want of charity which are the moral temptations besetting the controversialist's path.

The exceptional activity of the logical faculty was one of the characteristic marks of the age of the schoolmen; and such a state of things necessarily gives birth to scepticism. The intellect, supposing itself to be the highest faculty in man, and finding itself utterly unable to comprehend the mysteries presented to it, either rejects them altogether, or else, accepting them upon authority, endeavours to reduce them within its own forms and definitions, and thereby empties them of their life and truth. Previously to the Reformation the great doctrines of the Church were not explicitly attacked, except by a few inconsiderable sects; but their meaning, and the mode in which they were to be accepted, was the subject of perpetual debate. And to many it must have seemed that the doctrines themselves were impugned. Indeed, attention was first drawn to Roscellin himself by the fact that his doctrine seemed to be a denial of the Trinity. All this tended to unsettle men's minds, and to induce a doubt of the objective truth of the doctrines which they had been taught, and, above all, of high mysteries, like that of the Trinity in Unity, which attracted to itself a large share of disputation. Meanwhile there was another and an exactly opposite influence at work which was also tending to loosen men's grasp upon this doctrine. While some were devoting themselves to the controversies of the schools, and others were absorbed in the contests which the emperors unceasingly carried on against the popes, there were others still who fled from the strife of tongues and the war of factions, and endeavoured in stillness and solitude to find God and His truth in their own hearts. Such men abounded in the Rhine-land in the fourteenth century. Cut off by papal interdicts, through no fault of their own, from all the ordinances of the Church, they were driven to ask themselves whether there was no mode of communion with God open to them still. If apparent purity of heart and holy life may be accepted as a proof, they found an answer to their question; and we hear of others like them in almost every country, and bearing the most varied names. But the danger of such a position is great and obvious. The soul, cut off from the outward signs and sacraments of religion, and driven more and more inwards upon itself, begins to undervalue the external aids which are beyond its reach, and to look for the revelation of God solely and simply within the heart. When this point is reached, it is impossible to say what fancies

and vagaries may be mistaken for the voice of God. And in this manner a genuine and healthy mysticism may degenerate into a fruitful source of the most destructive error. The religious life of such persons becomes more and more exclusively a matter of feeling; the understanding is unduly depressed, and at last utterly despised. An indistinct and effeminate religiousness takes the place of a vigorous spirituality of mind. Faith in a personal God loses its clearness or becomes altogether extinct. For though each Divine Person satisfies some craving need of the heart of man, the heart cannot by itself discover the truth for which it hungers. Mysticism longs to lose itself in a Divine Something, and often the Something is after all only itself over again, or at best the Soul of the World, which it calls the One God.

In this manner, by the two opposite paths of the understanding and the feelings, men of opposite characters have, both before and since the Reformation, been drawn on to conclusions which, though in themselves opposed, would, when expressed in words, closely resemble each other, and would equally assume the form of doubt or disbelief of a distinction of Persons in the Godhead. Previously to the Reformation, these, like all other movements of the human mind which were antagonistic to the dominant Church, were repressed and forcibly stilled. When the pressure was removed, a reaction followed, which sufficiently proves the crushing weight of the previous burden. From the opened prison doors, through which emerged the bright form of divinest Truth, there issued also, in the morning twilight, a host of spectres at which the imagination stands aghast. The wildest and most grotesque shapes of superstition and falsehood, the strangest combinations of the most opposite forms of error, the most hideous contradictions of the holiness and love of God, claimed recognition and acceptance side by side with the renewed assertion of His justifying righteousness. The lying shadows of the bottomless pit came forth, as they thought, conquering and to conquer,—in reality to be extinguished in the light of the day which had already dawned. One by one these spectres were, most of them, laid; and, fixing our attention upon the three great Reformers—Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin—we discern at once that the first of the three is proclaiming the Threefold Name of God. This was conspicuously the basis of his preaching. He knew of no theology but that which has its ground in the will of the Father, manifested in the Son, perfected by the Spirit. It was not so with Zwinglius and Calvin. The paramount authority of Holy Scripture, justification by faith, election to life, were what they dwelt upon most. When they spoke of the doctrine of the Trinity, they spoke of it indeed in orthodox terms, as

one which ought to be received ; but it was not the foundation upon which the edifice of their teaching was reared. The actual denial of this doctrine was usually at that time combined with the wild aberrations of Anabaptism, as in the notorious case of Ludwig Hetzer, who was beheaded in 1529 at Constance for various crimes, and of David Joris, who died at Basle in 1559 ; yet it often proceeded from men of a very different and more noble stamp, such as Sebastian Franck and Claudius of Savoy. It is very remarkable that even in the mind of Melancthon the Trinity does not occupy the foremost place. For in the first edition of his '*Loci*,' though he dwells largely upon the nature of man and the means of grace, he makes no statement regarding the Persons of the Godhead. This omission, however, he supplied in his edition of 1535, and the declaration of faith in the Trinity in Unity forms the basis and opening of the Confession of Augsburg, in which the '*Samosateni Neoterici*,' probably referring to Campanus, perhaps to Servetus and Hetzer, were emphatically condemned.

But it was at a later period than this, in the second half of the sixteenth century, that the two Socini lived and worked, who are not untruly called the founders of modern Unitarianism. Lælius Socinus was born at Sienna in 1525. Both his father and his brother were eminent members of the legal profession, and, if his own pursuits had been of a similar kind, his natural character and education would probably have raised him also to an equal eminence. His mind was acute and powerful, clear and systematic, impatient of all which was not within the grasp of the understanding, and which could not be arranged in strict logical sequence. But the clearness which he sought was a clearness upon the surface, a light reflected from the distinct and precise squares of the chess-board, not that which lives and shines in the transparent deeps of heaven. From the lightest semblance of mysticism he fled as from a pestilence. He looked not so much for Truth as for means by which a distinct end could be accomplished. Man must be taught, and induced, to forsake sin, and to obey the commands of God. A belief in the Unity, the Eternity, the Omnipotence, the Justice, the Wisdom, of God, seemed to him to be sufficient to attain this end ; and, once convinced of this, he asked for nothing more. The nature of God in Himself, His essential goodness and His perfect love, he seems to have thought that we need not know ; for a knowledge of the divine power and wisdom offered, he thought, sufficient inducements to man to keep the commandments. This seemingly practical view of religion, as simply a means to attain a moral end, seems to have blinded his eyes to the necessity of that deeper and truer personal knowledge of God which confers and

constitutes eternal life. He died at Zurich in 1562, still in the bloom of manhood; and the task of developing his doctrines, and reducing them to system, devolved upon his nephew Faustus Socinus. They are contained in what may almost be called the symbolical books of the Unitarians, the *Institutiones Religionis Christianæ*, and the *Racovian Catechism*. In these the inspiration and paramount authority of Holy Scripture are asserted in strong terms. Indeed Faustus Socinus had composed a separate treatise, *De Auctoritate Scripturæ Sacræ*.

But he also laid down the principle that nothing in Scripture could possibly be contrary to right reason. And as he added to this certain intellectual axioms of his own as incontrovertible laws of reason, it is clear that the authority of Scripture, though nominally enthroned, might easily be reduced to a minimum. Starting with the Unity, the Power, and the Wisdom of God, he placed a wide gulf between the Creator and the world. God is not immanent in the world, but stands apart, ruling it from without; nor, except by His power and His knowledge, is He present in the heart of man. Sin Parker looked upon as a habit of disobedience, to be corrected by promises and threatenings addressed to the sinner, and by the illumination of the understanding. From this superficial view of sin, as being not a taint of nature or a disease of the will, but merely a succession of definite transgressions, the entire denial of Original Sin necessarily followed. And similar to this was his view of Redemption. Christ is the Son of God by virtue of His miraculous conception, and the supernatural powers with which He was endowed that He might make known the will of God to men. His sufferings were a pledge of the divine forgiveness of sins, and His death and resurrection an assurance of eternal salvation; while His ascension to the right hand of God was a proof of the saving power which had been granted to Him. This was the Gospel; which, with the example of His life on earth, constituted the outward help which God vouchsafed to man, the inward help, which was also necessary, being the enlightenment of the understanding to discern these truths, and the rewards and punishments made known in Scripture. Christ, though not God, is a deified man. As Moses was taken up into the mount, so He, before His public appearance on earth, was taken up more than once into heaven itself. As no human being was a witness of this, it is nowhere recorded, but reference is made to it in the passages where He speaks of having 'come down from heaven.' Since His ascension He is to be worshipped, according to the command of God, His glorification being the reward of His perfect obedience; but when all believers have attained salvation He will resign His kingdom to the Father.

Such is the groundwork of Unitarianism, as laid down by Lælius, and developed and arranged by Faustus Socinus. We see here that, although the assertion of the divine Unity in contradiction to that of the Trinity may be and has been reached by the path of mysticism, yet the historical origin of the Unitarian sect consisted in a flight from all which bears the semblance of mystery. The deep things of God are brought to the surface and sacrificed to the relentless dictates of the intellectual system; the things of the Spirit are made to submit to the laws of the understanding and the rules of logic. The famine of the soul, which is above and beneath all reasoning, is left unsupplied; the hunger and thirst of the spirit is cruelly ignored; the infirmity of the will, groaning and vainly struggling in its chains, is mocked by logical arguments proving it to be free and strong.

Yet when Faustus Socinus settled in Poland in 1579, he found men's minds well prepared to receive his doctrines, not only in consequence of the visit of his uncle thirty years previously, but also because he was favoured by the existing condition of the Church. The Socinian school at Racow flourished and became one of considerable importance, and though it was abolished in 1638, and the Socinians expelled from Poland by a decree of the Diet in 1658, yet they readily found a shelter in other parts of Europe. The truth is that in religious matters the opposite forces of action and reaction counterbalance one another with a regularity almost as complete as in the physical world; and we shall entirely misinterpret some of the main facts of history if we neglect to notice the law of compensation which rules here as elsewhere. Religious people are often astonished to see one whose opinions seem to be one vast denial of Christian truth exhibiting in his daily life a degree of the peaceable fruit of righteousness so great and so exalted as to put themselves to shame. Erroneous opinions are in many cases the result of a natural and, in the first instance, healthy recoil from the hard, unlovely, and therefore virtually false shape in which orthodoxy has been presented to the mind by the force of circumstances, while in the heart there is reigning a true and genuine faith, which, if it were explicitly expressed in words, would itself be the most complete contradiction of the false system which the lips are uttering, and which the intellect does not refuse to accept. A long habit of self-inspection, with much bitter experience, is required to enable men to perceive how very little, after all, of the heart's belief is capable of being expressed in words, and how possible it is that men to whom the same faith is precious may be marshalled under the most opposite intellectual banners, in times of doubt and controversy.

And as with individuals so with bodies of men. Who can wonder that amid the tumults and controversies, the wars and persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, amid Massacres of St. Bartholomew and Thirty Years' Wars, Synods of Dort and Discussions of Thorn, Heidelberg Catechisms and Formulas of Concord, there were many minds which in the agonies of doubt and bewilderment were ready to embrace the theory that these dissensions came from the vain and presumptuous effort to pry into mysteries with which we have nothing to do, which perhaps were but the creation of our own fancy. Protestantism, they said, had not finished its work. Men were still strutting about in the worn-out garments of Rome, and quarrelling over the endless contradictions with which she had corrupted the Christian faith. A belief in the unity of God would give back unity to His Church. The region of mystery was the native land of strife and discord. Others there were also, and vast numbers, who were tormented by no such doubts and questions, who had never cared to watch the mysterious strife of good and evil within, who had never looked beneath the surface of their nature, and contentedly believed that a surface religion was sufficient for its cure. The increasing narrowness of the more orthodox communions, which tended more and more to limit the love and mercy of God within the closest bounds of sectarianism, made more attractive than ever the thought of the One Father of all, who forgives freely, and embraces the world in His compassion. The divine Redeemer and the sanctifying Spirit passed out of sight in the thick clouds of the war which men were waging over their offices and their names. Amid all the health and strength which unquestionably existed among the denials of Unitarianism, it is still clear that a recoil from all that is mysterious in the faith both of Romanists and Protestants lay at its very root.

Meanwhile Bacon had been asserting the freedom of the world of sense from the dominion of intellectual conceptions with the same justice and the same success as that with which Luther had asserted the freedom of the world of spirit. In nature herself, not in men's notions and theories about nature, were her laws to be studied. The idols of the tribe, of the cave, of the market-place, of the theatre, were cast down, as it seemed, for ever, and a great and lasting impulse was given to the study of nature and nature's laws. But at the close of the seventeenth century the experimental philosophy was gaining ground, and was soon to attain almost universal rule over the minds of men. It purported to be a carrying-out of Bacon's method, but Bacon himself would certainly not have owned it for his child. And very soon the idols which had been cast down rose from

the dust, and sat upon their thrones again in a new disguise. By degrees it was received almost as an axiom in philosophy that the one source of knowledge is experience; that ideas are nothing more than impressions made by the senses upon the mind, or at most the result of the action of the mind itself upon such impressions. The new watchword of *experience* seemed to be a deliverance from uncertainty and doubt; philosophy at last had firm ground beneath her feet, now that she had abandoned the supersensual cloud-land of mystery. Although Unitarianism could supply but a meagre diet to the starving spirit of man, she certainly could offer a suitable home to the experimental philosophy which was dominant a hundred years ago, and which still retains a hold upon a vast number of highly cultivated minds. The revolution in philosophy must have seemed to Unitarians a strong corroboration of the truth of the religious opinions which they had embraced; and they declared triumphantly that the minds of men, in proportion to their advance in cultivation, were drawing ever nearer to themselves. The ancient systems, they said, must one by one fall to the ground, and the Unity, the Power, the Wisdom, of God, be the one doctrine of His Church.

Yet Unitarianism has never spread widely over the world, for it cannot satisfy the deepest and most imperious cravings of the heart. It may seem to serve the purposes of the study and the leisure hour, but in the soul's conflict with death, or in the far fiercer conflict with doubt and darkness, it is weighed in the balance and found wanting. The system which speaks most loudly of the universal love of God, and which is perpetually uttering the name of Father, is precisely the one which proclaims that God has *not* come down to earth to bear our sufferings and woe, and which denies the only begotten Son, in whom alone the name of Father becomes a truth and not a metaphor.

England and America have been for a hundred years the chief seats of Unitarianism; and, as we might expect, it has shown much more life and activity in America than in the mother country. This naturally results, not only from the character of the two peoples, but also from the fact that in England there is a national Church, which, even in its drowsiest days, has offered to men the Gospel of which Unitarianism is but the shadow. It is in America that we must look for the recent history of Unitarianism; and in America the change which has taken place in men's minds during the last fifty years is great and startling. The French Revolution, that great epoch in the history of Europe, was an epoch also in the history of the world. The scepticism and unbelief, the blasphemy and

obscurity, which had been long gathering itself to a head in Europe, seemed to have waited till this point of time to discharge itself in full flood upon America. What had been a shallow, muddy stream, trickling in, now became an ocean of abomination and filth. England, France, and Germany vied with each other in pouring their pollutions upon the New World. The 'Système de la Nature,' the 'Philosophical Dictionary,' the 'Political Justice,' the 'Age of Reason,' came in like a deluge. Of the last in particular an enormous edition was printed in France for gratuitous distribution in America. The tone of society in New England was too healthy for it to be extensively influenced by the evil, but in the United States generally the impression made was deep and wide. But the effect of such a time is not to be measured by the acceptance or rejection of the political and religious doctrines which were preached. Men's minds were stirred, and questions were asked which had not been asked before, and the times had a lesson to be learned by thoughtful men, however little they could accept the doctrines with which their ears were dinned.

Pass a few decades, and we find America largely listening to the voice of one man, whose influence, particularly upon the generation which was just stepping upon the stage, could scarcely be overrated. Ralph Waldo Emerson was preaching the glories of the 'Over-soul,' which was uttering itself in the souls of individual men, and of which each individual soul formed a part. Through his words, 'the One that is All and the All that is One' was addressing the young mind, and luring it onward to unknown heights of wisdom and power. The thoughts which he roused seemed to give a meaning to that sympathy with the great and the heroic, that longing for the true and noble, which so mightily moves the heart in opening life. Just at the budding of the flower, when new impulses and instincts were making themselves felt within, and pointing to great things to be done in distant years, his words seem to supply a foundation and an excuse for the most unlimited hope and the most unqualified self-reliance. While hearing his lectures or reading his printed addresses, the soul imagined itself worthy of the loftiest throne. There was nothing which it might not know, nothing which it might not achieve. Was not it part and parcel of the Over-soul, which had lived and worked, and was living and working still, in each and all? And was not God Himself the Over-soul? Was not each soul itself divine and part of God? Though its deeds had still to be done, its conquests were all in the future, it might at once claim equality with the highest and the brightest names of old. Could there any longer be a Name above every name? The glories of the

Christ Himself must pale, and confess that all are equally human, equally divine. We imagine that no one, old or young, can read Emerson's essays without being conscious of a powerful impulse rousing the dormant energies of the soul to life and activity. In more points than one he resembles our own Thomas Carlyle. Both of them continually remind us that the visible world, with its forms and conventionalities, is but the vesture or the veil which clothes or conceals a world unseen behind, which alone is true. Both of them sound a trumpet to battle, and call upon the soul to rise and fight its way to truth. But Carlyle, in his earlier works, as for instance in 'Sartor Resartus,' helps us to feel and see some of the realities of which he speaks. We breathe the clear air of the mountain, and seem to catch a glimpse of a world of light. Compare his 'Lectures on Heroes' with Emerson's 'Representative Men,' and the difference between the two authors is striking. While we follow Carlyle, we can see our way; the moment we take Emerson for our guide, we lose our footing and are among clouds. It is true that Carlyle's later works do not carry out in this respect the promise of his earlier. But Emerson's words were from the beginning a stimulant, and nothing more. He rouses the powers of the soul, and bids it be strong, but he shows no arm upon which it may lean when weary, he leads it to no fountain of abiding strength. Self-reliance, separated from faith in an indwelling Spirit, must soon entirely perish or degenerate into self-conceit. A reaction must sooner or later follow the stimulant. And when the reaction comes, the soul is left in the dreary and terrible self-isolation which is most painfully perceptible throughout the essays of Emerson. It is left to feel its way alone through a dim and misty solitude, just catching now and then a sound, perhaps the echo of its own sighs, perhaps the whisper of the Over-soul,—the Over-soul which is above, beneath, before, behind, on either side, making the loneliness more lonely. This haughty solitude seems to be Emerson's ideal home and rest. The individual must sacrifice the universe to himself. The noble words which rouse the soul to life and vigour are followed instantly by a stab to the affections which makes the heart bleed.

Carlyle and Emerson had their mission, and we may safely say that it is accomplished and past. Each of them exercised a deep and wide influence upon the minds of those who at the time were entering into life, and in each case that influence has done its work and nearly passed away.

But the influence of Emerson had by no means passed away, but was still in its primal vigour, when, in 1830, the waters of Europe again overflowed upon America; but this time the

inundation was of a very different kind from that which had occurred forty years earlier. Let Mr. Weiss describe it:—
'No doubt it produced some confusion when Leibnitz, Spinoza, Kant, Goethe, Herder, Schleiermacher, Jean Paul, Jacobi, and the rest, sailed all at once into Boston Harbour, and discharged their freight. The wharves were littered in a day with the spoils of a century. . . . As if the confusion were not already sufficient, Mr. Carlyle must needs make his first venture westward about this time, in "*Sartor Resartus*." The French also assisted to increase this embarrassment of riches: for, besides Fourier, Leroux, and the writers of the Socialistic school, there came, first, Damiron, then Benjamin Constant, with his theories of the development of religion, Jouffroy, and Victor Cousin, who contributed his famous phrase of the "Impersonal Reason" to the problem of Inspiration.'

This time it was New England that felt the foreign influence most; New England, which was already wide awake, and hungering for the rich stores of the land of promise of which Mr. Emerson had given the hint. No wonder that they flew upon the spoil with a greediness proportioned to the stimulated appetite. Unitarians would be the first to feel the new influence. Unitarianism was less deeply rooted in the past than the other forms of Christianity. It was the offspring, not of the healthy growth of the Church, but of the shock of revolution which threw off the yoke of Rome. Its revolt, though defended in the words of Scripture, was in reality a revolt of the intellect against Scripture and the creed of the Church. And the spirit of the age, which in each generation draws forth more of the hidden life of the Church, and opens her treasures more widely, serves only to reveal the poverty of the sects, and their utter incapacity to meet the changing and deepening necessities of man. The Unitarianism of the past is doomed, and must give place to a new school, of a different and more modern type.

It is of this advanced school that Theodore Parker was the most conspicuous representative. To the end of his life he called himself a Christian and a Unitarian. Here is his reason, given in 1848:—'I call myself a Christian, because I believe Jesus taught absolute religion, goodness, and piety; free goodness, free piety, free thought. He was in some things fettered by the follies of His nation and age, but did men such a service by setting before them the true method of religion, that I love to call myself a Christian out of gratitude; but I would not think ill of another who disliked the name; nay, I doubt if Jesus Himself would recommend it.'

The youngest of eleven children, he was born at Lexington, Massachusetts, 24th August, 1810. His father was a Unitarian,

renowned for his physical strength and robust common sense, living upon his farm, a small one. To his mother he owed much. She seems to have been somewhat indifferent to external creeds, for though born and bred in the Church, she had married the Unitarian farmer. But her clear, womanly insight into truth, her faith, and love, seem to have done much to save her from the ill effects of this step. Parker himself gives a beautiful instance of her mode of training him :—

‘When a little boy in petticoats, in my fourth year, one fine day in spring, my father led me by the hand to a distant part of the farm, but soon sent me home alone. On the way I had to pass a little pond-hole, then spreading its waters wide; a rhodora in full bloom, a rare flower in that neighbourhood, attracted my attention, and drew me to the spot. I saw a little spotted tortoise sunning himself in the shallow water at the foot of the flaming shrub. I lifted the stick I had in my hand to strike the harmless reptile. But all at once something checked my little arm, and a voice within me said, clear and loud, “It is wrong.” I held my uplifted stick in wonder at the new emotion—the consciousness of an involuntary but inward check upon my actions, till the tortoise and the rhodora both vanished from my sight. I hastened home and told the tale to my mother, and asked what it was that told me it was wrong. She wiped a tear from her eye with her apron, and taking me in her arms, said, “Some men call it conscience, but I prefer to call it the voice of God in the soul of man. If you listen and obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and always guide you right; but if you turn a deaf ear, or disobey, then it will fade out by little and little, and leave you all in the dark, and without a guide. Your life depends on heeding this little voice.” I am sure no event in my life has made so deep and lasting an impression upon me.’

At six years old he went to school, and soon became precocious enough :—

‘Homer and Plutarch I read before I was eight; Rollin’s Ancient History about the same time, and lots of histories, with all the poetry I could find, before ten; I took to metaphysics about eleven or twelve. I began to write verses at eight, and could repeat at ten a poem of five hundred or a thousand lines after a single reading.’

In this account, given in later life, and with a very evident tinge of vanity, we must make a large allowance for unconscious exaggeration. Yet his memory was undoubtedly powerful—dangerously so. He possessed a perilous facility of storing up facts and details, and pouring them forth when occasion seemed to require; perilous, because store of material is very easily mistaken for store of thought, quick recollection is made to supply the place of reflection, and a surfeit of undigested learning becomes as injurious to the mind as undigested food to the body. This was Parker’s bane through life; he deceived himself, and he deceived others, by the quantity of his information. When he was just twenty there was a surprise at the farm :—

‘The day before his birthday he went away from home, and was absent till near midnight. Returning, he went up to his father’s bedside, and said, “Father, I entered Harvard College to-day.” He had spent the whole day in

undergoing examination at Cambridge. The perplexity of the old man at his mysterious absence was not lessened when he heard the cause. "Why, Theodore! you know I cannot support you there." "I know that, father. I mean to stay at home, and keep up with my class." He had quietly prepared to enter the Freshman class.

Next year he went to Boston, to teach in a private school, 'for fifteen dollars a month and my board. Judge if I did not work; it makes my flesh creep to think how I used to work, and how much I learned that year, and the four next. Had not I a constitution for a scholar?'

During the Boston schooling, and while he was still preparing for theology, an incident occurred in which his future course is reflected as in a mirror:—

'For a year, though born and bred among the Unitarians, I had attended the preachings of Dr. Lyman Beecher, the most powerful orthodox minister in New England, then in the full blaze of his talents and reputation, and stirred also with polemic zeal against "Unitarians, Universalists, Papists, and Infidels." I went through one of his "protracted meetings," listening to the fiery words of excited men, and hearing the most frightful doctrines set forth in sermon, song, and prayer. I greatly respected the talents, zeal, and enterprise, of that able man, who certainly taught me much; but I came away with no confidence in his theology. The better I understood it, the more self-contradictory, unnatural, and hateful, did it seem. A year of his preaching about finished all my respect for the Calvinistic scheme of theology.'

The 'frightful doctrines' of a single preacher, and he too, at the time, 'stirred with polemic zeal,' are the evidence which he deemed sufficient for the entire and unqualified condemnation of a form of belief by which thousands, of whom the world was not worthy, have been lighted on their way to heaven. There is no hint at anything more than mere disgust at the teaching of this particular man, no trace of a patient effort to examine the Calvinistic system, and to discriminate between the truth from which alone its strength can proceed, and the error which is 'unnatural and hateful.' This is a sample of all that is to come. It is painful, yet almost amusing, to notice what slight reasons and incidents are sufficient to 'finish his respect,' both for the truths of the Gospel and the systems of men.

In 1832 he opens a school for himself at Watertown, and here he meets Lydia Cabot, whom, five years after, he married. One would have supposed that close and intimate contact with womanly instincts and womanly love would have done much to supply what he needed most, to deepen his thoughts and quicken his sympathies, and enable him to recognise the goodly pearl of Truth even when concealed within a shell of apparent falsehood. But though he was undoubtedly an affectionate and loving husband, his marriage seems to have had no effect whatever upon his intellectual development. His home was among the books

in his study ; a home which would probably have been much safer for himself if his wife had entered it oftener.

In 1834 he entered the theological school, and now Mr. Weiss's admiration for once allows him to detect the truth, 'His talk was full of odd learning and scraps of curious information. He was crammed from books and observation, *but everything lay about in undigested heaps.*' Soon after this he commenced what Mr. Weiss calls 'a thorough reading of the Fathers,' which was brought to a close in the winter of 1835. We will not stop to point out the enormous number of folios, which, even in the narrowest interpretation of the word 'Fathers,' Mr. Weiss supposes to have been thoroughly read in this period of eighteen or twenty months. But this is the modest judgment which the youth of twenty-five passes upon the mightiest minds of their day after the 'thorough reading' was accomplished :—

'I am heart-weary and reason-weary of these same doting fathers. They have sense, but it is a grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff. I shall soon be done with them, however, for the present at least. One of the greatest proofs of the darkness of the monastic ages is the admiration bestowed upon these same nonsense writers.'

Or take a particular specimen. This is all he has to say of S. Augustine :—

'S. Austin, we all know, introduced more error into the Church than any other man. Many of his doctrines fly in the face both of reason and virtue, to extinguish the eyes of one and to stifle the breath of the other. Every one knows he persecuted his opposers, Pelagius and Julian, to say nothing of others. Let him go.'

Then come languages. The list of those which he studied in the same twenty months 'included Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, 'Icelandic, Chaldaic, Arabic, Persian, Coptic, and a smattering 'of Æthiopic.' We quote the words of Mr. Weiss—he prefixes the term 'smattering' to the Æthiopic only. Parker next reads a few German books, and instantly rushing into print, writes a paper entitled 'Hints upon German Theology,' then goes through the Wolfenbüttel Fragments question, and begins to read Spinoza. Mr. Weiss tells us all this with admiration and glee, bowing down, after all, before the divinity of *eram*.

Very shortly before his ordination the following questions are put down for consideration :—

'I.—Sundry Questions in Theology :—

1. What is the extent of known supernatural revelation made to man ?
2. What is the foundation of the authority of Jesus Christ ?
3. What is the meaning of faith in the Old and New Testament ?
4. How is Christ more a Saviour than Socrates ?
5. Why did the world need a Saviour ?
6. What has been His influence ?
7. Is Christianity to be a universal religion ?
8. What is the foundation of religion in man, the design of miracles, the pretence of them in other religions ?

‘II.—Questions in Scriptural Criticism and Exegesis:—

1. The authenticity of the beginnings of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The miraculous conception.
2. The resurrection—why was the body of Christ raised; why carried up? How is the resurrection of matter proof of the immortality of spirit? Is not the material resurrection of the body of Jesus unspiritualizing?’

Most people, we think, if questions such as these were seething in their minds, would have paused before such a step as ordination. But Parker seldom paused. His marriage and ordination both took place in the spring of 1837, and immediately after the latter he settled as a Unitarian minister at West Roxbury. The hasty reading and the hastier judgment still go on, and very soon he writes two sermons on ‘the Historical, Scientific, and Moral Contradictions of the Bible.’ He kept them in his desk thirteen months before he preached them, not apparently from any sense of the awfulness of the subject, or any trembling at the responsibility of aiming a blow at the faith of others, but simply because, if they were preached, he would ‘have all the clergy about his ears.’ Upon this thirteen months’ delay, and, so far as he informs us, upon nothing else, Mr. Weiss rears the following edifice:—‘It was afterwards charged that he was pre-cipitate in framing and exposing his opinions. No opinions ever grew more deliberately, and never was there less of light audacity in the exhibition of opinions that had fallen out of harmony with the prevailing order.’ When asked what object he had in view in writing these sermons, he replied in words which he often afterwards repeated, and which show the bent of his mind—‘to separate theology from religion.’ If by this he meant, as no doubt he did mean, to enforce the distinction between godliness and theories about God, the path upon which he had struck was one which might have led him into all truth. But the headlong haste with which he rushed upon his conclusions, and his determination that the received opinion must be wrong, blinded his eyes to the fact that though theology is not godliness, but something essentially different, it may still be a necessary handmaid to godliness. But more of this hereafter.

He soon begins to be thrown into personal contact with Emerson, and with Dr. Channing, whom he looks upon as the head of the progressive Unitarians. And, in the autumn of 1838, he is ‘ripening his surmises about inspiration,’ and he writes thus:—

‘We say a good man is inspired to do good deeds. Here we only mean he has moral goodness, which all men may have if they will. We say a wise man is inspired to teach wisdom, without supposing his will is interfered with, or that a preternatural communication is made to him. We say the writers of the Scriptures were inspired, but this means the same as was meant in the other case. The inspiration of Jesus Christ could not differ in kind from that of

Socrates, only in degree. He had much inspiration, Socrates little. All truth comes from God, for it is God's thought; all morality, for it is God's will; all religion, for it is His feeling. So far, then, as a man is true, virtuous, religious, so far is he inspired, no further. This inspiration comes by the use of the proper faculties. Be true to your conviction. Be patient and wait for it. The inspiration will come.'

Without dwelling upon the pervading tone of this passage, or upon the manner in which the Saviour's name is introduced, for they are the words of a Unitarian, we cannot help remarking the strange confusion which exists in the concluding sentences, where inspiration is made to depend, not upon the will of the Inspirer, but upon 'the use of the proper faculties' on the part of man. The humble 'Here am I, send me,' is exchanged for what is almost a word of command, upon which the Divine mission must necessarily follow. This view of inspiration without a personal inspiring Spirit, and with no distinct and particular aim or purpose, is becoming more and more prevalent. But side by side with this passage, we must make another extract from a letter written by Parker about the same time:—

'Truth flashes on the man. You have felt such visitations; we labour upon a thought, trying to grasp the truth. We almost have the butterfly in our hands, but cannot get it. Again we try; it will not come. We walk, sit, pray; it will not come. At last, in some moment, it flashes on us; the crystals form; the work is all done; whence came it? I do not know. It is in these burning moments that *life* is lived. The rest is all drudgery, beating the bush, ploughing, and weeding, and watering. This is the harvest-hour. These hours are few to any man, perhaps not more than two in a week; but yet all the real thought of the man is compressed into these burning moments. Now I believe God is the fountain of all Truth, which overflows from Him into all minds that lie low in His power, wishing to feed these minds of theirs in a wise passiveness; but how this influence comes I do not know. I know nothing about the manner in which my soul is connected with God—I only know the fact. It is a matter of experience.'

These two passages should be well pondered. The one gives us the negative, the other the positive side of the same mind. We can hardly make a greater mistake than to suppose that the denial of the special inspiration of Scripture proceeds from a merely negative disposition of mind, that it is simply a rebellion of individual self-will or self-conceit against the authority of revelation. It often proceeds from a sincere conviction that the glory of God is obscured, and His authority denied, by the assertion of the claims of Scripture, and that His living Word is being exchanged for the mere letters of a book. In moments such as those of which Parker speaks, the spirit of the individual man has felt, or supposed itself, to be in direct contact with the Creator. No arguments can persuade him to the contrary, for he rightly feels that no mere argument can touch the case. He can but repeat again and again his ore

reply, 'I only know the fact.' And when he is told of a higher kind of inspiration, before which all must bow, he answers as before, 'I myself have felt and known the actual touch of the Eternal Spirit,' and he naturally asks what can be higher than *that*. And if those who so appeal to the written Word seem to him to be conscious of no such exalted moments in their lives as those of which he is conscious in his own, what wonder if there is a rebound? The bonds, which seem purely artificial, are broken; the 'slavery of the letter, is thrown off, and he rushes triumphantly into the far heavier bonds and the more bitter servitude of his own imaginations, and cries out that he is free. Perhaps no question of the present time is more pressing or more complicated than that of inspiration. There is none therefore upon which we should more readily welcome any portion of truth which may appear to exist in views most opposite to our own, and none upon which we should be more careful to use the most clear and accurate phraseology. We frequently hear persons freely admitting the direct inspiration of God as the source of all goodness and all truth in ordinary men, but, anxious to save the superior majesty of the inspiration of Scripture, they add that this is 'different in kind.' It would be well if they would explain distinctly what they mean by these words. For we cannot but think that their language expresses either far too much or far too little. Strictly speaking, there can be but two kinds of inspiration, one from above and one from beneath, one from heaven and one from hell, one from God and one from the devil; and within each of these there may be endless differences in purpose, and endless differences in degree. When Bezaleel and Aholiab were inspired to construct the tabernacle; when Solomon was inspired with kingly wisdom; when Balaam was inspired to speak, and Isaiah both to speak and to write, words of prophecy; when in later times some were inspired with gifts of healing, and others with the interpretation of tongues; we may, if we please, speak of these as different kinds of inspiration; but if we do so we must remember that we use the phrase not accurately but loosely, that the difference is in form not in substance: in purpose, or in degree, or in mode of manifestation, not strictly in kind. Holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, had an inspiration granted to them, which was different and far more abundant in *degree*, nobler and more world-embracing in its *purpose*, than that which is granted to others. It pleased God, in His wisdom and mercy, at certain crises in the history of the world, to inspire certain men with a wisdom and an insight above their fellows, to add one more book to the list of prophetic histories, one more word of direct prophecy, one more

picture of the many-sided life of the Lord on earth, one more Apostolic message to the Church, one book of revelation of 'things which must shortly come to pass,' so that by degrees there might be formed for us by inspiration a canon, or rule of faith; that we may both know the things which must be believed for our salvation; and also that each generation may possess an abiding test by which it may try the changing spirit of the age, and know what is the true grace of God wherein we stand. This was an inspiration greater far than is sufficient for *our* needs, and given for a purpose reaching to the ends of the world in space, and to the end of the world in time. It is this that Parker and his school refuse to admit. They will not allow that there might be a divine purpose in Scripture which has been accomplished once for all; that a mission might be intrusted to S. Paul or S. John, which need not be repeated to themselves, however diligently they 'make use of the proper faculties'—and, imagining that a closed canon necessarily implies intellectual slavery, they think that they are fighting on God's side when they assert the freedom of thought, and rebel against the authority of Scripture.

But we left Theodore Parker 'ripening his surmises.' We doubt not that they ripened with their usual rapidity. Unfortunately we know too well what they resembled in their state of maturity.

In the *Christian Examiner* of April, 1840, he reviewed the second edition of Strauss's '*Leben Jesu*,' which had been published in 1837. It had 'helped to mature his growing suspicions that the 'New Testament had a mythology, as well as the Old, and as well 'as all transmitted history or religion, and that the evidence upon 'which miracles rested was in all cases insufficient to establish 'their claim to be facts.' For some time he had been engaged in translating De Wette's '*Introduction to the Old Testament*,' and this would have prepared his mind to listen without surprise to the theory of Strauss with regard to the New, and would also have helped to save him from accepting it too hastily. If we may judge from Mr. Weiss's hints, his article upon the '*Leben Jesu*' was thoughtfully written, and with no predetermination to accept the views of the author. He adopted a line of argument which was by no means peculiar to himself, but which, against Strauss, is irresistible. Granted that there is a mythology at all, there must have been an actual living Person capable of being the foundation of it—a Person who could and did 'carry the mythology,' embody in Himself the truths of which the mythology is the clothing. We only wish that Parker had pursued this argument to its legitimate results, and had seen that no one short of God Incarnate could bear the

weight. It is a marvel that the Son of God should descend to earth for our redemption ; but, if it were not so, the existence of Christendom would be a still greater marvel. That the Christ of the Gospels should have founded a Church to abide to the end of the world is natural and necessary ; that the Church should have invented Christ is an impossibility. The longings of the human heart can recognise the Bread which came down from heaven, but they never could have formed the idea of its existence, persuaded themselves that the idea had been realized, and fed for eighteen centuries upon that idea alone. The assailants of the Lord's divinity do not see that the very ground upon which they stand belongs to their opponents. From the revelation of God in Christ they arrive at the perception of a grand ideal, to which without it they never could have attained, and then turn round and say, the incarnation is not a fact but a myth : it is but the image of man's ideal thrown into the history of the past.

About this time Theodore Parker expressed himself in the following words upon the Person of Christ :—

‘Jesus of Nazareth was the greatest soul ever swathed in the flesh ; to redeem man He took His stand on righteousness and religion ; on no form, no tradition, no creed. He demanded not a belief, but a life,—a life of love to God and love to man. We must come back to this, the sooner the better.’

This distinction between life and belief, or, as he had before expressed it, between religion and theology, formed the burden of an address which he delivered about this time. It is a thought to which he perpetually recurs, and was one of the chief sources from which his growing influence proceeded. Weary of the ceaseless jangling of sects and opinions, many of them absurd and contradictory enough, if we may judge from the specimens exhibited in Mr. Weiss's book, men listened readily to one who seemed to invite them to have done with theology and simply to believe in God.

Henceforth Parker's progress is more rapid. The exaltation of ‘life’ and the trampling upon ‘belief’ go on with relentless speed. ‘It is folly, even impiety, to say that God cannot ‘create a greater soul than Jesus of Nazareth.’ ‘The Christ of ‘tradition I shall preach down, one of these days, to the extent ‘of my ability.’ ‘I will not believe the driving beasts out of ‘the temple with a whip ; the command to Peter to catch a fish ; ‘still less the cursing of the fig-tree ; and the old wives’ fables ‘about the ascension.’ ‘The ideal Christ is what we are to ‘preach, and perhaps we shall not need the Gospels much in ‘delineating Him.’

On 19th May, 1841, he preached a sermon which became famous, and which Mr. Weiss tells us, ‘conjured bigotry;

liberality, and amateurship into their proper shapes.' It was entitled 'On the Transient and the Permanent in Christianity,' the 'Transient' meaning, so far as we can discover, the Scriptures and the Christian Creeds, and the 'Permanent' being—whatever may seem to remain after *they* have vanished. This sermon created, as well it might, a great sensation, and he became more and more universally excluded from the Unitarian congregations. The delivering of lectures and the writing of books followed in quick succession; also the publication of the translation of De Wette. In two years his unceasing activity of mind and body had so worn down his strength that a tour in Europe was undertaken for the benefit of his health. It lasted just a year. His letters during the course of it are interesting, for he was a keen and quick observer. He made the acquaintance, or heard the lectures, of many literary men of mark on the Continent, such as Werder, Schelling, Tholuck, Schlosser, Gervinus, Ewald, Bauer, De Wette; and he jots down his impressions of them in a lively picturesque manner. Mr. Weiss, who never stints us in correspondence, gives a number of these letters at considerable length.

When he returned to America in September, 1844, he was coldly received by Unitarian orthodoxy, and therefore he 'became a minister at large, with 7,000 names upon his private list 'of men and women who depended upon him for counsel and guidance, to whom he was bound to minister by word of mouth 'or epistles from his own hand; and with a parish settled in 'every town from East to West, centres of influence and sympathy whither his spirit swiftly ran to bless.' After some cautious allowance for exaggeration here, there is no doubt, and it is only natural, that Parker's influence was now very great, and was daily increasing. Before very long, on the 4th of January, 1846, he was installed as minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society at Boston, and this continued to be his position until the end of his labours. But his activity was by no means confined within the limits of the duties of this office. The direct pastoral work attached to it must indeed have been heavy, and Mr. Weiss tells us that it was never neglected. 'He used to say that the parochial relation taxed him 'more heavily than all his work, and that the more closely he held 'it, the more he was persuaded that it was work for a genius; 'to take a fluttering heart into the hand and calm its fears, to 'sooth its agonising throbs, to penetrate the soul's wild weather 'with serene confidence and the warmth of personal feeling, to 'make the distracted mind resume or begin its faith in the 'Infinite Perfection at the very moment when finite imperfection 'was most palpable—all this was business for angelic powers.'

Parker seems indeed sincerely to have given himself to his mission of comfort, and to have laboured to exhibit to others what he supposed to be the ground of the consolation which came to himself. Many of his letters are remarkable for truth and beauty, and show that he was able to speak to the heart, and give comfort and strength, when the occasion did not tempt him to indulge in his withering and negative criticism. But besides the pastoral work of his office, and besides the two sermons a week which had to be written, and besides the increasing correspondence, religious, literary, political, in which he was more and more engaged, he was also continually writing for the press, or lecturing in public. Now, too, in conjunction with Emerson and J. E. Cabot, he undertook the co-editorship of the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, a new periodical, which was to discuss the 'questions of American society and politics, which were just beginning to assume their great and threatening proportions, of science and of theology.' Most of the labour of conducting it seems to have fallen upon himself, but the review fell to the ground after three years.

Now also he commenced what he intended to be *the* work of his life, and to occupy at least ten years. 'The Historical Development of Religion.' It is much to be regretted that he was not able to do more than sketch it in an outline, and write the first two or three hundred pages. We should not have expected to find in the book any great depth of thought, or clear insight into the significance of the facts of history, and we should have been very sure that he would approach his task with such a decided bias in one direction, that his conclusions would be open to severe criticism. But his widely extended reading, and his powerful memory, would enable him to bring together a vast mass of material more or less directly bearing upon his subject, a subject of great and daily increasing interest and importance, and we should have expected with confidence that his work would prove to be a valuable contribution to the history of the world in its religious aspect.

But his literary labours were soon and suddenly interrupted. The bitterness which for many years had existed between the Northern and Southern States of America had lately been rapidly increasing in depth and intensity, and in 1845 the success of the South in obtaining the sanction of Congress to the annexation of Texas roused and united the North, and awoke into fierce activity many thousands who had hitherto been indifferent spectators of the contest. The present war was already casting its shadows before it. The fiery soul of Theodore Parker was not likely to remain quiet at such a time. Literary and scientific pursuits were thrust aside, and he rushed into the

battle with an enthusiasm which we cannot help admiring for its truth and earnestness, though we cannot help also noticing the same defects in his character, which had marred all that he had accomplished in the very different field which had been the scene of his labours hitherto. Rooted in the conviction that slavery is an iniquity which no cause can justify and no excuse can palliate, he had no room in his mind for any other thought. Seeing that, he could see nothing else. Having caught a glimpse of what he felt to be righteous and true, he shut his eyes to all things else, and rushed towards the one distant star, as if all Truth was in that ray of light alone. He never stopped to consider what might be the path, divinely marked, by which the same goal might in due course be more surely reached. He never stopped to consider that, in his headlong haste to reach the object which filled his mind, he was trampling under foot other laws and principles equally necessary and equally divine. He hurried along his path with a speed all the greater because the path was narrow, and soon we find him, as usual, 'far in the front.' No fear of others slumbering when he was once aroused. When to the annexation of Texas was added the war with Mexico, his activity became still greater, and when, in September, 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act passed through Congress, there were no longer any bounds to his devotion to the cause of abolition. Lectures, letters, speeches, sermons, addresses, pamphlets, books, follow one another in bewildering succession, and all upon the one theme. 'I was made to be a philosopher,' he says, 'and the times call for a stump orator;' and certainly he was not backward in answering the call of the times. Mr. Weiss gives us a specimen of his efforts in the character of a stump orator. A fugitive slave, Antony Burns, had been arrested in Boston by the Federal officers. A monster meeting of abolitionists was assembled, and this is part of what Parker said to them:—

'Well, gentlemen, I say there is one law, slave law; it is everywhere. There is another law, which also is a finality; and that law, it is in your hands and your arms, and you can put it in execution when you see fit. Gentlemen, I am a clergyman and a man of peace. But there is a means, and there is an end; liberty is the end, and sometimes peace is not the means towards it. Now I want to ask you what you are going to do? [A voice, "Shoot, shoot!"] There are ways of managing this matter without shooting anybody. Be sure that these men who have kidnapped a man in Boston are cowards, every mother's son of them, and if we stand up there resolutely and declare that this man shall not go out of the city of Boston *without shooting a gun*—[Cries of "That's it!" and great applause]—then he won't go back. Now I am going to propose that when you adjourn, it be to meet at *Court Square to-morrow morning at nine o'clock*. [A large number of hands were raised, but many voices cried out, "Let's go to-night!" "Let's pay a visit to the slave-catchers at the Revere House; put that question!"] Do you propose to go to the Revere

House to-night? Then show your hands. [Some hands were held up.] It is not a vote. We shall meet at Court Square at nine o'clock to-morrow morning.'

Even Mr. Weiss cannot resist the conclusion that 'this was certainly a direct appeal to the people to attempt a rescue.' After the passing of the Kansas Nebraska Bill in May, 1854, Parker became implicated in Abolition projects of a still more questionable kind; and he was one of a committee of five persons who were in constant communication with the well-known John Brown, and continued to furnish him with supplies up to his final attempt at Harper's Ferry in the autumn of 1859, though at that time Parker himself had left the country, and was in Italy. There can be no doubt that in all this Parker was actuated by the purest motives, and by the sincerest indignation against the iniquity of slavery. But it is equally clear that he and such as he were helping to bring upon the North the very reproach with which they were every day assailing the South. He was doing his best to induce his own State of Massachusetts to enter upon the doubtful and perilous path of 'Nullification,' the rejection of Federal laws by a particular State which objected to their enactment; a path upon which South Carolina had already entered, of which the North had not kept itself clear, and which naturally leads to total secession.

In 1858 the world was wondering at the great revival of religion which was going on in America. Good and evil were largely mingled together in that remarkable phenomenon, but from no point of view could it be otherwise than offensive to such a man as Parker. He set himself to counteract it with all his might. And he seems to have been recognised by the revivalists as their most formidable antagonist, and in sermons and at prayer-meetings his name was often mentioned as that of an enemy. Mr. Weiss gives some specimens of prayers offered at a meeting in Park Street Church, of which, he says, 'we have definite and reliable accounts:—

'O Lord, if this man is a subject of grace, convert him and bring him into the kingdom of Thy dear Son. But if he is beyond the reach of the saving influence of the Gospel, remove him out of the way, and let his influence die with him.

'O Lord, send confusion and distraction into his study this afternoon, and prevent his finishing his preparation for his labours to-morrow; or if he shall attempt to desecrate Thy holy day by attempting to speak to the people, meet him there, Lord, and confound him, so that he shall not be able to speak.

'Lord, we know that we cannot argue him down, and the more we say against him the more will the people flock after him, and the more will they love and revere him. O Lord, what shall be done for Boston, if Thou dost not take this and some other matters in hand?'

Whether the accounts are in themselves 'reliable' or not,

we fear that experience perfectly justifies the belief that they may be substantially correct. And if these prayers, or any like these, were actually offered, if this, or anything like this is a fair specimen of the popular theology as it was exhibited to Parker, we certainly need be in no great haste to condemn him for the disgust which 'finished his respect for it.' He preached two sermons a month after this, upon a 'False and True Revival of Religion,' and 'The Revival of Religion which we need.' And in them occur words which might well put to shame the leaders of the Park Street Prayer-meeting.

'I also believe in prayer from the innermost of my heart, else must I renounce my manhood and the Godhood above and about me. I also believe in prayer. It is the upspringing of my soul to meet the Eternal, and thereby I seek to alter and improve myself, not Thee, O Thou unchangeable, who art perfect from the beginning. Then I mingle my soul with the Infinite Presence. I am ashamed of my wickedness, cowardice, sloth, fear. New strength comes into me of its own accord, as the sunlight to these flowers which open their little cups. Then I find that he that goeth forth even weeping, bearing this precious aid of prayer, shall doubtless come again rejoicing, and bring his sheaves with him.'

But his health was failing under the pressure of his enormous labours, and at the New Year, 1859, it entirely broke down, and he was compelled to resolve upon a second journey to Europe. He wrote a farewell letter to his congregation. Their answer to it is long, but full of respect and affection.

'It is many years since you came, at the request of some of us, to preach in this city. A few men and women, acting under the influence of a deep religious need, which the churches of Boston at that time failed to satisfy, sought to establish a pulpit which should teach a higher idea of religion than yet prevailed, and wherein the largest freedom of thought and speech should be allowed and respected.'

'You have taught us to discern between the traditions of men and the living realities of religion; you have brought home to our consciousness great truths of the intellect, the conscience, the heart, the soul; you have shown us the infinite perfection of God, and the greatness of human nature, inspired us with a higher reverence for Him, a deeper trust in His universal providence, with a larger faith also in man and his capabilities.'

'We cannot but feel a just pride in the success of this church; that in spite of all obstacles it has strengthened and increased from year to year, and that the circle of its influence has continually widened. Thousands of earnest men and women in this and other lands, who do not gather with us from week to week, look to this Church as their city of refuge; their sympathies, their convictions, and their hopes coincide with our own; they are of us, though not with us. Most of them have never listened to your voice, nor looked upon your face, but the noble words which you have uttered are dear to their hearts, and they also bless God for the service which you have done for them.'

These words are valuable, as showing us the light in which Parker was regarded by those who were habitually subject to his influence.

After a journey through England and France, a few months spent at Montreux on the Lake of Geneva, and a winter passed in Rome, he died at Florence in May, 1860.

The causes of the widely-extended influence which Parker possessed, and which his writings still continue to exert, are easy to perceive. It is not difficult to understand how the members of his congregation at Boston may have, with all sincerity, declared themselves indebted for his ministrations among them for benefits which could hardly be over-estimated; not difficult to understand how his writings command a ready and even eager attention in remote parts of the world. Those who saw him living and moving among them, and watched his ways, must have felt that in him they were dealing with a man of the most fearless honesty and the most unflinching courage, one whose words might be relied upon as the exact and genuine utterance of his thoughts, one whose convictions were translated into words, and whose words passed into action, with the most unfailling certainty. His hearers might not be sure that they would have the courage to follow, but they never had reason to doubt that he would have the courage to lead. Once convinced that an object ought to be attained, no fear nor favour could turn him aside from what seemed to be the shortest and straightest way of reaching it. His force of character and strength of purpose gave to weaker wills a sense of security and dependence which to them is a luxury. Moreover, amid all the demerits of his preaching, of which we shall have to speak presently, there was this unfailling recommendation, that it was entirely unconventional. Words were heard every Sunday from that Boston pulpit which were probably heard from no other. All that Parker said was the result of his own thought. No part of it was produced second-hand and stale, merely because others had said the same before, and that it was the traditional mode of treating the text. One great secret of success in preaching is that the preacher should be himself. When he says what others have said before him, it must be not because they said it, but because he has appropriated it, and in the deepest and truest sense made it his own. We doubt not that Parker's hearers left the Music Hall after one of his sermons, feeling that new thoughts had been given them to carry away in their minds, and, what is far better still, that their own powers of reflection had been stirred into life and activity, a benefit which is not only great and precious in itself, but is felt by the receiver to be great and precious, binding him to the giver by a bond of gratitude and affection, by which he is not humiliated, but ennobled. And this affection is not the less

strong even when the benefit conferred is mingled with some of the evils which will presently be pointed out. The extracts which Mr. Weiss gives us from Parker's less studied and more extemporaneous speeches, indicate that he possessed a power of reading and swaying the passions of his hearers, of working their feelings to the required pitch and immediately stamping them with the desired action, which is not uncommon, but is essential to rhetorical success. On the other hand it is not less easy to account for the influence exerted by his published writings. Much of the infirmity, and some of the true instincts of human nature, would combine to secure for him a welcome from a numerous class of minds. The same vigour which characterized all that he did appears likewise in all that he wrote. Strength, whether real or apparent, is always a great attraction to weakness, and commands its homage. To hundreds and thousands of persons the writings of a man like Theodore Parker afford the same sense of rest and security which is found by hundreds and thousands of persons, differently constituted, in subjection to the infallibility of the Pope. There is such unfaltering firmness even in his most sweeping assertions, such a calm confidence in the correctness of his most reckless statements, such an apparent certainty that, even if he stands alone, he neither is nor can be making a mistake, that a less self-reliant mind is tempted first to envy, then to admire, then to obey, the master of knowledge who never had a doubt. And when to this is added the occurrence in his works of passages of undeniable truth and beauty, and here and there proofs of varied and extensive learning, the weaker mind begins to feel itself justified as well as secure in reposing in the strong one's strength, and accepting his judgment where it feels that it would have no confidence in its own; while in following him through as yet untrodden paths, there is a semblance of life and independence hitherto unknown. But Parker held out a further attraction upon which the Pope does not venture. He not only offers protection but rank and dignity. 'The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time' is exalted far above the greatest names of the Past. There is something pitifully attractive to the vanity of human nature in being summoned to mount the judgment throne and pass sentence upon ancient faiths and honoured names of past ages; to brand one ancient creed as a childish toy which may be tolerated for the sake of those who are children still; to condemn another as a lying perversion of the truth which must be swept away for ever; to pronounce the narrative of the flood to be 'a silly myth,' the miracles of the New Testament to be old wives' fables; to point out the errors of Peter and the mistakes of Paul, and to

smile, in patronising and lofty superiority, even upon the Name of names.

But while we cannot close our eyes to the fact that much of the ready acceptance which is accorded to Parker and the other theistic writers of the day is derived from the measureless gratification which they offer to human vanity, we should be sorry to be supposed to mean that the whole or the half of his influence or theirs is to be ascribed to this miserable source. A second cause of Parker's popularity as a writer is the exceeding clearness of his thoughts and of his style. In both these points he exhibits a very striking contrast to Emerson. In Emerson's writings there abounds a species of mysticism, which is fascinating to some persons and bewildering to others, and which we cannot think wholesome to either. Most persons will allow that there are parts even of the 'Essays,' and far more of the 'Representative Men,' which are decidedly hard reading. The language is obscure and the thought is obscure. The author is perpetually retiring into a cloud where the reader can hardly follow him, and often fears that he has lost him altogether. We read a sentence over and over again, and at last are not sure that we have rightly caught the meaning. It is never so with Parker. A person of average ability may read his writings from beginning to end without meeting with a sentence which costs him any labour to understand, or about the meaning of which he is in the smallest doubt. His style is clear and flowing, never involved; and the thought which he means to convey is at once discernible, and when discerned easily grasped, for it belongs to the surface of the mind, and lies upon the surface of the words. This is a sure passport to popularity. Most men are grateful to any one who will think for them, and when in addition to this he expresses his thoughts so clearly that they can instantly adopt them as their own, and in doing so imagine themselves better informed than all past generations, and wiser than most of their contemporaries, the charm becomes almost irresistible. And yet there is a good side to all this. We said that some of the true instincts of human nature combined with its weakness to win a ready acceptance for Parker's teaching. Men feel that they have a right to demand that a message which purports to come from God should be clear and simple. If it fails in this they are sure it must be spurious, and may be rejected without further hearing. The words which come from heaven cannot be intended only for the highly cultivated of the sons of earth. A prophet whose message cannot reach the poor and the ignorant as directly as the wealthy and the wise, has clearly come in his own name, not in the name of the Father of all. Hence the reproach is being more and more

cast upon the Church by the theistic teachers, that while the Son of Man gave thanks that His message was hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes, the doctrines which she preaches are such as strain the powers of the most highly educated to understand. We sometimes hear it assumed almost as a matter of course that any doctrine which cannot be made plain and easy of comprehension to the ordinary understanding has no claim to a place among the essential truths of religion. We hope to show that this notion is entirely false, and rests upon a fallacy as perilous as it is complete. It is carefully to be remembered, though it is too often forgotten, that there is a simplicity of the heart, and there is a simplicity of the intellect, and that these are opposite, though in no way contrary, the one to the other. When Theodore Parker said, as he often did, that Christianity or the Gospel is a life and not a belief, his language was clumsy and inaccurate, but his meaning was obvious and correct. The Gospel is neither life nor belief, but is the good news of God. But it is true that the primary and essential purpose of the Gospel is not to found a system of doctrines, but to bring life. Those who receive it have power given to them to become the sons of God; they are made partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruptions which are in the world through lust. And this is accomplished by the simplicity of the Divine message to the heart, and a cultivated understanding is in no way necessary for its reception. The pure light of the glory of God shines into the darkness from the face of Christ crucified. The living God is revealed to the living spirit of man in the inmost depths of personality, in all the simplicity of purest love. The Eternal Spirit bears His witness within, a witness which 'cannot be uttered' in words, but is the opening of an inner eye. And the heart beholds its God, and loves, and worships, and adores, and is purified at last, and moulded into His likeness. All this is life, and for that very reason it is entirely above and beyond the region of the intellect. No amount of education will bring us within sight of it, no power of intellect enable us to comprehend it. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou 'hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, 'nor whither it goeth.' And yet it is simple—awful in its simplicity. But if this Gospel is to be continuously preached in the world, if it is to be passed on from generation to generation through the writings or from the lips of men, if we are to have any security whatever against the changes and corruptions of time, and the endless fancies and imaginations of men's minds in different ages, the proclamation of life must in some manner shape itself into doctrines; there must be 'a form of

sound words.' This is not merely a matter of precaution but of necessity, a necessity drawn from the nature of the case. But here we descend at once into a different and far lower region; for words are the creations of the generalising intellect, the intellect which is limited within the forms of time and space, which derives its impressions from sense, and which, in and by itself, can never rise above the abstractions which it draws from sense. Words therefore are the appropriate vehicles for the operations of the intellect. We can fully and exactly express in words a chain of reasoning or a series of mathematical deductions; but, as every one has discovered for himself, no deep feeling can be adequately expressed in language. It may be hinted, suggested, so far shadowed forth as even to rouse the same feeling in another person; but the words must ever lag behind the sense, and leave much to be supplied by the look and tone of the speaker, or by the sympathising mind of the hearer. Hence the language of emotion, of whatever kind, is necessarily illogical, not because it yields to no law or order, but because it follows a law which is other than that of logic, different in kind, and belonging to a different world. 'No man knoweth the things of a man, save the *spirit* of man which is in him.' The intellect is not the spirit, and must not speak of these things in the tone of a sovereign or a critic, but so far as they are concerned, is merely the handmaid of a higher power. And in this higher region the truths of the Gospel occupy the highest place. An intellectual form of words is able only to shadow forth first one side of them and then another; and for this very reason such a form cannot be logical, and must often appear self-contradictory. It is in the nature of things impossible that spiritual truth can be embraced in a logical proposition, or appear simple to the mere intellect. If it were not so theology might at once take its place as one of the inductive sciences. We might argue up to God, and learn His glory, and learn also the mystery of our own heart and will, in the same manner as we discover the attraction of gravitation, and learn the courses of the stars. It is of the utmost importance that there should be no confusion of thought in this matter. The simplicity of the Gospel is the simplicity of the heart, and has to do directly with eternity and the world unseen; the simplicity of a form of words is the simplicity of the intellect, and has to do with the conceptions belonging thereto. It follows directly from this that the Gospel may be seen and embraced in all its life and power by the most illiterate peasant; while the intellectually wise and prudent cannot, *as such*, see it *at all*. These things are, in their very nature, hidden from the intellectual eye and revealed to babes. 'Whosoever shall not

'receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein.'

But though the place of the intellect is after, not before, the heart, a handmaid not a mistress, yet the intellect is indisputably necessary to the perfection of our being. The kite cannot fly without its string; the wings of a bird could never rise into the air if the burden of the body did not steady them; and experience shows us every day that the life of man is incomplete and maimed, and the heart is liable to fall from its own simplicity and wander in the mazes of its own imaginations, if it is not weighted and balanced by a cultivated understanding. Whenever any one part of our nature is unduly depressed in order to exalt the other, its revenge is swift and certain.

While, therefore, we insist upon the necessity of a form of words, of distinct and definite doctrines; and while we willingly, and more than willingly, admit that these doctrines must always be a perplexity to the intellect, we also contend that the message of the Church to the hearts of learned and ignorant alike is simple and direct, and needs nothing but its own heavenly light to make it plain. A parish priest stands by the sick bed of a peasant woman, and tells her of a Love who rules in heaven, of a Father who claims her for His own, of a Son of God who lived and died for her and bore her griefs, of a Spirit who will help her to pray; and his words by their simplicity kindle in her a life which is salvation; and to accomplish this her heart has learned the mystery of the Trinity in Unity, the mystery of the Incarnation, the mystery of the Atonement, the mystery of the Indwelling Spirit; any one of which is sufficient to confound not only her intellect, but the mightiest intellect upon earth.

Experience seems to show that the belief in a living personal God can only be sustained by the belief in a distinct and definite revelation. Those who refuse to accept a message external to themselves by law, or prophets, or by the incarnation of the Son, seem to be compelled by a law of gravitation to lose their hold upon the divine personality, and to fall more or less completely into a pantheistic confusion of the Creator with the creature. Hearing, or heeding, no voice of God independent of themselves appealing to the spirit within them, and retiring exclusively into their own consciousness in the hope of finding Him there, they become more and more entangled in the notions and conceptions of the intellect. Thought and reasoning take the first, not the second, place in the formation of their creed, and the result is an intellectual abstraction, carefully and purposely divested of all that is human, and losing soon all substantial existence and life. In

the opening of his unfinished book, 'On the Development of Religion,' Parker says:—

'I dare not attribute personality to God, lest I invest the Deity with the limitations of my own, ending in anthropomorphism; nor impersonality, lest I thus affix the limitations of mere matter, and abut in Hylism or Pantheism. Yet infinite self-consciousness must belong to God, only I can have no adequate conception of any consciousness but my own; so I know thus that I cannot know the mode of the consciousness of God. The consciousness that I ascribe to God must be as alien and as unlike as the bear of the strolling bear-tamers is to the constellation called the Bear in heaven.'

It is difficult to see why in this case the word consciousness should be used at all, or what meaning it can possibly be intended to convey.

This want of personality pervades Parker's sermons, which abound in every sentence with abstract terms, and leave upon the mind, after whole pages of grand words, nothing but a dreary sense of a vacant universe. He appears to think, and certainly speaks, very far more of 'religion' than of God; his object would seem to be the culture of the powers of the human mind rather than eternal life in personal communion with God. He unceasingly impresses upon our mind the blessedness of 'religion,' the duty of an earnest conscious pursuit of that which is just and that which is true, but his words leave upon the mind no sense of the possibility of communion with Him who is Justice and Him who is Truth. Much of the dreariness of his system was no doubt corrected in his own case by the instincts of his heart. If it had not been so he never could have used such words as these in a letter to a friend written during his last illness: 'If it were fate, it could not be borne, but when we look on it as Providence, the work of an Infinite Father and Mother, who looks eternally before and eternally looks after, and rules all things from love as motive, and for blessedness as end, we can take almost anything with a smile.' Still the impression which his sermons irresistibly make upon the mind of the reader is such as we have described. Take for instance the sermon on Communion with God, where, if anywhere, we may expect to find this deficiency least apparent. He starts, as usual, not from a recognition of the voice of God calling His creature, made in His image, to personal converse with Himself, but from a principle which he finds among 'the primary ideas of consciousness.' In accordance with this he defines communion with God to be 'a giving on God's part and a taking on man's part.' 'He is the primitive whence you are the derivative—you must receive or you could not be a finite man, and He must give or He could not be the infinite God. Hence the communion is unavoidable, an ontological fact.' Then he dwells upon the nature of God, omni-

present in space, omnipresent in time, immanent in matter, and proceeds thus :—

‘As God is infinite, nothing can be without Him, nothing without communion with Him. The stone I sit on is in communion with God; the pencil I write with; the grey field-fly reposing in the sunshine at my foot. Let God withdraw from the space occupied by the stone, the pencil, and the fly, they cease to be. Let Him withdraw any quality of His nature therefrom, and they must cease to be. All must partake of Him, immanent in each and yet transcending all.’

At last he ascends to man :—

‘I live as spirit, I have spiritual communion with God. Depend on Him I must; when I become self-conscious I feel that dependence, and know of this communion whereby I receive from Him. The quantity of my receipt is largely under my control. As I will, I can have less or more. I cultivate my mind, greatening its quantity; by all its growth I have so much more communion with my Father; each truth I get is a point common to Him and me. I cultivate my conscience, increasing my moral sense; each atom of justice that I get is another point common with the Deity. So I cultivate and enlarge my affections; each grain of love, philanthropic or but friendly, is a new point common to me and God. Then too I cultivate and magnify my soul, greatening my sense of holiness by fidelity to all my nature; and all that I thus acquire is a new point I hold in common with the Infinite. I earnestly desire His truth, His justice, His holiness and love, and He communicates the more. Thus I have a four-fold voluntary consciousness of God through my mind and conscience, heart and soul; know Him as the absolutely true and just and amiable and holy; and thereby have a four-fold voluntary communion with my God. He gives of His infinite kind; I receive in my finite mode, taking according to my capacity to receive.’

How strangely the words God and Father sound in such a passage as this, and how much more in keeping with the tone of the whole is that abstract expression, ‘the Infinite.’ This abstract mode of viewing even such a subject as the communion of the soul with God connects itself with a feature in Parker’s character which cannot fail to strike the most cursory reader of his ‘Life.’ He seems to have been almost entirely without those personal conflicts of the spirit, which seldom fail to mark the career of a victorious seeker after Truth. There is no sign that he ever felt the agony of doubt, or struggled for life and death in darkness and gloom; there is no bleeding of the heart at the vanishing of long-cherished belief, no struggling after faith with the desperate earnestness of a drowning man. And his teaching is in accordance with his experience. It bears no marks of wounds. It might have been calmly elaborated in the study, certainly not fought for and won in the shock of actual battle. He cannot enter into the misery of conscious guilt, or the agony of self-disappointment and self-despair. Throughout the sermons we can remember no allusion to sin as a burden upon the conscience, or as a bondage which enslaves the will. He recognises nothing deeper than separate sinful acts, and

cannot see that these are but the fruit and manifestation of a root hidden in the sinful nature. Sins, according to him, are but the trips and stumbles which must be expected to occur while the child is learning to walk. 'We learn to walk by stumbling at the first, and spiritual experience is bought by errors of the soul. Penitence is but the cry of the child hurt in its fall.' In the letters there are frequent allusions to what he considered the popular doctrine of sin, and these allusions are made in language so trifling and so flippant as to supply the most painful proof of the superficial manner in which he looked upon the whole subject. Living, as he did, upon the surface of his nature, he never seems to have dreamed of the depths at which others might be called upon to fight the battle of life. He is never weary of heaping scorn and contempt upon the Church's repeated confession, 'There is no health in us'—an expression which he never gave himself the trouble to understand.¹ Once he speaks of himself thus in a letter to a friend; 'I feel often a sense of imperfection, yes, always, and sometimes the sad consciousness of positive sin. My ideal hovers far above my head, while the melancholy fact of my life foots it humbly through the dust. I suppose it must always be so; for with progressive beings the ideal of to-day must be far above the attainment of to-day. It is indeed the prophecy that to-morrow is to fulfil, or some to-morrow. I can say also with Paul, "The good that I would," &c. It is one thing to see the right, another to will the right.' Later in the same letter he says, speaking of forgiveness: 'My notion of forgiveness is this, that by a perfect law each conscious departure from the right (for that only is sin) is followed by painful consequences that we call God's justice; that these painful consequences will gradually lead to repentance, change of life, obedience, that then we feel a unity of consciousness, once more a sense of restoration to God. This also is effected by the action of the same laws working jointly with ourselves, and this we call God's mercy; yet it is the same thing in different parts of the progress.' It is plain how here, as elsewhere, Parker is fixing his gaze simply upon the workings of the individual soul, and its efforts after satisfaction. It kicks against the pricks till at last it finds an outlet where there are no pricks, and it enters into '*a unity of consciousness*.' In the passage just quoted we might for the word 'God' substitute 'nature,' or even leave an entire blank, and it is not easy to see that the sense would be in any way impaired.

¹ See Alex. Knox's Remains, vol. i. p. 526, who quotes Condre for the proof that 'health' signifies 'means of help,' i.e. our Healer. The phrase signifies our utter helplessness, not the total corruption of our nature.

After all this it is natural to expect, what we actually find to be the case, that Parker has no conception of the necessity of punishment as an expression of moral indignation against sin. He looks upon punishments as checks and barriers against the progress of transgression, and cannot apparently imagine that by this means a righteous Father reveals His wrath to a rebellious child. The judgments of which S. John speaks, in the book of Revelation, fill the mind of Parker with simple disgust; and, as usual, despising what he cannot understand, he not once nor twice but frequently pours forth his scorn in language which we forbear to quote.

It would not, however, be fair to forget that Parker's notion of the popular theology appears to have been derived from its very lowest type. We complain of him, not because he rejected with disgust the doctrines of the Church or of the Christian sects, in the form in which they seem to have been presented to him, but because he did not take the trouble to reflect that there might be, and must be, a purer form, of which these were but the burlesque and in many respects the contradiction; and because, rather than patiently investigate the history and the source of a faith or a sacrament which has been the means of spiritual life to generations of true and holy men, he is ready to accept the merest imagination of his own as a sufficient explanation of its nature, meaning, and origin. An instance of this is his account of Baptism:—

'Thousands of years ago some man of wicked ways resolved to break from them and start anew, converted by some saint. He calls the neighbours together at the side of the Euphrates, the Jordan, or the Nile, elements which he deems divine, and plunges in. "Thus I will wipe off all ancient sin," says he; "by this act I pledge myself to a new life; this holy element is witness to my vow; let the saints bear record." The penitence is real, the resolution real, the act of self-baptism means something. By and bye other penitent men do the same from the same motive, struck by his example. Crowds look on from curiosity; a few idly imitate the form; then many from fashion. Soon it is all ceremony and means nothing. It is the property of the priest; it is cherished still, and stands in place of religion. The single momentary dispensation of water is thought of more religious importance than the daily dispensation of righteousness.'

On the strength of this he concluded that Baptism is a conventional not a natural sacrament, one of the childish things which we are to outgrow, the sooner the better. Yet his fancy derives all its plausibility from the fact that Baptism is natural and *not* conventional, that it bears in its every detail the stamp of its divine fitness to be an outward sign of an inward grace.

We have said that it is easy to account for the rapid and ready acceptance which the teaching of Theodore Parker, and others like him, has obtained in many parts of the world, and

among certain classes in England. We can also venture to say with undoubting confidence that its influence cannot last. It is based upon a seeming common sense, which glides smoothly and easily into popularity, but it will not bear the strain of rough weather. It in no way touches the deep needs of man's nature, and the hungry cannot long take it for bread. We believe Theodore Parker to be a fair representative of the theistic teachers of the day, and we have no fear that the throne of the Catholic Church will be usurped by the professors of theism. Men are imperiously demanding some religious teaching which shall help them to interpret the mysteries of existence. Thousands are rejecting the doctrines of the Church, or doctrines which they suppose to be hers, because she does not seem to them to supply this need. They find a temporary refuge in theism, with its large promises and its apparent conformity to common sense; but the '*impersonal reason*' is not a home in which the souls of men can long be at rest, and the cry for more substantial food must soon be louder than ever. We believe that now, as always, the Church holds in her hand the key to the great questions of the day, and can answer them, and must answer them, by virtue of her divine commission. It is startling to notice, in the lives of such men as Theodore Parker, and those of others nearer home, how they have been alienated from the Church and her teaching by what we may describe as a succession of mistakes. In Parker's case indeed the recoil seems to have been in no sense whatever from the doctrines of the Church herself, but only from the aberrations of certain sects, which he mistook for Christianity. But a greater and nobler spirit than his has exhibited to us '*Passages from the History of his Creed*;' one who in many respects enjoyed advantages which were denied to Parker; whose starting-point was the Calvinistic section of our own Church; whose goal has been '*Pure Theism*.' We allude to Francis William Newman. It is impossible to read the '*Phases of Faith*' which has now been fourteen years before the world, without the most mingled feelings of sympathy, surprise, and regret. The Christianity of the age has much to answer for, when a mind so gifted and so sincere could so completely mistake the nature of the message of the Church. '*The Phases of Faith*' however should always be read in connexion with the somewhat earlier work by the same hand, '*The Soul: its Sorrows and its Aspirations*,'—a work in which the writer evidently shows us very far more of his own inner life, than in that which more directly treats of the history of his creed. And in doing so he exhibits so much depth of thought and so much spiritual insight, that it is astonishing to discover, from his later words, the

slight and merely external causes which led him to doubt and disbelieve the teaching of his youth. Step by step the faith of his childhood is surrendered on account of a succession of difficulties of which there is hardly one which touches its essence, and most of which are confined to the very borders of its garment. It is a very sad, but a most instructive fact, and one which should be well and earnestly pondered, that a sincere and gifted mind, sorrowing in its solitude, and aspiring after communion with God, felt itself not attracted but repelled by the doctrines of the Church, as presented at the time; and yet that the residue of faith, in which that mind is at last seeking its rest, is precisely that which it is the very characteristic of the Church to teach, viz: 'the intimate *sympathy of the pure and perfect God with the heart of each faithful worshipper.*' (*Phases of Faith*, chap. vi). It is true, no doubt, that Newman is indebted very far more than he supposes to the teaching of his childhood, for that faith in the divine sympathy which is the support of his life. It is true also that it is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine how such a faith, by itself, could become a gospel to the world, or be the foundation of an abiding Church. For the belief in the human sympathy of God becomes soon a mere phantom of the mind, vanishing when its support is needed most, unless it rests, for its pledge and its interpretation, upon an actual revelation completed by the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, bearing man's griefs and carrying his sorrows. But the question still remains, why such a mind, in order to attain this faith, supposed it to be necessary to reject the historical facts which are its surest proof. We believe that the Church is bound to accept a large portion of the responsibility of answering this question; and we look upon it as a most hopeful sign of the present time that she is practically endeavouring to answer it. Let her remember that the watchword of the theistic teaching is that the Gospel is a life and not a creed; that the minds of struggling men are, and ought to be, impatient of a creed which is not also life; that the doctrines of the Gospel must necessarily appear 'foolishness' to the intellect, unless they are first accepted by the heart.

The Church's work is from within outwards, not inwards from without. It is vain to assert, upon mere authority, the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, or to search the universe for so-called analogies to that mystery. It is *not* vain to show men that each sacred name is a distinct refuge and rest for the human spirit in its distinct and most opposite needs, and yet that each and all are One Eternal Love. It is vain to prove the Incarnation and Atonement by reasonings and texts. It is *not* vain

to show that the desires of all nations, the longings of every generation, can find their satisfaction only in the Word made flesh—that the deepest needs and instincts of the human heart are mocked and disappointed, if there is no Atonement for ever made, which reconciles the world to God. This we believe to be the mission of the Church to the present age. In fulfilling it she will win for herself a unity and a strength which have not been hers for many generations, and attain a deeper insight than ever into the meaning of her own existence. For at the point which we have indicated, the differences of parties vanish ; the many rays have united into one white beam ; the varying pictures of the stereoscope have combined to form one perfect image.

ART. II—1. *Aristotle. A Chapter from the History of Science, including Analyses of Aristotle's Scientific Writings.* By GEORGE HENRY LEWES.

2. *Alberti Magni Opera.* Studio et Labor, P. JAMMY. 21 vols. fol. port. Lugd. 1651.

HAPPY was the hand which let in the long-excluded day on the buried palaces of Kouyunjik: happy the voice which was first heard in the halls of Sennacherib, where for above two thousand years there had been no voice nor any that answered, where the untrodden chambers were unreachd by the din of battle, when a greater than all the monarchs and conquerors of Assyria swept away at Arbela the chivalry of Asia. This disinterment of a great nation, a great name and history, this undreamed-of resurrection of the forgotten dead is an awful event in itself. We stand too near to it to be able to weigh correctly its moral and intellectual results. It is much, and yet in fact this is only a part of our gain, that not *one* but a whole nation has returned from the dead to reaffirm what the prophets have taught, and to readjust the annals of our race; the passion of discovery yearns after remoter gains. Already we seem to have become familiar with what Canaan was before Abraham began his sojourn there. The explorer of the land of the Euphrates has found ruins older than Erech, Accad, and Calnah; the stones of Cush testify of times before the flood; and Sippara remains to remind us of the tradition¹ that Noah deposited there the records of mankind as accumulated to his time, and among these, it may be, a copy of that mystic roll in which Enoch foretold the coming down of the Lord to judgment.

But more important, although it may not in general be so attractive as the history of empire, is the history of opinion, and the heroes of the battle-field dwindle into insignificance before the conquerors and masters of human thought. He, the young Macedonian, whom the angel of God all but named; he

¹ Preserved in Berosus. Sippara, now called Siffara by the Arabs, the City of the Sun, is found in the angle which the Mahz-Malcha canal forms with the Euphrates.

whose exploits derive their grandeur less from the dangers incurred in accomplishing them than from the sad and sudden collapse of a great and reputedly powerful empire; he who sowed his cities and his name broadcast from the Nile to the Punjab, spreading far and wide that tongue which was to burn at last under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; what was he, as a king of men, compared with his seemingly inglorious tutor, who, short of stature, lisping, foppish, a bad scribe, writing badly what his interpreters could not read at all, was yet possessed of an industry so unflagging, and a genius so predominant, as to be in the end more than conqueror over the most embarrassing of difficulties, as to bequeath to these latest times for solution one of the very nicest and most delicate of questions, whether he is to take rank legitimately as the founder of Positivism, or as the unconscious soldier of the Cross, at once the pioneer and the reserve-guard of revelation?

But this question does not now await us. We have in hand something much more matter-of-fact. We propose to survey, with as much rapidity as will be compatible with distinctness, the literary history of Aristotle. Let not our readers be startled. We are not going to heap together the intellectual conflicts and battles of the past, and then, arranging these in order, call it history; we are not about to evoke and torture with the light those vast folios which, hidden in dusky darkness, reveal, like the craters of extinct volcanoes, the violent disturbances of bygone generations. We shall, merely touching on the 'summa cacumina rerum,' examine the life and labours of Aristotle; of him of whom South has somewhere said that, after all, he was 'but the rubbish of an Adam;' and having followed him in his singular migration out of Heathendom into Christendom, devote a few pages in conclusion to the life of his great interpreter, upon whom fell the mantle of the Grecian sage; who, acting as Barnabas did to Saul, when 'he took him and brought him to the Apostles,' introduced Aristotle, and conciliated to him the sacred schools of Christian thought.

Objects seen through a mist acquire vague and exaggerated proportions. In the same way, persons and events seen through the shadows of past centuries are at best uncertainly descried. Mr. Lewes, than whom no one can be better qualified for the task, has undertaken to give us in full and 'questionable shape' the genuine Macedonian, of whom we know in fact a little more than we know of Homer, and a little less than we know of Shakespeare. The work itself is quite a triumph of typographical art. Mr. Lewes describes himself, in a short preface, as having been engaged for many years on a sketch of the 'embryology of science,' 'an exposition of the great *momenta*

in scientific development.' The work we are noticing is a first instalment of the great undertaking; a monograph which, partially anticipated by Meyer, is, properly speaking, the first attempt to exhibit with any fulness the scientific labours of Aristotle. In this country these are only known by the *Zoology and De Anima*.

Accordingly, Mr. Lewes offers us an analysis of the separate treatises, and gives us the doctrines of Aristotle neither purged of their absurdities nor perverted into modern formulæ. This chivalrous fidelity to literary truth enables us at once to estimate more accurately the weakness of science two thousand years ago, and the intellectual frailty of Aristotle himself. We must be just every way to the departed; with righteous impartiality restraining ourselves from all hero-worship, and even in the presence of results the most absurd, never forgetting the grandeur of his god-like endeavours to conquer chaos, and order it in all things. It was the singular destiny of Aristotle to have had, properly speaking, no instructor among his own kind, and to have had disciples in every age. Physical speculation was the first love of young science. Socrates, whose position in the world of thought is not unlike that of Aristotle, was the first to break the charm, and by an intellectual *coup d'état*, as remarkable as it was successful, disinherit the old leaders of thought, and claim for ethics the homage given to physics. Had this state of things been maintained, mischief would have been the result. It was reserved for Aristotle to establish a balance of power, and reorganize the whole. That very inductive reasoning and general definition which the Stagyrte held himself to be indebted for to Socrates, mainly contributed to this result. But we are delaying.

I. Aristotle's earliest biographer, Dionysius of Halicarnæsus, lived three centuries, the latest, Suidas, lived fifteen centuries, after him whose life they presume to write. This is not encouraging. To string together the most reliable facts, Aristotle was born at Stagira in the Strymonic Gulf, now the bay of Contezza, B.C. 384, one century before the translation of the Scriptures into Greek. His father was court physician to the grandfather of Alexander the Great. His father died when the youth was only seventeen years of age, who thus early found himself lord of himself and of a rich inheritance. He eagerly betook himself to Athens, in search of Plato; and there he prepared himself for discipleship, during the absence of the great teacher, by uninterrupted study for three years. He became not only a book-collector, but so assiduous a book-devourer, that Plato named him 'the reader.' At this time the glory of Athens was declining beautifully and solemnly. The age that had evidenced

the sublimity of genius was about to yield to that which should demonstrate the unity of humanity. All the great warriors, all the great poets, were gone. But the art which Praxiteles was to perfect yet remained to embody the pure ideal of her bards, and the impassioned eloquence of Demosthenes was yet to revive whatever fire lingered in the decaying embers of Greece. Aristotle soon asserted his claim to notice, and was early recognised as sharp and witty. Though lisping in speech, he appears to have been a brilliant talker among a nation of talkers. The charge of ingratitude towards Plato may be dismissed, as having risen from the circumstance that so independent a thinker would never consent to modify his convictions, or the expression of his convictions, in deference to the sensitiveness of private friendship. And so far was Aristotle from being one likely to claim his freedom in this respect with readiness, he complains in his *Ethics* of the necessity of impugning the doctrines of 'dear friends.' Between the conflicting claims of friendship and truth, he declares that 'the preference is to be given to truth.' During seventeen of the twenty years of his residence at Athens, he lived in close intercourse with Plato; and at the end of this period he himself became a lecturer. But on the death of Plato he removed from Athens. The assassination of his friend and pupil Hermias, to whose court he was repairing, induced him to withdraw to Mitylene. There he married Pythias, the daughter of his friend, and on her death in giving birth to a daughter, he erected a monument to her at Delphi, ordering by his will that her bones should be laid beside his own. At Mitylene he was found by the messengers of Philip, inviting him to undertake the charge of the young prince, Alexander, then only fourteen years of age; this connexion, so fruitful of results honourable to pupil and tutor, lasted four years. In the days of Plutarch the walks which the philosopher used to pace along, with their stone seats, were still visible. He continued three years longer at Macedon, a period during which the thunders of Demosthenes were rolling over Greece. He did not accompany his illustrious pupil to the subjugation of the East. Mr. Lewes, in some picturesque sentences, enumerates what Aristotle would have witnessed had he followed Alexander into Asia; but, on the whole, considering what we would most probably have lost had he abandoned his study for the field, considering that under such circumstances our readers would never have had the satisfaction of perusing this paper, we cannot share our author's regret that these grand experiences were lost to Aristotle.

We may pass over the legends handed down of the generosity

of Alexander to his tutor, both in money and in contributions in natural history from his Asiatic line of march. We know enough of Alexander to know he could not be other than liberal in such a case; and as to the beasts and birds and fishes imported from Asia, Humboldt assures us that there is no trace in Aristotle's work on Animals, of any acquaintance with animals first known through the expedition of Alexander. After twelve years' absence, Aristotle returned to Athens, and opened, by permission of the authorities, a school on the east side of the city, outside the walls, close by the temple of Apollo Lykeios which Pisistratus founded and Pericles adorned. Here the lecture-room acquired the name of *ὁ περίπατος*, from the ambulatory habits of the lecturer; and thus the name became the designation of the whole school. Here he taught for thirteen years, till the unexpected death of Alexander exposed him to the same kind of dangers as those which beset Socrates. He yielded to the storm, and betook himself to Eubœan Chalcia. There he died, in his sixty-third year, B.C. 322, a few months before that other great exile, Demosthenes, breathed his last. The sentence of death passed on him at Athens was anticipated. He survived his great pupil but a few months. And, alas! the cordiality of earlier years had some time previously passed away, leaving behind it alienation and distrust. The Philosopher's will, which may be read in Diogenes Laertius, evidences a thoughtful and affectionate heart.

Mr. Lewes shrinks from the unattractive question of the authenticity of the works of Aristotle. The following results of the discussions on the subject may be looked upon as beyond controversy. Death overtook Aristotle before he could finish some of his works and revise others. He never issued a complete edition of all his compositions; and hence, when a demand for his writings arose, on the founding of the Pergamean and Egyptian libraries, many works were forged in his name; many writings of other philosophers, as of Theophrastus, were offered as Aristotle's. The ancient Greek commentators classed his works under two heads. 1. Entries in his Common-place book, as his *hypomnemata* may be described, and 2. Finished works. These latter were of two classes, Exoteric and Esoteric. The Exoteric writings mainly took the shape of dialogues, were designed as an introduction to his philosophy, and, as counter-active of Platonism, were published by the author himself. They were extant in the days of Cicero, and, some fragments excepted, have since perished. The genuine writings which are extant are of the Esoteric class. The fact that some of his works were published by himself, shows the necessity of modifying the story of *all* the original MSS. having been buried for

200 years in a cellar at Scepsia. At the same time, there can be little doubt that, next to Theophrastus, we owe most to Apellicon of Teos, as conservator and publisher of the remains of Aristotle. Apellicon purchased whatever original MSS. the descendants of Neleus possessed; and to him we are indebted for other writings of the *hypomnematic* order, and for the Poetics. Sulla, B.C. 84, confiscated the library of Apellicon, and thus Aristotle passed into Italy. The first editor of all the works was Andronicus of Rhodes, who was also first commentator. This edition is the basis of those in use among us. To him, in the character of literary executor, we owe more than to any one, ancient or modern, if we except Böhle, whose undertaking was marred by the burning of Moscow. Of the line of commentators which, starting from Andronicus, in the East and West, expatiated on the Greek sage, often to the detriment of the author and the bewilderment of themselves, the limits of our subject make it unnecessary that we should say anything.

When we bear in mind that, everything considered, Aristotle, in the extent and comprehensiveness of his labours, is without competition among men; that he touched upon, if he did not adorn, every branch of science; that his *Politics* alone contain the outlines of 255 constitutions, and, in our own day, was committed to memory by Dr. Arnold, who bears witness to its constant usefulness; that in the domains of Logic, Rhetoric, and Ethics, he still reigns and rules; that 'his Metaphysics would of itself suffice to found a great renown;' that 'his fragments in Poetics is, perhaps, the most valuable of all ancient critical writings;' that his scientific works, which form the subject of Mr. Lewes' volume, embrace zoology, comparative anatomy, psychology, physics, and astronomy, it must be acknowledged that Aristotle is a great intellectual phenomenon. It cannot be a matter of surprise that Hegel and Sir W. Hamilton should speak of him with enthusiasm, that Cuvier and St. Hilaire should lay aside the calmness of scientific thought and speak of him in terms of exaggerated eulogy. Mr. Lewes holds that the neglects of the past, and the deification of the present time, both need revision.

In the chapter on the 'Dawn of Science,' the avowed positivism of Mr. Lewes comes out in rather a painful form. With this drawback, the chapter is very useful. There are three modes of conceiving phenomena, the theological, metaphysical, and scientific, which may be reclassified, as the two former exhibiting the subjective, the latter, the objective method.

'The rise of the objective or scientific method, is a late event in the history of man, if we consider it, not in isolated fragmentary efforts, but as a *systematic and conscious attitude of mind*. A late and glorious event of which no trace is

visible in the earlier civilization. The dawn of the new era, in which nature was investigated without reference to supernatural agencies, but solely with the view of deciphering her alphabet, and rendering her own sacred writing, is to be sought in Italy. It was the Greeks, and especially the Italian Greeks, who commenced this revolution. In saying this, I am not unmindful of the opinion, held by many learned scholars, that the East was the cradle of science. It is not a subject that can be adequately discussed here; nor can I pretend to the erudition requisite for its discussion. But leaving the subject in worthier hands, there is one general consideration which to my mind carries conviction. We have no evidence whatever that the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, or Hindoos conceived the true scientific method; and there is positive evidence that they could not have had the scientific knowledge often attributed to them, simply because they had not the instruments by which that knowledge is attained. They had not the requisite mathematics; they had not the instruments. Unless facts are accurately known, laws must remain obscure. But accuracy in the knowledge of facts, that is to say, scientific accuracy, depends on instruments of *measurement* and *calculation*. Science is pre-eminently quantitative, *i.e.* dependent on exact appreciations of quantities of time, space, and force; and hence its progress is intimately connected with the perfection and application of instruments of measurement and calculation. Wanting these, the East necessarily wanted scientific knowledge.—*Lewes*. Pp. 36, 37.

Having drawn attention to the fact that the first researches in physics, conceived in a scientific spirit, were those of the Pythagoreans on the vibration of bodies, Mr. Lewes proceeds in sentences, which, though forming a long quotation, we cannot forbear extracting in full.

‘Observe the significance of the fact that the Greeks gave us mathematics. Of all the sciences this is the one which most rigorously typifies the true method. In it there is no place for the supernatural. It admits no outlying agencies. It fixes the mind on relations, and only on relations. By so doing it coerces the mind to maintain the strictly scientific attitude, namely, the most watchful solicitude respecting accuracy, both in data and conclusions. Much has been written about the superior certainty of mathematics; but this does not, I conceive, result from the simplicity of its symbols, nor from the simplicity of the ideas involved; since it is obvious that we may employ very simple symbols, and very clear ideas, yet arrive at very uncertain and very absurd conclusions. The superior exactness and certainty of mathematics are due to the fact that no hypothesis is allowed to stand for more than an hypothesis; no deduction takes its place as a datum until it has been demonstrated. Whereas in all other sciences the mind has great difficulty in restraining its impatience, and is thus induced to employ unverified data, and to rely on unverified deductions; but whenever the data and the deductions have been rigorously verified, the *truth* of physics and chemistry are as *certain* as those of mathematics.

‘There is a second important element in scientific research for which we are indebted to the Greeks; the systematic employment of scepticism, without which, indeed, research would be vain, and a true method impossible. The Greeks, unwilling longer to acquiesce in traditional dogmas, early saw that if observation and reason were to be the guides in investigation, these guides, being fallible, required perpetual vigilance. A fortunate union of temperament with culture enabled this wonderful people to range through Nature in pursuit of the true relations of things, without perplexing themselves by fictions imagined respecting outlying agencies essentially mysterious. The mysterious-

ness was not denied; it was simply set aside, removed from the sphere of scientific thought. The Greek had a free, independent spirit, adventurous, rebellious, curious, and boldly doubting sought a solution of his doubts in his own way. He refused submission to established doctrines. He would accept neither priest nor philosopher as his oracle. Without directly contradicting the priest, he boldly erected his own Academy beside the temple. Both their weakness and their strength aided the Greeks in this new enterprise. For it was a weakness in them, that they had little sympathy with that sense of the Infinite which characterizes some other eminent nations. This is visible in their art; an art matchless in clearness and proportion, in the beauty of arrested lines, and the repose of symmetrical simplicity; but having none of those finer issues which escape into the sublimity of Christian art. Greek art is a lute, not an organ. Aristotle is a striking illustration of this excellence and this defect. He seems utterly destitute of any sense of the Ineffable. There is no quality more noticeable in him than his unhesitating confidence in the adequacy of the human mind to comprehend the universe; a quality obviously connected with the defect just mentioned. He never seems to be visited by misgivings as to the compass of human faculty, because his unhesitating mind is destitute of awe. He has no abiding consciousness of the fact deeply impressed on other minds, that the circle of the knowable is extremely limited; and that beyond it lies a vast mystery, dimly recognised as lying there, but also recognised as impenetrable. Hence the existence of evil is no perplexity to his soul; it is accepted as a simple fact. Instead of being troubled by it, saddened by it, he quietly explains it as the consequence of nature not having correctly written her meaning. This mystery which had darkened so many sensitive meditative minds with anguish, he considered to be only bad orthography. Although ready enough to recognise the fallibility of men, he nowhere, that I remember, expresses a conviction of the inherent fallibility of reason. His contemporary, the author of *Ecclesiastes*, passionately declared that all science was vanity. Nor was this merely the dejected expression of his own miserable failure, it was the serious conviction of human infirmity.*—Pp. 39—42.¹

There is, in truth, no sadder writing in all heathen antiquity, than the passage, Book iii. c. 5, *De Animâ* (Lewes § 242, p. 241), in which the mind of heathendom came closest into contact with the Ineffable. 'Is the soul immortal? If there is anything that survives us, it is devoid of personality. The impressible mind is perishable, and without it there can be no reflection.'

The long extract which we have just made from Mr. Lewes exhibits the graces of his style and the flaws in his philosophy. We dismiss what he says of the characteristic feature of the Greek mind, and the impression which he seems desirous to convey, with the observation that it is a matter of fact that scepticism came in with the Socratic revolution. Pyrrhon even professed to derive his principles from Socrates. It is plain that

¹ In making the statement, as we understand it, that truth is anywhere in the Divine writings in any way disparaged, Mr. Lewes errs as certainly as he does in making 'the Son of David, King in Jerusalem,' or any king in Jerusalem contemporary with Aristotle. *Ecclesiastes* a Pyrrhonist! Having learned this new philosophy from Pyrrhon when visiting Jerusalem in the army of Alexander as he did. By all means let us be circumstantial.

we might as reasonably charge the English with constitutional scepticism because Bacon's inquiries into nature were pursued legitimately by the use of the objective method; and it is plain that the most established and respectable of the schools of Greece neither were founded upon nor evolved such a principle. As regards the Invisible, what Aristotle thought was the all that heathendom could attain to. It could only, and that painfully, make its way to the foot of the crystal battlements. The eternal horizon that bounded his frail being parted off from man in heathendom the realities of the Unseen, and God ordained in His wisdom that man should not by human wisdom find out God.

But there are other failures among the heathen, an inquiry into which, ultimately traceable though we believe it to be to the Canon of the Everlasting which we have above quoted, will illustrate the *ἀσθένεια* of man. How are we to explain the shortcomings—not having the dread of Mr. De Quincey before our mind, we will adventure the word—of the Greeks in the science committed to them? We are to attribute these failures not to want of facts, not to want of ideas, Dr. Whewell tells us, but to this: that the ideas were indistinct and inappropriate to the facts. Mr. Lewes is reasonably ill-satisfied with this explanation, as being unprecise and equivocal. With more accuracy he decides that the Greeks, perhaps from being naturally volatile and hasty, failed to investigate with sufficient accuracy their facts, and to verify with sufficient industry their ideas. They did not at every step produce a certificate of what they had observed, induced, and deduced. Our modern superiority consists simply in the experience derived from the possession of a large body of 'demonstrated and colligated truths,' and a more lively apprehension of the sources of error. We are all of us acquainted with the old question of the live and dead fish attributed to our Charles II. In much the same way it was taken for granted that a body falls with a velocity proportioned to its weight. When Galileo denied this, and verified his denial by the different weights dropped from the Tower of Pisa, and simultaneously striking the ground, the Aristotelians would not be convinced. They had so long neglected, that they at last were unable to verify, facts. And their neglect of verification arose from our too natural impatience of the tardy results of discovery. To quote the illustration of Bacon, those ancient mariners, by observation of the stars, could creep safely enough along the sea while hugging the shore, and only when they ventured to sail out to sea, did they encounter disaster. They wanted the guide of the compass. 'Now that guide is verification,' says Mr. Lewes.

The system of Plato is discussed by Mr. Lewes in a short chapter (V). His entire disregard of the phenomenal universe utterly disqualified Plato for the interpretation of nature. In one point, indeed, he seems to have come into harmonious contact with his great successor. They both agreed that science was concerned with universals. But Aristotle affirmed that these could only be reached through experience. With him, in truth, began inductive philosophy. And he announced its leading principles with as much completeness and precision as Bacon himself. But in scientific research both the ancient and modern ministers of nature have been unsuccessful, because their method was unsustained by clear verification. The avowed dislike of Bacon to Aristotle is to be traced not to the method which Aristotle *taught*, of which he probably knew very little, but to the method which Aristotle's disciples *practised*.¹ They unfortunately followed their master's example. The neglect of the verifying process, and the immaturity in his age of all scientific ideas, continually decoyed Aristotle into metaphysical speculations. It was the very tendency of the syllogism, which proceeds from the general to the particular, to rest in the ideal, and to confirm men in the notion that science is a knowledge of causes, and not of laws. But, notwithstanding the inconsistencies of the philosopher, and his imperfect appreciation of the objective method, he is entitled to our veneration and gratitude as having produced an organon of science, which is in truth 'a gigantic creation' (Lewes, 120).

Aristotle failed in the discovery of special laws. He also failed to establish the transcendental ideas of physics; which is the more remarkable, as he and his school were so metaphysical in their researches. The reason is obvious. The laws of transcendental physics are only to be reached through the objective method. The correlatives of force were unknown to Aristotle; so, too, the uniformity in Nature. Thus Aristotle declared that the heavenly bodies were regulated by a peculiar code of laws; laws not identical with those known by experimental research. But, in truth, it is less to his discredit that he should have failed to form the grand conception of the unity of the terrestrial and celestial systems than it is to Kepler and Galileo. Even Newton, as Mr. Lewes expresses himself, 'was very timid' on this head. Aristotle says, that to be ignorant of motion, is to be necessarily ignorant of all natural things. Yet of

¹ To this was addressed the censure of Bacon, complaining that Aristotle and his followers were like children. 'Ut ad garriendum prompti sint, generare non possunt.' We wish Mr. Lewes had sketched for us the genealogy of the Hypothesis. Is not Imagination, to which scientific discovery is so immensely indebted, the source whence it springs, as Athenè from the head of Zeus?

motion, he himself knew nothing as to its *nature* and its laws. He cannot, therefore, be supposed to have coincided with, or anticipated, Newton as making 'a theory of motion the basis of physics,' however loftily he might have expressed himself of the thing itself. Motion and rest were with him the communication and withdrawal of an 'energy,' and not different aspects of *force*, its *vis viva*, and its *tension*.

The work on Physics, so extravagantly extolled by B. St. Hilaire, gives us the first glimpse of a conception of inertia. It also acknowledges the resisting power of the air, and likens it to that of water. With the exception of these points, it must be granted that 'all the ideas expounded in the Physics' rest on a 'basis' 'purely verbal' and 'wholly unscientific.'

The work on the Heavens is really a part of the preceding treatise, and they are very like to one another. In this Aristotle labours grievously under the all-disturbing fallacy that the weight of bodies is an *absolute* inherent quantity. The work on Meteorology is more scientific and philosophical. In Aristotle's hands the subject embraces chemistry, geology, and astronomy. If meteorology is even still among ourselves, with all our instrumental appliances, exceedingly imperfect, what must it have been in Aristotle's time? Though wanting those ingenious inventions by which we measure and record the different varying conditions of the atmosphere,—though wholly ignorant of electricity, he had the sagacity to make heat the main agent in meteorological changes. In the 'Mechanical Problems,' whether this be the substance or any part of the original 'problems,' Aristotle, by the admission of Galileo, had conceived the principle of 'virtual velocities.' So too, he seems to have had a glimpse of the parallelogram of forces. Mr. Lewes speaks slightly of these anticipations of modern discovery, because Aristotle did not turn them to any account. Impartiality on the part of friends sometimes runs into severity. Yet Poselger thinks Aristotle's enunciation of the latter point superior in elegance and precision to that given by Kant. There are in the end of these problems some questions proposed but not answered, which indicate at once the acumen of Aristotle and the difficulties under which he laboured. The unscientific conceptions by which, owing to the metaphysical bias, he was hampered, prevented 'the labour of real investigation, by the belief that subjective deductions represented 'objective facts' (152). His labours were not in vain, however. The world has been enriched by his genius, and made wise by his failures. And Mr. Lewes sums up his review of this part of the author's works in the general statement, that the present has nothing to learn from these physical specu-

lations, and that they are deservedly to be consigned to neglect.

We approach a subject upon which Mr. Lewes feels himself compelled to be, he acknowledges, severe. This is forced on him by the insincere exaggerations of Cuvier, who, 'blinded by the splendour of a great renown,' has ventured to speak of the accuracy of Aristotle's observations as being, after the most rigorous criticisms, proved unimpeachable. 'In Aristotle,' he says, 'everything amazes, everything is prodigious, everything is colossal.'¹ Mr. Lewes proceeds (Chap. viii.) to bring this eulogy to the test in that department of science in which Cuvier was himself supreme, and must therefore have had the very best opportunities of knowing the real merits of the case.

Biology is statical and dynamical, or, in the language of common life, it consists of Anatomy and Physiology. The latter has indeed been styled very happily by Haller, 'Animated Anatomy.' As a biologist, Aristotle inspected the whole domain of the animal kingdom 'from sea-anemones to man.' There is this difficulty in rightly appreciating what he has actually accomplished, that where they have passed by inaccuracies and misstatements, 'modern readers insensibly fill out his hints with details out of their own fuller store.' The fact seems to be that we have no proof, no reason to imagine, that Aristotle ever dissected any body. 'He never followed the course of a vessel or a nerve, never laid bare the origin and insertion of a muscle; never discriminated the component parts of organs; never made clear to himself the connexion of organs into systems' (57). We are to compare him not with Swammerdam, and that patient Lyonet, who accurately describes the 4,041 muscles of the caterpillar. But we are entitled to compare Aristotle with Galen, whose anatomical knowledge was derived from dissection. Aristotle's knowledge was therefore inferior in kind as well as degree. It is true that he overthrew the old error of the head being the origin of the veins, and rightly traced them to the heart. And he first distinguished the *aorta* and *vena cava*. He went no further. He knew nothing of the muscles, and very little indeed of one or two nerves. To suppose that he had dissected would, after this, be the most damaging thing possible for the reputation of Aristotle. *Perhaps* he *may* have dissected brutes. But Hippocrates, his predecessor, it is certain, did not dissect. This is concluded by the ignorance of anatomy exhibited in his books, and also by the sacredness with which the Greeks regarded the dead. The same grounds justify a like conclusion respecting

¹ Cuvier, 'Histoire des Sciences Naturelles.' 1841. L. 132. Quoted by Lewes, 154.

Aristotle. One sentence is found which Mr. Lewes admits may imply that he did dissect. But the evidence on the other side is overwhelming. When a great teacher tells us that the human lungs are single, the uterus double, the heart higher than the lungs, the brain bloodless, and the back of the head empty, we know how to estimate his knowledge on this subject. He first, however, called attention to the *πόροι*, or ducts, as he styles nerves,¹ which have their origin at the base of the brain. These he discovered. But it greatly impairs the glory of the discovery that he remained in total ignorance of their functions. To Aristotle, man as a feeding, blood-making animal, presented himself as a mere cooking and most mechanical invention. He seems to have been happier on the subject of respiration; his theory of which 'historically, is admirable.' But in his treatise on Animal Movement, he sinks again into the notion that human beings are automata. Aristotle had also his own theory of the human trichotomy, and not, allowing for his gross materialism, so very far astray. He describes the *pneuma* as intermediate between the body and the soul; and he places it in the heart. Unfortunately we have lost the further explanation of his views on this head, which he speaks of having furnished elsewhere. The heart he makes the centre of sensation; the brain he declares to be insensible and cold, and designed to be the refrigerator of the undue heat of the heart-region.

A tube was used at Alexandria to enable the landsmen to descry ships in the distance. This, centuries before the invention of the telescope. The imagination of the reader applies lenses, and turns the tube, simply designed to assist direct vision by shutting out other objects, into the full-blown telescope of our time. In this way many of Aristotle's happy speculations have been made to mean more than Aristotle meant by them. Several of these speculations Mr. Lewes passes in review in this connexion. We shall briefly catalogue the most valuable of Aristotle's decisions.

The *essential* identity of plant and animal life and of life and mind was recognised by him. He pronounced sponges to be animals. He had thoroughly mastered the great morphological law, that the greater luxuriance of the plant is at the expense of the seed. In some respects he is superior to many illustrious moderns in his speculations on the 'progressive complexity of life.' Of modern theories respecting a chain of created beings, passing by insensible gradations from the simplest to the most complex, perhaps the wildest—

'was put forth by Robinet, who supposed minerals to develop into plants,

¹ *Neûpa* in Aristotle or elsewhere means *tendons and ligaments*. Hence Galen's mistake in saying that Aristotle derived all the nerves from the heart.

and plants into animals. The scheme of Bonnet is less extravagant. He admits that there is no transition between the mineral and the plant, admits that nature seems to take leaps. From the plant, however, the chain is unbroken up to man. Buffon maintains the existence of a series of insensible gradations, conceiving that the whole living universe presents itself as one family, an opinion also adopted by Herder. Treviranus makes a separate kingdom of the cryptogamic plants and the zoophytes, intermediate between the two kingdoms vegetal and mineral; and Leuckart thinks the sponges may, perhaps, form such an intermediate kingdom. Meckel holds that all existing organisms may be modifications, by insensible gradations, of one primitive type—a view recently made popular by the “*Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*,” and placed on a scientific footing by Darwin. Noticing the obvious objection that no such gradations are discoverable, but on the contrary that very great gaps occur at all parts of the pretended series, Lamarck remarks that the animal scale only presents its degrees in the principal masses, and not in the species, nor even in the genera, and therefore he rejects the idea of a connected chain. He holds that it is only at their common starting-point that the two grand divisions of organic life, vegetal and animal, are related by the simplicity of their structure. Not only does he deny the “chain of creation,” but he holds that even animals do not form a chain; they simply exhibit a *progressive complexity of organization*. In the same spirit Geoffrey St. Hilaire pronounces the chain to be a chimera, and substitutes for it his doctrine of “Unity of Composition.” Serres, reproducing the arguments of Meckel, says that the “missing-links” in the chain may all be discovered if we seek them in the life of the embryo. On comparing animals arrived at their complete development, we find many and wide differences between them; but if we compared them during their successive stages of evolution, we should see that these differences were preceded by resemblances, that, in fact, comparative anatomy is an arrested embryology, and embryology is a transitory comparative anatomy. Auguste Comte proposed to fill up the missing links by the imaginative and arbitrary creation of new forms.—Pp. 187—189.

In the ‘Battle of the Books,’ of which Mr. Lewes’ work is a noble episode, we think that on this point the scales of victory must decide for Aristotle. In the first place he is exceedingly felicitous in his division of *Inorganic* and *Organic*, abandoning the more obvious and less scientific distribution of mineral, vegetal, and animal. In the ascending scale the first step is **PLANTS**. Here *Nutrition*, or ‘vegetal life,’ forms the first stage of the soul’s activity. The next step is **PLANT-ANIMALS**. Then **ANIMALS**. Man is the head of the animal creation, but still ‘only the highest point of our continuous ascent.’ The wisest and most thoughtful of all animals, as he alone can generalize and abstract. The enumeration of opinions quoted above will demonstrate how little the moderns, with all their aids and opportunities, have advanced and developed the theory of Aristotle.

Mr. Lewes shared the enthusiasm of Von Siebold and others on discovering that Aristotle had been acquainted with that most singular of creatures, the hectocotylus of the Argonaut: a creature that is scarcely even that; being in fact a *modified*

arm of the male cephalopod, a mere organophore. But Mr. Lewes' further inquiries have satisfied him that, after all, Aristotle really knew nothing upon the subject—that in fact he did not know of its existence. The mystery of bees is concisely stated by Mr. Lewes:

'Anatomical investigation has discovered that the queen bee is a perfect female, the worker an imperfect female, and the drone a male. The ova of the queen, who is impregnated during her wedding flight, if fertilized, become queens and workers, if unfertilized become drones. If her flight be prevented, by the removal of her wings, or any other means, she is forced to remain a virgin; nevertheless in this state she deposits eggs, and those eggs become bees, no less than if they had been fertilized. In like manner the virgin workers lay eggs when the hive is deprived of the queen. But there is this peculiarity common to the eggs under both these conditions; they only become drones, never workers, nor queens.'—Pp. 205, 206.

The anatomical data on which the parthenogenesis of bees rests could not have been known to Aristotle. Guided by such facts as could come under his notice, he jumped to the conclusion that bees were self-generated. On this ground, we think Mr. Lewes scarcely does justice to the sagacity of Aristotle. So, too, we think he does scanty justice to the Stagyrte on the subject of the self-reproductiveness of the perch. That the moderns in rejecting this suggestion were in the wrong, has been satisfactorily proved by Defosse. That Aristotle was more in the right, although not permitted to achieve the whole truth and make a complete discovery, is no little praise. Mr. Lewes on the subject of the placental fish, admits that Aristotle has here described what other naturalists either have not seen or have overlooked. He, too, first drew attention to what has been since gainsaid, but is now universally acknowledged, the existence of nest-building fishes. These are some of the 'anticipations of modern discoveries' attributed to Aristotle which Mr. Lewes passes under review; and we cannot object to the conclusion, that, 'in no single instance, and under no 'legitimate extension of the term, can he be said to have made a 'discovery' (220).

We have already briefly adverted to the fact that Aristotle, in his own way, has recognised the existence of three distinct elements in human nature,—body, soul, and a uniting spirit. His whole treatise, *De Animâ*, is marked by great profundity of thought, and is justly ranked as the most valued as well as valuable ancient work aiming at a scientific arrangement of the facts of life and mind. The following passage forms a luminous introduction to the subject.

'The word *ψυχή* is untranslatable in modern languages. It is commonly rendered by *Anima*, or its equivalents *Ame*, *Seele*, *Soul*. This has caused a general misconception of the profounder meanings conveyed in Aristotle's

treatise. Since the days of Descartes there has been a broad distinction between Life and Mind, for which two separate essences or principles were required; and this distinction having permeated every modern language, we are at a loss for a single word which will express the union of the two, as it was conceived by Aristotle and all the early thinkers. The word $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ represents soul as both life and mind—*Anima*, and *Animus*. Yet if we translate the title of Aristotle's treatise, "On the Soul," it will be as misleading in its suggestions as the translation, "On the Vital Principle." Both phrases are narrower in their meaning than the Greek. The one excludes the physiological, the other the psychological meaning. Sir Alex. Grant justly remarks that the word means more and less than our word soul; "more, as having on one side, at all events, a directly physical connexion; less, as not in itself implying any religious association. We cannot translate $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ 'vital principle,' because, though it is this, it is a great deal besides; not 'mind,' because this would leave out as much at the one end as the former translation did at the other." Yet on many accounts "Vital Principle" is better than "Soul," and represents more accurately the meaning of $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ (which literally means "breath, the breath of life," as *anima* also means breath, *ἀνεμος*), more accurately, because Aristotle's view is *not* that of Stahl, and the celebrated Montpellier School of "Animists," which conceives the mind to be the animating principle, bestowing on the body all activity, determining all vital functions, and thus including under its supremacy all physical and psychological phenomena. Instead of conceiving life as one of the manifestations of mind, Aristotle taught the precise obverse, namely, that mind is only the highest development of life. He always exhibits life as the *general* form of organic activity; mind is only one of the *special* forms, developed in later stages, but wholly absent from the earlier. "Plants," he says, "have no sensation. By this the animal is separated from that which is not animal." There are one or two passages which raise a doubt as to whether Aristotle had made this point clear to himself in the sense in which it is held by the most advanced psychologists; indeed, it is evident that he had but imperfectly appreciated the necessary correlation between an ascending complexity of organization and an ascending complexity in vital phenomena, since he had not clearly and steadily mastered the fundamental relation between organ and function. Nevertheless, if he sometimes stopped midway, if he wavered in his conception of the relation between organ and function, the majority of moderns, even physiologists, have not been less wavering, and he stands at the point of view now generally occupied by the most advanced thinkers.—Pp. 221—224.

Who are the most advanced thinkers? and what is their point of view? are two questions provoked by the last statement of Mr. Lewes. He quotes in a note the language of Mr. Morell, which seems indeed to advance not one step beyond the conclusions of Aristotle; nothing beyond the evolution out of the nerve-force, through sensation and motion, of consciousness and intelligence. It is quite true that a doctrine of psychical materiality was advanced in the early Church; but we take leave to question its dominancy, which Guizot asserts, and to affirm that whenever put forward it was always counteracted by the maintenance of a psychical immateriality. That in fact, the equivocalness of the term $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ asserted itself. On this subject the Church was kept, had she been disposed to wander from it, in the right path by the conflicting theories of Tertul-

lianists and Origenists. Indeed, Clement, while disclaiming the description of *ψυχή* as μέρος Θεοῦ, asserts it to be in part λογική, in part σωματική, and on this head advanced opinions¹ coincident with those of Basilides the Gnostic.² Clement's distinction just quoted, the notorious fact that the emanative theory is to be found in the writings of some of the earlier Fathers—S. Justin Martyr for instance—and the testimony which we relegate to the margin of one qualified, by his spiritual eminence, to take rank with the primitive confessors, while his clear-sighted intellect fitted him to be the Father of the middle ages,³ will go some way to qualify the very remarkable affirmation of Mr. Lewes, that the psychology of religion derived its later direction from the speculations of Descartes, with whom, he says, originated the essential distinction between life and mind. When he states that the orthodox doctrine of the early Church was that of Aristotle, he must be aware that the coincidence, if any, was accidental. None of the great masters of Christian thought were versed in the writings of the Stagyrte. Even Clemens Alexandrinus was no Aristotelian. But on the other hand, Origen, perhaps through his connexion with Ammonius Saccas and the Neoplatonists, who 'took up' Aristotle, may have had more than a superficial acquaintance with the Peripatetic school. Anyhow, Origen corrects the trichotomy of Aristotle, as with him *ψυχή* forms the medium between the πνεῦμα and the σῶμα, and there can be little question that Origen and the primitive Church derived their opinions from the same source. The ancient Church did not hold the essential identity of life and mind; she did not hold the materiality of the soul, nor, on the different question, the arrangement of the elements of human nature, did she agree

¹ Clem. Strom. vii. 12.

² 'Binas tota fere Gnosticorum familia homini dabat animas, alteram brutam, sentiendique tantum et desiderandi facultate, alteram rationalem et intelligentia sapientiaque, præditam, hanc divinæ originis, illam terrenæ et ex materie animæ ductam.' Mosh. De Reb. Christ. ante Constant. p. 351.

³ 'Nota igitur quod anima diffinitur, quandoque prout est spiritus, quandoque ut est motor et rector corporis, quandoque verò ut est actus et perfectio corporis. Anima est substantia incorporea, intellectualis, illuminationum quæ sunt à primo, ultima relatione perceptiva. In hac diffinitione substantia ponitur pro genere. Incorporea ponitur ad differentiam corporum. Intellectualis ponitur ad differentiam animæ vegetabilis et animæ sensibilis. Illuminationum quæ sunt à primo ponitur ad differentiam angelorum. Inter substantiam animæ, et operationes ejus sunt mediæ potentiæ.' He then proceeds to discuss the question whether these potencies are identical with, or, as he inclines to think, 'hæc (opinio) solemnior et verior videtur esse,' distinct from the soul. . . Albert. Mag. Philosophia Pauperum, V. pars capp. 1, 2, Opp. xxi. p. 27. Let us bear in mind that there is the same ambiguity latent in *anima* as in *ψυχή*, that it is not so parted off from *animus* as not to be, as in Cicero, used for it. Mr. Lewes seems not to have been aware of this.

with Aristotle. We wish Mr. Lewes had employed his invaluable organ of verification in testing these statements before he committed them to print.

No advance, Mr. Lewes tells us, has been made by modern thinkers from the point where Aristotle halted. It is perhaps beyond the pale of Mr. Lewes' sympathies, as it is probably outside the proper domain of his present publication, to admit the power of Christianity as helping forward the solution of such obstinate questions as that now under discussion. No philosophical view of history, be the department what it may, will be insensible to the fact that theology and science have travelled hand in hand. We are aware that the statement is to many of our illuminati nothing short of odious. Yet our statement is very measured. We speak of *simultaneous progress*. We do not urge that science has prospered under the influence of theology as the man born blind prospered at Siloam, and that new energies and illuminations have followed, in every path and department of human thought, upon the manifestation of the truth in the Incarnate One. And if on this particular subject there has been little progress, we trace this fact to another fact, that the Church has not given to this question, and why she can easily explain, that full attention to which its own importance and the express teaching of the Holy Spirit entitle it. No theologian has investigated it with any sustained effort. The learned and devout Olshausen deserves the praise of having, in his *Opuscula*, supplied a brief and perspicuous statement of it. The *locus classicus*, though other passages teach it indirectly, is 1 Thess. v. 23. A succinct statement of the whole may not be unacceptable to our readers. The order in which the apostle places the constituent elements of our nature in the passage above referred to, is no doubt meant to be instructive, and represents their relative dignity and influence and order of development. It will be more convenient for us to take them in an inverse order. There are then in man the three distinct and distinguishable elements, with three kindred Greek and Hebrew terms, corresponding to those in our vernacular, body, soul, and spirit.

1. The body, or the *outward man*, closely connected with this in idea, though not in spiritual import, is the *flesh*. The flesh is typical in all respects of our natural condition and moral destiny; and in its spiritual significance, is equivalent to the *old man*.

2. The soul, whose union with the body we hold to be effected by the life, or 'primary reality of the organism,' as Aristotle defined it, in this respect dealing more happily with the undefinable than either Kant or Bichat—the soul is the

home of the *will* and the *personality*. Its agents or potencies are the *understanding* and the *heart*. The understanding (*φρένες*) is traced in its power (*σύνεσις*), and its practical application (*φρόνησις*). Then the heart (*καρδία*), in which life first manifests itself, represents the *appetitive faculty*; while, in its state of pure pathological feeling, it is entitled *σπλάγχνα*; in its disturbed state *θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία*. The heart is the seat of sensibility, and of the thoughts and wishes influenced by sensibility, and of FAITH. It stimulates the reason (*νοῦς*); whose operations are then referred to the heart. Thus we have the phrase 'thoughts of the heart.'

3. The spirit. The human spirit involves the reason (*νοῦς*), whose *exercise* is styled *σοφία*, and its *results* *γνώσις*; evidencing themselves by the thoughts (*λογισμός, διαλογισμός, νόημα, διάνοια, ἐπίνοια, ὑπόνοια*). It is the sphere of *μετάνοια* or REPENTANCE. The spirit represents the *inner man*, which we confess we would have rather referred to the personality; and the *νοῦς* embodies the images of the *candle* and *eye* employed by our Lord.

Connected, as the *flesh* with the *body*, is the divine with the human spirit. Indeed, the pairs are respectively opposed, and are mutually correlative. Moving over the fearful deep of man's nature, the mediatorial Spirit becomes the medium of communicating the NEW MAN, the heavenly element of the new humanity. The question of the natural life in the restricted sense of the word, the Scriptures appear to leave untouched. It can be approached neither by the objective nor the subjective method; we still remain unenlightened upon it, save so far as we have intimations that it is the *σύνδεσμος* which connects body and soul, as the divine spirit is the *σύνδεσμος* of the human *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*. The authority of Aristotle can never be revived; and if it could, it would not be desirable. It is as much a thing of the past as the power of Alexander. But we shall welcome a more general study of this work of Aristotle, as this will tend to the culture of a Christian biology based upon the principles and dicta of one wiser than Aristotle.¹ The outline we have just given—for which we are mainly indebted to the illustrious professor of Erlangen—is necessarily a mere outline; and our readers deserve an apology for having it presented to them in such a form. We cannot, however, leave it

¹ We may, in passing, remark that the record of the angelic message respecting the Incarnation virtually settles the question, as far as regards mankind, discussed in the treatise *περὶ ζώων γενέσεως*; which Mr. Lewes admits has been handled with a mastery of the subject, 'truly astounding.' 'The labours of the last two centuries, from Harvey to Kölliker, have furnished the anatomical data to confirm many of the views of this prescient genius' (325). The work of the founder of modern physiology is at this day more antiquated; for 'though richer in anatomical details, it is inferior in philosophy.'

without subjoining the well-weighed words of the Archbishop of Dublin.

'To assert that enumerations like the present are rhetorical (De Wette), or worse, that the apostle probably attached "no distinct thought to each of these words" (Jowett), is plainly to set aside all sound rules of scriptural exegesis. Again to admit the distinctions, but to refer them to Platonism (Lünem), is equally unsatisfactory and equally calculated to throw doubt on the truth of the teaching. If S. Paul's words do here imply the trichotomy above described (comp Usteri, *Lehrb.* p. 384, seq.), then such a trichotomy is infallibly real and true. And if Plato or Philo have maintained (as appears demonstrable) substantially the same views, then God has permitted a Heathen and a Jewish philosopher to advance conjectural opinions which have since been confirmed by the independent teaching of an inspired apostle.'¹

Passing over Mr. Lewes' review of the Treatise on the Senses, as presenting nothing that demands notice, modern investigation having contributed little in addition to what Aristotle teaches us, we come to the chapter which discusses the speculations of the Stagyrte on memory, sleep, dreams, longevity. Aristotle had a glimpse of the association of ideas, if he did not anticipate Hume. He shared what Mr. Lewes regards as the flagrant error of the moderns, in regarding nutrition as most active during sleep. Dreams he sagaciously regarded as the after-motions of sensation. We now approach the chapter (XV.) which deals with Aristotle's work, the History of Animals, which M. Cuvier could 'not read without being ravished with astonishment.' Here is Mr. Lewes' description of the work:—

'Looked at historically, that is with reference to the works which for centuries succeeded it, the "History of Animals" is a stupendous effort; but looked at absolutely, that is in relation to the science of which it treats, it is an ill-digested, ill-compiled mass of details, mostly of small value. There is, strictly speaking, no science in it at all. There is not even a system which might look like science. There is not one good description. It is not an anatomical treatise; it is not a descriptive zoology; it is not a philosophy of zoology; it is a collection of remarks about animals.'—P. 271.

Taking one of the generalizations which Cuvier declares show how immense was Aristotle's acquaintance with particulars, Mr. Lewes shows how utterly false they are. For instance, man in proportion to his size has *not*, as Aristotle would represent

¹ Comm. on Thess. p. 84. Where see also the authorities quoted. 'Thomas Aquinas (Sum. p. 1, Qn. 118, Art. 1) made a distinction between the anima sensitiva and anima intellectiva [which latter only he held to be immortal] (which was similar to the distinction formerly made between ψυχή and πνεῦμα or νοῦς). The former is propagated in a physical manner, inasmuch as it is allied to other physicals, the latter is created by God. Friar Berthold illustrated the said theory in a popular way in his sermons, quoted by Kling, p. 209 (Grimm, p. 205): "As life is given to the child in his mother's womb, so the angel pours the soul into him, and God Almighty pours the soul with the angel into him."—Hagenbach, Hist. Doct. vol. ii. p. 3, Cl. For. Lib.

him, the largest and moistest brain. He expressly tells us, however, that the sketch is only an outline; but he never appears to have attempted any other classification than that suggested by the most obvious differences of animals. Indeed, until the time of Linnæus no important step was taken in this direction. Even the Stagyrite's great interpreter, Albertus Magnus, saw no system in his master's work. The treatise, on the other hand, contains the first dawn of a conception of philosophical anatomy. It presents the germ of that theory of analogues with which Goethe and G. St. Hilaire have done so much. The mention of a ruminant fish seems confirmed by Prof. Owen; and Aristotle's remarks on the voice of fishes are now largely confirmed and acknowledged. In his treatise on 'The Parts of Animals' (chaps. ii. and iii.), he points out the scientific error of classifications based upon negatives, a criticism which affects that classification of Lamarck, which divides animals into *vertebrata* and *invertebrata*. It is eminently unphilosophical to throw together as homogeneous all the very dissimilar creatures that want the vertebral column. This work Mr. Lewes regards as of great interest, not only for its materials, but because it is one of the earliest—may we not say *the* earliest?—attempt to found biology on comparative anatomy. Considering its innumerable blunders, every way this is substantial praise.

Mr. Lewes, in conclusion, declares that the result of his inquiry has been to modify considerably, but scarcely lessen, our idea of the greatness of Aristotle. He says:—

'It is unphilosophic exaggeration, destructive of the whole significance of history, to say that Aristotle "laid the bases" of any physical science. He laid no bases at all. He was no legislator. After every deduction has been made, the instinctive and popular appreciation of his greatness will be ratified by a large philosophy. Among the great heroes of humanity, his position must ever remain conspicuous. He claims precedence over hundreds who, under more fortunate conditions, have enriched science with priceless details. He rises superior to most of those who have illuminated science with great conceptions. And this superiority is claimed not only in virtue of his many achievements, but also in virtue of his native force. He had that kind of intellectual force not easily defined, and mainly to be estimated through its vast results—the force which creates epochs in the evolution of human progress—which is to be measured rather by its results immediate and remote. His mighty and eminently *inquiring* intellect would have been the first to welcome and extend the new discoveries. He would have sided with Galileo and Bacon against the Aristotelians.'—P. 382.

We have left out of our review of Aristotle's writings all mention of his Ethics, Rhetoric, and Poetics: for the simple reason that these works are well known and studied among us.

II. The authority of Aristotle became a despotism, and a devoted body of commentators arose, whose explanations too

often needed explanations. The earliest of these enthusiasts was Boethus, in the first century of this era; and the most eminent in the West, in the days of the *Renaissance*, was Boethius. We are not however to speak of the studies and devotion of individual philosophers, but of that world-wide recognition of the great sage which was brought about by the influence of royal patronage, and was also in a measure due to the conscious intellectual wants of great nations.

Aristotle, as we have already said, did not accompany his pupil on his Asian march. But one millennium afterwards he passed with a like irresistible progress through the South and East. Asia had redressed the wrongs she suffered at the hands of the West, by deluging the early Church with her theosophical speculations, inventing with prolific ingenuity every kind of heresy that could mar or obstruct the triumphs of the Gospel. A singular and unlooked-for retribution was at hand. One who acknowledged no allegiance to the faiths, who was connected with the life of the historical Dionysos, was nevertheless to be a merciful and beneficent conqueror. We do not profess to be deep in the philosophy of Mr. D'Israeli; we are not aware whether he allows any of that precedency which he claims for the House of Israel in all respects to be shared by the house of Ishmael; whether he permits the Arabs to be in any sense partakers of that Revelation whose area he will not allow to extend beyond Dan and Beersheba. However this may be, in the eighth century, and the second of the Hegira, from Bagdad to Cordova by the way of the south, the descendants of the Prophet had restored to the world the long-lost influence of learning. Equally certain it is that in this new régime the Jews were most invaluable helps: toiling as the Gibeonites of old, or serving as Benedictines. Whether the curious industry of the Jews, given so perseveringly to these unfriendly patrons, was prompted by their implacable hate of the Christian name and by the belief that the revival of Pagan literature would accomplish what Julian had attempted in vain by statcraft, must remain matter for speculation. Gibbon, with his usual accuracy, states the whole subject, when, with his unrivalled rhetoric, summarising in a few words the intellectual history of an age, he says, that the founder of the Peripatetics was 'restored by the Mohammedans of Spain to the Latin schools.'¹

The family of Ommeyah, one of whom had been secretary to the Prophet, and Abbas, the uncle, and Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, were the founders respectively of the white, the green, and the black dynasties among the Faithful. The Ommiades were esta-

¹ Decl. and Fall. chap. 52.

blished at Damascus; the Fatimites ruled in Tunis. The Abbasides, whose patrimony was Mecca, never resided there; and founded by Almansor, great-great grandson of Abbas, the *City of Peace*, or Bagdad, upon the Tigris. The power of the Abbasides could only be consolidated at the expense of the Believers and the extirpation of the whole family of Ommeyah, with the exception of one person. This royal youth, Abdalrahman, after long and romantic wanderings from the banks of the Euphrates to the banks of the Guadalquivir, succeeded in establishing at Cordova the throne of the Omniades, where it reigned for 280 years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees, till the final deposal of Hixem, 1031, closed the khaliphate of the race.¹ We have made this hurried statement of Mohammedan history with the view of recalling the facts to the minds of our readers, and at the same time pointing out how much the revival of letters at this age was due to the rivalry of antagonistic *infidel* dynasties. The founder of Bagdad was the first learned ruler of Islam. The ambassadors of his son and successor, Almamon, 'invited the Muses from their ancient seats.' But this change was to take place in the culture of philosophy. Whereas the Greek was only too well disposed to separate speculation from practice, it was the singular mission of the Arabs to unite them, and by a rapid change of character develop out of the soldier into the scholar, and in both capacities prove themselves, indirectly, the reformers of the faith and character of Christendom. The age of Arabian learning lasted till the great irruption of the Moguls, and covers a period of 500 years, the darkest in the history of Christendom. The University of Bagdad numbered on its books, as we would say, 6,000 graduates of all classes. The royal library of the Fatimites included 1,000,000 costly MSS. which were cheerfully lent out to the students of Cairo. The library of the Omniades contained 600,000 volumes, 44 of which were devoted to the catalogue alone. Cordova and its neighbourhood gave birth to above 300 writers, and upwards of 70 public libraries were formed in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. A large number of these volumes was no doubt devoted to the interpretation and tradition connected with the Koran; but also we know that the Arabians adopted the philosophy of Aristotle—and that his works, along with the works of Plato, Euclid, Hippocrates and Galen, were accumulated in their great depositaries of learning.²

¹ The Khaliphate of the Fatimites was extinguished by Saladin, 1171; that of Bagdad was finally extinguished in 1638; and since then the Sultan of Constantinople has reigned without competitor, supreme Head of the Mohammedan Religion, as successor of the Khalifs.

² Gibbon, whom we partly follow here, doubts, what we have elsewhere seen affirmed, that Plutarch was translated at the command of the Arab conqueror of Constantinople. A Syrian version of Homer, by a Christian Maronite, towards the end of the eighth century, is mentioned by Abulpharagius.

Almammon—we plead guilty to a preference for the old way of spelling the name—was the Cosmo de Medici of the East; and it is the glory of Cordova to have been the first to enrol in the community of authors, members of the gentler sex.

It was the Cæsars who introduced into the West the philosophy of the East. It was given to the Abassides to introduce into the East the philosophy of the West. As early as S. Augustine part of Aristotle had been translated into Latin; and as early as Justinian the works of the Stagyrice had been rendered into Syriac. Of all the writers of antiquity, he was the one who possessed special charms for the minds of the Faithful. His inartificial, as well as artless style, and the course of his philosophy, at no point trenching upon the sacred precincts of Islam, especially commended him to the Mohammedans. It was only however through the exercise of a considerable deal of casuistry that the Faithful were enabled to evade the ban under which the study of profane literature had been placed by the Prophet. Indeed, it was the homefelt need of learned and trustworthy physicians which drove the Faithful into this virtual disobedience. But the gain was not unmixed with loss. The Syriac versions of Bagdad (Syriac was the language of Bagdad) were rendered into Arabic. But whatever original Greek MSS. came into their hands, the Sons of the Prophet, after rendering them into their own dialect, consigned to the flames. The same fate awaited the Stagyrice among the Fatimites of Cairo, where no less than twenty crowded schools propagated the wisdom of Aristotle. With the increase of knowledge arose religious divisions; and Aristotle, appealed to as arbiter in theological disputes, is directly or indirectly responsible for the formation of the six sects, with their seventy-three subdivisions. His authority was urged to hide the absurdities of the Koran, or to force it into yielding a metaphysical meaning. A systematic form was given to this new philosophical theology, or, as it was called, *Al-Kalam*, or the Wisdom of Words, by *Almawakif*, who may be regarded as the S. Thomas Aquinas of Islam. The next in rank to him was probably *Abu-Nasr*, who wrote innumerable treatises on different books of Aristotle, and so far ranked as a classic, that he was translated into Hebrew; but pre-eminent above all was the illustrious and unfortunate *Ibn Sina*, or *Avicenna* (978), the cherished master of *Albertus Magnus*.¹ The demands of orthodoxy were much more felt among the Mohammedans of Spain. Thus *Avenzoar*, the pre-

¹ For a sketch of his life and romantic adventures, see Brucker, for whom in this place we are much indebted.

ceptor of Averrhœs, and Averrhœs himself, were imprisoned for suspected heterodoxy uttered at lecture, and noted down by hostile students. And Averrhœs, the fellow-pupil of Maimonides, was compelled to live in exile, where he died the year after the birth of Albertus Magnus (1206). A little earlier than Averrhœs flourished Ibn Badja, of Seville, one treatise by whom—on the Unity of Souls—was criticised by Albertus; but Averrhœs, or in his proper name Ibn Roschd, was reputedly the most illustrious of all the commentators of Aristotle. He was esteemed by the Saracens as equal to Aristotle himself, and was instructed by the celebrated Thophail of Seville, whose *Hai. Ebn. Yockdan* containing the substance, in its purity, of Aristotelian ethics has been so highly extolled by Leibnitz.¹

The first reflection awakened on reading the literary history of this age, is one that places Aristotle in even a higher position than yet we have perhaps thought him entitled to. Had he become known to the Saracens through the medium of his own language—had they thus been enabled to learn Aristotle from himself—how magnificent would have been the results! But what are the facts? The Saracens only touched Aristotle through the intervention of two translations. Jews for the most part translated the originals into Hebrew, and these Hebrew versions were again rendered into Arabic. And the Christian schools laboured under the further disadvantage, that they for the most part were dependent on Latin versions of these Hebrew or Arabic translations; versions not in any way likely to rectify original misinterpretations; versions which, by taking up into their renderings the extravagant glosses of the Saracenic commentators, succeeded only too well in making confusion more confounded. Indeed, it is only through Hebrew versions that the writings of Ibn Roschd have been preserved to us. Nor is this the whole statement of the case. Aristotle was to triumph over many other serious difficulties. In the first place, in the reign of Saladin, whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable, a very violent persecution had been directed against the philosopher, and whatever works of the Stagyrite could be found were committed to the flames by the command of the Sultan. Again, there was that difficulty already adverted to in the ethical and metaphysical works through which his influence was securely established, that they abound in references and allusions to facts and occurrences lying wholly outside the knowledge and experience of the Mohammedans. Nor in enumerating the difficulties which

¹ Quoted by Brucker, iii. 95, 96.

Aristotle was to overcome, can we leave unmentioned his at least constructive Atheism. How shall this agree with a system founded on the extremest assertion of monotheistical principles; and in practice characterised by an ethical pantheism? It is true that he has stated in his *Metaphysics* (Lib. i. c. 2.) ὁ τε γὰρ Θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἰτιον πᾶσι εἶναι, καὶ ἀρχή τις. But his philosophy was so far penetrated with the principles of the Stoics, that if he regarded the Deity as an intelligent self-existence, he denied that His providence extends to individuals.¹ Lastly, the progress of Aristotle was accomplished at a time when Christendom had sunk into the uttermost intellectual apathy and indolence. Those fruitful conflicts with one another of philosophic minds, the exciting influence of literary emulation to which knowledge in our age is so deeply indebted, were unknown. In the midst, and in despite of, these serious obstructions, Arabian philosophy achieved its triumph.

Whatever knowledge of the heavenly bodies the Arabs possessed, was lost in their astrological calculations. Whatever chemical truths they may have reached, were allowed to perish in the experiments of alchymy. But that Rhetoric which the writer had drawn up with the hope of dispersing the ideal dreams of the Academy, or demolishing the idols of the Agora, was destined to originate a new and more obstructive form of sophistry where hitherto it was unknown; and the schoolmen, Arabian and Christian, were to found upon the principles of the Stagyrice a practice more bewildering than that of Gorgias and Protagoras. Then the works of Aristotle upon Ethics are in themselves invaluable as a testimony, from the side of Nature, to the truth of Revelation. They furnish a testimony, in a measure sublime, to the existence of the good, and to the inability of man to achieve it. But Aristotle was compelled to contemplate man as simply a *politic* animal, as πολιτικὸς φύσει. How shall the Aristotelian πολιτεία be reconciled with the ecclesiastical life of Islam, or of the Church? In the one case the classical polity had to accommodate itself to an wholly alien system; in the latter it was absorbed into the higher organization of the Church. This advantage the Church possesses over Islam. The rigid definitiveness of the latter, its essential uncatholicness, makes it the more surprising that Western philosophy, or philosophy in any shape, should be able to penetrate it. But the victory was, as we have already hinted, a dangerous one. An inevitable rationalism, while carrying the system through the perils of an intellectual age,

¹ On this point compare Warburton's 'Divine Legation,' book iii. § 4

eventually undermined all the foundations of the Arabian Faith. The faltering utterances of Aristotle as to the existence of a God gave a fatal bias to the schools of philosophy. Averrhoes was pre-eminently the rationalist of Mohammedanism. In him, perhaps, first we discover the point of contact between the metaphysical speculations of the East and of the West. So much so indeed, that if we had not known that the dawn of philosophy among the Faithful had preceded the conquest of Hindostan, we might have imagined that the schools of Cordova had sought for inspiration by the great river of the East. Nothing can be more definite than the doctrine of the Koran as to the divine nature, the Θεὸς σφαιρικός the spherico-solid Being, as the Greeks rendered the word *Elsemed*, used in the Koran for God,¹ and also importing *eternal*. God, personal, independent, distinct from nature, and the cause and ruler of all. Averrhoes believed none of this. With him matter was eternal; with him the Godhead was indeterminate, the human reason was impersonal. The premises which led unavoidably to these conclusions were furnished by the Prophet himself in his doctrine of Predestination. Human will there is none. Reason is impersonal. The individual only emerges to be absorbed by the action of undiscoverable laws. Averrhoes is the intellectual progenitor of Spinoza.

How does Averrhoes connect the isolated Deity with the impersonal creature, the Νόησις νοήσεως and the perishable and impressible mind? In each mind there is, besides its own passive essence corruptible, which Aristotle held, an active and informing intellect. This he identifies with the impersonal God of Aristotle; and thus, by resorting to the gnostics, escapes from the virtual epicureanism of his master. Some of the Faithful, advancing a step further in the same direction, regarded this Universal and Unique Reason as lodged in invisible, intelligences—the mediators of thought. Our readers will detect in this necessarily hasty sketch how very little original is to be found in the forms of modern speculation. It is quite

¹ In the twelfth century the throne of the Cæsars was occupied by Andronicus, who had apparently that same theological itch which afflicted our James I. The Greek Catachism had pronounced anathemas against the deity of the Mohammedans—the Spherico-solid Being. The Emperor ordered the anathema to be obliterated on account of the offence it gave to those already, or in the process of being, converted to the faith from Islam. Hence arose a very bitter dispute. The Bishops declared that the anathema was only directed against the Mohammedan error, that phantom God which the impostor held and taught could neither engender nor be engendered. Whereas the Faith is in God as the *Father*. After a great deal of controversy, the Bishops consented with undisguised reluctance to transfer the anathema 'from the God of Mahomet to Mahomet himself; his doctrine, and his sect.' Mosheim, cent. xii. cap. 3, § 17.

true that Ibn Roschd often misunderstood, and as S. Thomas argues, very frequently misrepresents his master : it is equally plain that he is no servile follower. He is the link between the scepticism of Heathendom and Christendom. Between 'Universal Intellect,' as he shaped the doctrine of Aristotle, and the one Universal Substance to which Spinoza gives the attributes of Deity, there is little, if any, difference. The influence of the great Arabian 'commentator' was exercised most permanently over the Spanish Jews, of whom Maimonides was the chief, and it is through another Jew that his philosophy has been popularised in Europe. Of the connexion of Aristotle and his followers with the Arabians, it may be said that a happy instinct should have warned the Saracens to dread, *Danaos et dona ferentes*. Philosophy, like another Delilah, discovered the fatal secret of the strength of Islam, and, by forbidden charms, robbed it of itself. What Christendom has to dread is, that the present intellectual torpor may foster into new life the inherent and traditionary fanaticism of the Arabs.

III. We pass to the third scene of this eventful history. Not more startling than the presence of Saul among the prophets is the presence of Aristotle among the professors of Islam ; not merely stimulating their labours in the pursuit of the natural sciences, but subduing the Koran to the rules of a scholastic theology, and, in his Ethics, furnishing the Saracens with the principles of life and conduct. We are now to view him in the congregation of the saints ; raising among apostles his unmitred head, and speaking with authority though a man of unanointed lips ; thenceforward we shall see not only Jews and Saracens, but all Christendom sitting at the feet of the Stagyrte. The Arabian and Christian scholasticism began under very similar circumstances. It was the schools connected with the mosques which fostered the growth of Aristotelianism among the Saracens. It was in the schools connected with the religious houses in the time of Charlemagne that that scholasticism which has exerted so much influence over the Christian Faith began. Platonism, under Erigena and Ficinus, was 'the morning and the evening of the middle ages,' but Aristotle was the noon. Indeed, so many as thirty-six condemnations of Aristotle by the Church have been reckoned up, The *Preparatio Aristotelica*, which prepared Christendom for the Stagyrte, was the work of S. Augustin. If the principles of Aristotle could be found to fit in with the fatalism of Mahomet, they could also be made to harmonize with the predestinarianism of S. Augustin, and develop the undisguised Calvinism of S. Thomas. At the outset, Origen had brought the philosophy of Plato into disrepute. Then Plato's notions regarding pre-existence presented

some startling resemblances to the speculations of Pelagius. What little public influence was yet left to the Academy, received its death-blow when the dialectical subtleties of Aristotle were imported into the controversies of the Church. Yet still, until the thirteenth century, Plato continued the favourite author of ecclesiastics. Then came a change. By awakening and exercising the intellectual faculties of the Saracens, Aristotle secured the permanence of the whole system of Islam. Arabian scholasticism has supplied to the religion of the false prophet the sustenance which the Koran could not yield. The time has passed away when Christian scholasticism will any longer be coldly patronized or be treated with contempt. That it has been perverted and misapplied is but too true. That it has at all times aided theological accuracy, that it has helped to present the truth in clearer outline, and to fit the mind to embrace that truth so presented,¹ more intelligently, can be questioned by no dispassionate student of philosophy in the middle ages. To quote the memorable language of Ullmann, it was 'in its commencement a truly scientific advance upon the past; in its entire course a great dialectic preparatory school of Christianity in the West; in its completion a grand and highly finished production of the human mind.'²

It was the singular fortune of Aristotle to be the favourite of kings. From Alexander the Great, in relation to whom he 'holds not an humbler or less important place' among 'historical

¹ The likeness, in style, between Aristotle and the schoolmen is remarkable enough. 'It would be a subject worthy of Bayle to inquire what had become of the gifts of wit and humour, and indeed of almost all the rhetorical endowments in the age of the scholastic philosophy. The jejune dryness of the schoolmen's method precludes even the peculiarities of different styles; so that judging merely from the *manner*, it is as hard to discern one from the other as it is to distinguish a demonstration of Pappus's from one of Euclid's. There is, however, something of the essence of *wit* in the feats of logical dexterity which they exhibit; a brief and pointed retort of an argument, producing much the same sort of "gay surprise," as a witty repartee. This is the only ornament of the scholastic style. All the richer flowers of eloquence seem to have been nipped by the piercing atmosphere of keen dialectics. In coming directly to the stress of a question, and avoiding all merely personal adjuncts, the schoolmen may be proposed as models of controversialists. "As for the schoolmen," says Bishop Berkeley, "I do not in the least think the Christian religion concerned in the defence of them, their tenets, or their method of handling them: but whatever futility there may be in their notions, or inelegancy in their language, in pure justice to the truth we must own, they neither banter, nor rail, nor declaim in their writings, and are so far from showing fury or passion, that perhaps an impartial judge will think the minute philosophers are by no means to be compared with them for keeping close to the points, or for temper and good manners." *Crito*, Dial. iv. § 19.' From a prize essay on *Logomachy*, by the present Bishop of Killaloe, published by Parker, 1840, p. 76. South, on behalf of the schoolmen had a 'very pretty quarrel' with Dean Sherlock. *Trithemism charged on Dean Sherlock*, p. 86—88.

² Quoted by Hagenbach. Vol. i. p. 401.

men,¹ he passed under the patronage of the Cæsars, the earlier members of which family were devoted to the peripatetic philosophy: from the Cæsars he came under the protection of the Emperors. The great Ghibelline Emperor, Frederick II. was the first Christian who imported Aristotle in his oriental attire into Europe. It was he, the true historical man of the middle ages, as grand and brilliant in conception as Alexander himself, but, alas for Europe, not so prosperous in execution—it was he who at Roncaglia invested Aristotle with another empire, and surrendered to his sceptre the whole domain of Roman jurisprudence.² Already, however, the influence of Aristotle had been established silently in Europe. John Damascene, a saint in the hagiology of both the Eastern and Western Church, though himself curiously combining a modified mysticism with the principles of Aristotle, had already laid the foundation of the scholasticism of the Eastern Church. From him, the Nestorians and Jacobites learned the principles of Aristotle, and soon employed against the Faith the knowledge thus gained. In a former number of this review,³ we called attention to the pseudo-nominalism of Abelard. Among his contemporaries, the most distinguished thinkers had submitted themselves to the authority of the Stagyrte. All these scattered rays of thought were gathered up in Peter the Lombard, who is usually named as marking the first or introductory period of Christian scholasticism, when the endeavour was made to utilize Dialectics for the promotion of Theology. This, however, was but a prefatory age, and only introductory to the public recognition of Aristotle. Then in Aquinas we see Aristotelianism merging into Christian theology, and the Stagyrte almost changed into a catechumen. It was Albertus, surnamed the Great, who first introduced to Christendom, and interpreted, Aristotle in his integrity. Then ensued, after a little time, that *Ἀριστοτελομανία*, of which Melancthon speaks (who, from a bitter opponent, became the respectful follower of Aristotle), which ran to such a pitch, that in religious assemblies the Ethics of Aristotle were read ‘instead of the gospel.’⁴ None of these extravagancies are to be traced to the good Bishop of Ratisbon.

¹ Schlegel, Phil. Hist. Bohn, p. 69.

² Ibid. p. 377.

³ Art. S. Bernard. No. cxxi. vol. xlv. p. 43.

⁴ Our readers will remember that there are three works on Ethics ranked among the *Opera* of Aristotle. The Nicomachean, the Eudemian, and the Great Ethics. Mr. Lewes rather easily accepts the tradition that the first of these three is so called because composed for Nicomachus, Aristotle's son, as Cicero made his Offices for the instruction of Marcus. But the question is still *sub judice*. In the same position stands the question as to the contents of the first and second works, and the character of the third. Spengel is of opinion that Aristotle is the author of the first, Eudemus of Rhodes the author of the second, and that the Great Ethics are

There is, indeed, a preliminary inquiry. How came Aristotle, whom Tertullian had denounced as the father of heresies, whom the enemies of the Cross had constituted the supreme interpreter of their whole system, to gain admission at all into Christendom? We may well believe that the tritheistical speculations in which Abelard had once indulged, and the political heresies of Arnold of Brescia, did not facilitate the progress of the Grecian sage.¹ But to speak with accuracy, Abelard, *par excellence* the intellectual man of the middle ages, was more of a Platonist than an Aristotelian. Perhaps he was too original to be fairly characterised by either designation. The relationship between him and the Stagyrte is one not of doctrinal traditions, but *intellectual affinity*, as Ritter has acutely expressed it.² In the

a mere paraphrase of the latter, and wholly unauthentic. Spengel too concludes that Eudemus has copied for his fourth, fifth, and sixth books, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the Nicomachean Ethics.

¹ In the early part of the thirteenth century (1209) Aristotle's works were burnt at Paris, and prohibited under pain of excommunication, because they gave occasion to new heresies. This arose from Dinant's thesis, that 'God is the primary matter or substance of all things.' In the sixteenth century, Francis I., who, as has been rightly remarked, if he deserved his title of *Protector of Letters*, did not surely deserve that of *Protector of Reason*, issued *letters patent* against Peter Ramus for venturing to adopt an improvement in Dialectics, which seemed to reflect on Aristotle. The king declares in this instrument that he was moved to this course by his anxiety for the progress of science and sound literature in France. In the early part of the seventeenth century, the Parliament of Paris passed an edict, denouncing, *à peine de la vie*, any who ventured to advance opinions at variance with the conclusions of the infallible Stagyrte. Closely parallel to this is the remark of Beza: 'Ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere.' Quoted by Mosheim, cent. xvi. c. ii. § 34. Calvin's Director of the College at Geneva, appointed 1588, was restricted to interpretations of Aristotle. In the seventeenth century, the position of philosophy was very curious. The illuminati of Europe were then divided into two classes, the *Peripatetics* and *Chemists*. The former bigotedly devoted to the authority of Aristotle, and more affected by the commentary than the teaching itself of the Grecian philosopher, held very generally the professorial chairs. They in fact occupied the place which at an earlier time Platonism was compelled to assume, when it was confined to the religious houses. Meanwhile the chemists spread all over Europe, adopting 'the obscure and ambiguous title of Rosicrucian Brothers.' They are supposed to have borrowed this name from the arms of Luther—a cross placed upon a rose, and by this means they were received very cordially everywhere. Their attacks on the peripatetics were bitter and uncompromising. They denounced their opponents as corrupters at once of nature and grace. Their founder was Robert Fludd, a man admittedly of 'surprising genius;' one Michael Mayer, and, a man more familiar to us all as the Teutonic Theosopher, Jacob Boehmen. Happily for the peripatetic school, if not for the world in general, Canon Gassendi, by his physical discoveries, and Descartes, by his metaphysical labours, attracted the attention of the educated, were attacked and worsted by the peripatetics, and eventually came to misunderstandings with one another. See Mosheim, cent. xvii. sect. 1, § 164—167.

² See a paper by Ritter in Schneidewin's *Philologus*, translated by Arnold. In this particular part of his contribution 'On the History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy,' to the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana,' Mr. Maurice is not so accurate and happy as might be wished. He seems in his account of the twelfth century to be insensible to the deep but unavowed influence of Plato. But compare Mosheim, cent. xv. cap. i. § 5.

middle ages, for the most part, Aristotle was the master in logic, Plato in philosophy. Students cultivated both teachers. Abelard's doctrine of the Trinity may seem to depart greatly from the realism of Plato, and to be borrowed from Aristotle. Abelard was accustomed to explain the inexplicable doctrine of the Trinity by the figure of *form, matter, and that which is compounded of the two*. Perhaps Abelard derived this in the first instance from Aristotle. Anyhow, Aristotle himself attributed it (Met. i. 5.) to Plato. The other image, that of *seal and wax and impression*, is to be found, as the preceding, in the 'Timæus.' What Ritter contends for in the essay of which we are here availing ourselves, is, that while every age may present men intellectually descended from, and representing Aristotle, it is *not* possible that 'in every age men may have adopted and applied that method of explanation which is contained in the system of Aristotle, because men have not been in every age acquainted with that system.'

The pontifical denunciation, which in a later age was to be launched against Aristotle, was for the present, when it was already prepared and in hand, suspended through the influence of the sons of S. Dominic and S. Francis, who at this crisis effected what the Jesuits carried forward, subsequently, with their customary energy and persistence. In some respects indeed the Mendicant Orders in the thirteenth century were what the Jesuits became in the sixteenth. They were *nati rebus agendis*. They joined themselves to the secular movements of the time, but without abandoning the religious character of their vocation; and unquestionably, great as have been the influence of the followers of Loyola upon the world, far greater and more lasting, and more unmixedly beneficial has been the influence exercised by the Mendicant Orders; by the serene masculine discernment of the Dominican Order, and the more feminine, sentimental and impressible intellectualism of the followers of S. Francis. The Mendicant Orders saved Aristotle. *Utcumque ferent ea facta minores*, it was they who restored Aristotle to the Christian schools and the authority of the Chair. It was among the practised intellects of those Brotherhoods that the maxim was advanced, that not only was Aristotle not to be shunned because reputedly the fautor of heresy, but that by a right use of Aristotle—as Maurice states it—thenceforward heresy would become an impossibility; and so Hiram was employed by Solomon to assist in building the Temple. Of the intellectual progeny of these great Orders the most illustrious were the Suabian philosopher, Albert, and his pupil the Italian theologian Aquinas, who were Dominicans; the British dialectician Duns Scotus, and his pupil the British

politician Occam; the connecting link between these pairs was the Italian mystic John Bonaventura.

Our readers will probably remember a pathetic incident recorded at page 93 of Archdeacon Churton's 'Life of Pearson.' The sad cry of the great theologian, 'O sad, whose are all these books?' recurs to one's thoughts in presence of the TWENTY-ONE FOLIOS of Albertus, the first to give to the world a full and something like a trustworthy commentary upon the great philosopher. The devotion of Albertus to his master has exposed him to the ungracious title of Aristotle's Ape, which, as implying that he was the imitator of Aristotle, Ritter has shown to be wholly unmerited; that in fact Albert, through the disadvantage of a Latin version in his own day, arrived at a fuller 'knowledge of Aristotle's meaning, than any modern has done with the aid of sound Greek philology.'¹ I shall close this paper with a brief review of his philosophy and his life.

Albertus, like his master, was an *organic writer*. Hence the difficulty of judging of him by any portions of his writings. Aristotle was the master of method; he is perfect in his arrangement; in the brevity of order. In this, too, Albertus was distinguished; but his passion for arrangement injured his treatment of ordinary subjects.² He differs from Aristotle and Averrhoes in concluding that logic is a science. On the great question of universals, do they pre-exist, or are they 'created by the abstracting powers of the intellect?' here again he differs from his master. In physics he follows Aristotle almost servilely; but he lays down a division of philosophy which is original. He divides it into the primary, the mathematical, and physical. The former, which includes theology, he ranks the highest. Physics, which he argues, is legitimately accounted a science, must first be learned. We have seen that the master has but imperfectly recognised the necessary correlation between the ascending complexity of organization and the ascending complexity of vital phenomena. Albertus was more happy: maintaining in himself a sense of that free harmony of being which connects in ever-varying modulations the insect with the archangel. He stopped short, indeed, of that dream of earlier and later minds, that—

Through the all-embracing form of man
Out of the exhaustless Reservoirs and Wells
Of God's own fineless Being, down the chain
And links mysterious of created life
To things insentient in their feeblest type,

¹ Ritter, quoted by Maurice.

² In this sketch we are much indebted to Maurice: 'Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy.'

The Power and germs of Immortality
For ever glide, to quicken and to feed
The innermost yearnings, and the keen desires
Of the vexed creature feeling after God.

Though adopting, in Ethics, the teaching of Aristotle, because of his exhaustive method in handling that subject, Albertus Platonizes not a little. But throughout his Politics he never falters in his loyalty. In Theology and Ontology he is again more independent. The science of Being he regards as the primary philosophy. But *currente rota* he is once more an Aristotelian. He is constrained to resort to psychological maxims. And sense, memory, reason, the principles of knowledge, and so the forms of definite science, are introduced.

But, at this time, more important than any versions or improvements of Aristotle, are the Theological treatises of Albertus. As a collector of patristic authorities, and as an expositor himself, he is a very valuable help in the study of the Holy Scriptures. Unfortunately, he is out of the reach of the many; and, perhaps, would ere now have been forgotten as a commentator, but for the copious use made of him by Cornelius a Lapide. We must not forget, however, how much service Mr. Neale has rendered to the Church by his work on the Psalms,¹ in which he makes ample use of Albertus. This constitutes one of the peculiar charms of the book. But Albertus has other claims to notice, in this connexion, than those based upon his labours as a commentator and expositor. In point of fact, he holds a prominent position in the history of dogma. It will not be perhaps too much to say that, but for Albertus, we should have been ignorant of Bonaventura as pre-eminently the Parthenolatrist of Christendom. Rejecting, with his own illustrious pupil, and our own great archbishop, the heretical fancy of an immaculate conception, in the homage which he offered to the Mother of God he united the rapturous warmth of S. Bernard and somewhat of the exaggerated adoration which has made so notorious the name of John of Fidenza. We should be compelled to borrow the language of romantic chivalry if we were to attempt to delineate the character of his devotion. And it is all strictly human. There are, properly speaking, no deificatory regards, however they may be so constructively. 'Et hoc fecit Spiritus Sancti purgatio quæ prævenit beatam Virginem, purgans et purificans sanguinem, ex quo sanctum est Corpus Christi.' This passage occurs in the Treatise on the Mass (*De Sacrificio Missæ*, Tr. iii. cap. 5, Opp. tom. 21) which, with the accom-

¹ Why is it, may we venture to ask, that this valuable work remains uncompleted? The solitary 1 vol. bears the date of Epiphany, 1860.

panying treatise on the Eucharist, we heartily wish could be placed in the hands of our clergy. The sacrifice he defines as so called 'secundum quod a nobis Deo est oblatum et a Deo sacratum.' (cap. vi.) The '*Fiat Corpus*' is pronounced *ad incorporationem*. The '*Fiat Sanguis, ex quo spirat Spiritus Tuus Spiritum Sanctum nobis influens*' (Tr. iii. c. 10).¹ The fifth chapter of the second tract in the treatise on the Eucharist, is excellent on the subject of the communion of the cup. In a preceding chapter he speaks of the mystical change of the bread as not effected till the transubstantiation of the cup. And the more modern opinions are pronounced '*falsæ et valde propinquæ ad heresim.*' It is curious that he was an advocate (vi. § 4, c. 3) for infrequent celebrations, '*quia nimio usu vilesce faciant sacramentum.*' The mystical change itself he seems to have connected restrictedly with the enunciation of the words of institution, thus departing from the great body of Catholic tradition. The change was accomplished, according to Albertus, *in instanti*, not *successivè*, notwithstanding what has been just said above; and either *signo manûs*, or *oculto verbo*, or *vitrate Divinitatis* (Tr. iii. c. 4). This surely in any case. We come then to the question which is connected with this change sacramental.

Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον our readers will possibly exclaim. Unhappily the connexion is too strong. We have just seen how the Saracenic schoolmen, refining on their master, reduced the religion of Mecca to a system of scarcely disguised pantheism. No violence really was done to the premises by which this conclusion became unavoidable. The whole system of Latin Christendom, as an ecclesiastico-dogmatic system, rests on the tenet of transubstantiation; and *that* rests, more or less, on the teaching of Aristotle. It is beyond question that Mahommedanism would have been struck dead soon by its frigid and unatoning monotheism, but for the schoolmen. An inexorable logic has committed a large section of the Church to conclusions that scarcely militate more against the truth of grace than they contradict the truths of nature.

In truth, in the God-upheld phenomena of the Host and Cup we have pantheism formally advanced. We have, what in ecclesiastical language may be denominated, either Docetism or Eutychianism. All the religious conceptions—or at least

¹ As considerable discussion is abroad respecting the position of the Celebrant, it may be well to say that Albertus requires the priest to stand (Euch. Tr. ii. c. 1) *in dextro cornu Altaris* (agreeing with *ad cornu Altaris* of S. Gregory), grounding his decision on the Scriptural precedent (Luke i. 11. It is God's place. Acts vii. 35; Eph. i. 20; Col. iii. 1; Heb. i. 3, viii. 1, xii. 2; 1 Pet. iii. 20; Rev. i. 20, ii. 1, v. 1.—7), and '*quia per dextram spiritualia significantur.*'

the main predominant one—of a vast communion having been fused in this Aristotelian mould, the mischief may be said to be almost irremediable. Christendom appears seeking, by knowledge borrowed from this world, by mere psychical wisdom, to know that which is supernatural; and Christendom is arriving, by the natural reason, at that knowledge of the material existence which God has declared can only be acquired by Faith. 'It is 'by Faith we understand (*νοοῦμεν*)' the mystery of the visible creation (Heb. xi. 3). Here, then, we have Aristotle undermining the very foundations of Christian truth. We cannot present this whole subject in a more connected, effective, and popular way than by placing before the reader the following extracts from a work, the *Appendix* of which is very valuable.¹ Referring to the theory of actual and physical existence borrowed by the schoolmen from Aristotle, Mr. Knott says—

'According to this hypothesis, every actually existing thing consists of matter and form. Matter has no independent existence by itself, but is mere possibility of being, and is made actual only by the accession of form. Now the actualization can only take place in an individual thing. The form is that which makes a thing to be what it is, and not something else. The form is really one with the individual thing which is actualized by it. At the same time, the form is an object to the intellect of intelligent beings, who are in different degrees capable of apprehending it, and of producing on themselves a conception of it, as abstracted from matter; and this conception exists, as, so to speak, an *intelligible* substance in the mind which has formed it in itself. The divine mind has produced all individual things. It has originated their *forms*—and our minds are capable of producing in themselves conceptions of these forms. These conceptions are in our minds an object to them, and they are true and valid conceptions, in so far as they are derived from phenomena according to the innate laws of the mind itself. "The form is such that when removed the given nature infallibly vanishes." By the observation of phenomena, we enter into some apprehension of the forms themselves on which particular natures depend; we know them, in a measure truly, through the phenomena, and, be it observed, only through the phenomena which they determine. But the schoolmen followed a method of thought in respect to being, *οὐσία*, which led them away from phenomena and actual existence into a region of abstractions. And some of them even attempt to pass over from logic to a knowledge of Being, or in other words, to convert the art of reasoning into a science of Being. Doubtless things actually exist in a reverse order from that in which, by our natural faculties, we come to the knowledge of them. Now the method of logical abstraction appears to offer an easy way by which to rise at once to the conception of being as a whole, so as to be able to classify and arrange the form in scientific order and dependence. By this method the most general and abstract of all conceptions comes to be at the top of the scale—a conception of "being" abstracted from all qualities or properties—a conception of which it is hard to say whether it represents

¹ 'The Supper of the Lord,' by J. W. Knott, M.A. Fellow of Brazenose College, late Vicar of S. Mary's, Leeds. Except with regard to these extracts, in the sense we employ them, we wish it to be understood that we express no approval of a work which seems to impugn the actuality, in the incomprehensible and transcendental mystery, if not the very existence of the Real Presence.

everything or nothing, or of which, perhaps, one may say that it represents, logically, everything, and actually nothing. Akin to this logical conception of "being," or substance abstracted from all properties and qualities, is the conception which belongs to the scholastic physics—(derived apparently from S. Augustine, Confess. l. xii) of "*materia prima*," as standing between nothing and everything, potentially everything, a subject capable of receiving any form, but having no actual existence without form. Matter was by abstraction thought of, apart from all form; but it was admitted that, so divested, it never did, and never can exist. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the schoolmen, expressly asserts that, in this supposed state matter has no existence, neither is it cognisable, or an object to our intellect; and again, that matter is concreated with its former (*Summa I. a. Quæst. 15, art. 3, ad. 3; cf. Quæst. 7, art. 2*). Still there was present in the minds of men the conception of material substance divested of all properties, qualities, and phenomena, but the possible subject of any. This conception, manifestly and confessedly, is the product of the understanding, and exists only in the understanding. But it is precisely this conception which has opened a wide door for mistake and equivocation in respect to the doctrine of transubstantiation. [Philosophically speaking, the primary falsehood of the scholastic physics appears to be the conception, that the ultimate elements of matter really change from one form into another. On the contrary, there is every reason for believing that matter was created in minute indivisible particles, having size, shape, and numerical proportions, according to their several kinds, and that from its own proper form or nature each of these atoms never departs. In the compounded bodies indeed into which atoms enter as constituents, one form takes the place of another, but the elementary bodies themselves never really pass from one form into another. The conception that they do thus change, is obviously akin both to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to the pantheistic conception of the universe, as an everchanging thought, or emanation of the *Anima Mundi*.] Substance, *οὐσία*, is either actual as it exists in "*rerum natura*," a substance, that is to say, in the whole order of created, individual substances or things; and, in this sense, it is perfectly known by the Divine Mind, and may be imperfectly, and yet in a manner truly known to us through experience; or it is logical, a mere product of thought, a conception formed by abstraction for the purposes of thought. Now it is very easy in thinking or speaking, to pass from the one to the other, and to put the logical conception of abstract substance in the place of actual substance, and, as affects the question before us, in the place of corporeal or material substance, as it really exists, and as God concreated it, compounded, if so be, of matter and form.

The schoolmen held, and the Church of Rome holds now, we are told, that the "*quidditas*" or substance of a thing, does not occupy place, and is an object to intellect alone, and when the substances of the bread and wine are said to be changed into the substances of the Lord's Body and Blood, we are led to infer that what is meant is, that the *intelligible* substances are changed into the *intelligible* substances. But what is meant by the *intelligible* substance of a material subsistence or thing, such as bread and wine? It cannot be bare matter without form, for, as we have seen, matter has no existence without form, and is not by itself *intelligible*, or an object of intellect. Is it then the essential form which makes a thing to be what it is? If so, Romanists would be obliged to assert that the bread is changed into the soul of the Lord; for, according to the hypothesis of Aristotle and the schoolmen, which the Church of Rome has authoritatively adopted [Council of Vienne, A.D. 1311-12], the soul is the substantial form of the human body. And again, what are the forms which make these particular objects to be bread and wine, if all their constituents, properties, and phenomena, be put out of view? Bread and wine must have forms corresponding to their kind, as actual, physical, individual

subsistences or things, existing in the world, just as the Lord's body has a form corresponding to its kind, as an animated organism actually existing in heaven.¹

It has been above said that "form" is that which makes the thing to be what it is, and without which it would not be what it is, and it may be added, without which it would not receive the name that it has. In this sense "form" is equivalent to the theological term "*ιδιότης*" or "proprietas." The name of a thing denotes its form or "proprietas." The name and form of a thing must always go together. Now since in the sacramental bread after consecration, its physical properties all remain unchanged, it remains that by intelligible substance must be meant that *conception of substances, as divested of all properties, qualities, and phenomena, which the understanding produces in itself by abstraction* (a statement involving a confusion which is in fact the burden and difficulty of the creed in question). Now since this abstract substance or "quidditas," is a mere conception, existing only in the understanding, and not really in the actual things themselves, nor anywhere in "*rerum natura*" it would be absurd, if it were not dishonest, to confound it, as if equivalent with any real substance or actual thing which presents phenomena to our senses, which was concreated by God with its form or proper nature according to its kind, and which becomes an object to our intellect through the phenomena which that form determines. But really the Roman assertion is that the *whole* substance of the bread is changed into the *whole* substance of the Lord's body; and the same is asserted likewise of the wine and His blood. The *whole* substance can itself be nothing else than the actual individual thing, consisting of the matter and the essential form which constitutes it an actual subsistence or thing; and the term "whole substance" in the foregoing assertion, either means a bare mental conception of the whole substance, consisting of matter and form, in which case there is again a gross equivocation; or it means the actual thing, whether the bread or the body of the Lord; and in this case there is a contradiction to the Catholic faith, for we believe that His human body retains its "proprietas" as an actual individual organism, and has undergone no change, and subsists now in no mode of subsistence, inconsistent with its retaining its proper nature as a human body. As we believe that the Lord's Body and Blood keep their own "proprietas," the same are we to believe of the bread and wine. The mind, by an innate law, infers from phenomena that there is a real subject or actual thing which presents them. And again, the properties and phenomena of an individual thing, or even certain of them, remain unaltered, the mind naturally infer that the thing itself remains unaltered. And thus, inasmuch as the physical properties and phenomena of the bread and wine remain unaltered, we legitimately infer that AS ACTUAL PHYSICAL SUBSTANCES they are unchanged, and continue after consecration exactly the same individual things which they were before it.

Perhaps it will be only just to say, that the schoolmen stood

¹ 'Nature is either apprehended by the intellect or mere abstract thought, *ἐν ψυχῇ θεωρεῖται*, for it has no subsistence by itself; or it is apprehended as a common nature, *κοινῶς*, and as in all the subsistences of the same form or kind, joining them together, and is called nature considered in the species; or entirely the same nature is apprehended as having acquired to itself accidents in a single subsistence, and is called nature considered in an individual, *ἐν ἀτόμῳ*, being the same with nature considered in the species. When God the Word was made flesh, He did not take upon Him nature as apprehended in mere abstract thought, for that would not have been an incarnation, but an illusion and a feigning of incarnation; neither did He take nature as considered in the species. He took on Him a first-fruit of our lump, not as if it subsisted by itself and was denominated an individual previously, and so was assumed by Him, but as having had its beginning of existence in His own Personality. For the Person of God the Word became the principle of Personality to the flesh.'—S. John Damascene, *De Orthodox. Fid.* b. iii. c. 11.

halfway between the '*sensualiter*' dogma proposed to Berengarius, and the more pretentious sensuism of the Council of Trent. Thus Lombard confesses himself unable to explain the *modus* of the change. Innocent himself affirmed that the '*naturales proprietates*' remained, the '*paneity*' 'and *vineity*;' and even advanced a theory as to the reconversion of the Host into its original natural propriety. It was in accordance with these comparatively moderate views that Albertus taught; and with this extract in his own semibarbarous Latin, from the work on the Eucharist already noticed (Tr. i. c. 4, vol. xxi. p. 102—105), we must close this part of our subject.

'Modus autem transubstantionis hujus materiæ in corpus Christi valde difficilis est ad determinandam. Ad solvendam igitur istam difficultatem dicimus, quod sicut Christus assumendo sibi naturam humanam speciali et supernaturali usus est assumptione et mutatione, et sicut in uniendo sibi hominem assumptum speciali et supernaturali usus est unione, ita in Sacramenti confectione speciali utitur Christus mutatione et supernaturali.—Sic etiam in Sacramento novo modo confectionis utitur, quo conficitur sacramentaliter panis in Corpus Domini, ita quod substantia panis nec annihilatur, nec alteratur, neque secundum substantiam mutatur, sed sine omni additione vel mutatione tota substantia panis in materia et forma panis convertitur in Corpus Christi.—Et hanc conversionem Sapientes, et Doctores legis Christianæ proprio nomine transubstantionem vocaverunt. Dicendum quod hoc verbum *fiat* nullam notat mutationem naturalem, sed supernaturalem mutationem notat in substantia panis quo transit¹ in Corpus Christi.'

Thus far the wise and orthodox words of Albertus. He did not wholly subject his theology to his philosophy. This result was attained by Aquinas, to whom, and through whom, indirectly to Aristotle, we owe much of our accurate definitions of the term and grace of Sacraments.

And what is the story of the life of him who thus ruled Christendom in the thirteenth century? It is a story not without a poetry of its own, only that Father Jammy has been unable to discover it. Indeed, it is astonishing how much the biographer, if he deserves the name, has caught the trick of scholastic coldness; he is as jejune and as unfurnished as if those qualities were meritorious in themselves.

Albertus was a Suabian, of Lauingen, born of a wealthy and influential family, '*ex clarissimâ Bolstattensium comitum prosapiâ*.' There seems some doubt whether he owes his designation of Magnus to his achievements in letters, or to the fact that his family name was Groot. There is doubt also as to the date of his birth, whether it should be fixed in 1193, 1205, or 1206. When about sixteen years of age he joined the Dominicans, and was made Provincial of the Order in 1254.

¹ It will be remembered that *transition* was the scientific term in use before the new canonized term was adopted. Even Hugo de S. Victor employs it.

His studies he pursued at Padua; and he seems to have acquired there that knowledge of nature which gained for him a reputation almost as great as that of the half-fabulous Gerbert of Auvergne, who, himself a pupil of the schools of Cordova, had two centuries earlier been regarded as a potent wizard and magician—a reputation however, which, to the credit of his age, did not obstruct his promotion to the pontifical chair, which he filled for five years, till his death, under the title of Sylvester II. Beside the reputation of great skill in the obstetric art—whatever may become of his claims to the authorship of the work on ‘The Mysteries of Nature,’ ascribed to him—he may reasonably be regarded as possessed of considerable practical knowledge. Albertus is said to have anticipated his contemporary, Roger Bacon, in the construction of that ‘chymic treasure,’—a Brazen Head able to utter articulate sounds. The incredulous Brucker preserves the story. And it goes on to the effect that Aquinas was so shocked at the successful termination of Albertus’s thirty years’ labours, that he struck it with a stick and demolished it.¹ Another incident, among the few which have been preserved to us, would seem to imply that Albertus had learned to rival the prestidigitatory accomplishments of the Indian jugglers. He is said to have suddenly reproduced, in mid winter, the flowers of spring, for the amusement of the Emperor William at Cologne. He lived a true Mendicant, according to the strictest rule of the Order. Having discovered that a lay brother had died without confessing the wealth of which he had been possessed, Albertus required that his body should be removed from consecrated ground, that judgment upon his sin might be made manifest. It is somewhat difficult to fix the date of his public teaching at Paris, where thousands flocked to hear him. Opposite Notre Dame, on the other side of the Seine, the place to which he had to remove for room, still preserves, in the designation of *Maubert*, a corruption of his name. It was in his public lectures at Cologne he attracted the attention of that pupil, whose subsequent fame was to outshine his own—Thomas Aquinas. After advocating at Rome the interests of his Order, having been summoned there by Alexander III. in 1260, he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the Pontiff, and accepted the bishopric of Ratisbon. Amid the severe labours incurred in reorganizing his see and relieving it of the heavy debts and incumbrances under which it lay, Albertus still found time to write his Commentary on S. Luke. He

¹ Bacon’s head, self-astounded at its first (and last) utterance, came to nought by spontaneous disruption.

shrunk, however, from the unwelcome dignities of the episcopal throne, and, after presiding over the see for three years, he induced the pope to release him. He resigned his bishopric, and betook himself to his well-loved retreat at Cologne. But he had acquired by this time some of that personal authority and influence which was conceded to S. Bernard. Gregory X. summoned him to attend that celebrated General Council of Lyons, 1274, where the rules for the election of the pope were decided upon, and the council of cardinals for that purpose were first instituted. Thus he seems to have borne a leading part in giving its permanent form to the external as well as to the internal structure of the Church. In 1280 he died at Cologne, where he had loved to spend his days; where he had sanctified his hours by the daily recitation of the whole Psalter. There, on September 21st, 1622, the pontifical brief of his beatification was promulgated. Pope Gregory XV. seems to have acted on this occasion with unusual thrift, and it remains a mystery why the higher honours of canonization were refused to the great teacher. According to Father Jammy, who appears to have become for the moment oblivious of the doctrine of his Church on the subject, Albertus, on his death, delivered from Purgatory 7,500 souls—not more nor less—while miracles were performed at his grave. Father Jammy, with a gravity worthy of Hafen Slawkenbergius, explains why he has not deigned to put on record any of these wonders. ‘Quæ licet contestata multorum autoritate brevitati consulens missa facio.’ Thus happily uninvoked, his ashes rest on the banks of the Rhine. We have pointed out one circumstance of his life in which he resembled S. Bernard. There is another, more characteristic. He seems to have had the same *φιλοστοργία*, deep but fervent love of his kind. When on his way to the Council of Lyons he was resting at Cologne, he was suddenly overwhelmed with a great sorrow. He became conscious, by some second sight, that at that day and hour Aquinas, as proved to be but too true, was breathing his last. We must not omit to put on record the affecting incident which imparted a peculiar solemnity to his own closing days. At the beginning of his career he had devoted himself to the special service of the Blessed Virgin, and in a sweet vision given to prayer, she had promised to prosper him and sustain him amid his literary labours. But a voice came to him in the vision, forewarning him that a day would come unannounced, when he must lose all his lore and become again a little child. The day came. While the crowded schools were listening to the words of wisdom, the lecturer suddenly faltered and was silent. His memory forsook him. He announced to his audience the significance of the incident. He

withdrew, and in gracious self-surrender awaited the close of his exile.

But there is a moral in what may seem to some but an idle tale. As an independent system for the investigation of natural and metaphysical truth, the philosophy of Aristotle is prejudicial to the supreme hopes of man; and, in the department of theological investigation, the Church must resign without a sigh those treasures of old time through which her charge have forfeited so much of their spiritual childhood.

ART. III.—*Children's Employment Commissioners' Reports :
Second and Third. 1864.*

EVERY now and then a sensation is raised about the oppressions and hardships connected with some particular branch of industry. Certain classes of employers are held up by turn to popular odium, as though the men and women who connive at, tolerate, even *do* such things, must be a distinct race, wholly removed from the conscience and tenderness of ordinary humanity. To such notions and to such a temper, a course of blue books is a proper corrective and disenchantment. We find, after a glance through their pages, that we cannot stand apart and abuse our neighbour as a monster and an alien. Whether voluntary or not, a sense of implication in the error, neglect, or harshness laid bare, possesses us. At any rate, we belong to a body, a great community, that likes to have things cheap; and does not curiously inquire at every purchase how far each hand concerned in its manufacture has received remunerative wages, and has been guarded from excessive labour.

By degrees we come to realize another side of the case; that is, how the great body of consumers, of which we form a part, may be regarded, what figure we may present to the mind of the manufacturer. If he has appeared to us a grinding oppressor, may we not look the same to him, and with at least as great a show of reason? Experience shows him a public insatiable, unreasonable, clamorous in its wants, and bent on having more than money's worth; this public he may well feel to be his master. Such the consumer must be as society is now organized, and doubtless he more than retorts upon us the responsibility of the blame and the wrongs into which he is driven by our demands. These Reports then teach us to divide this blame, where blame there is; and to speculate what large and wide injustice, what oppression of the weak, what hardships, what excessive toil may be inflicted by what looks like a sort of necessity; and certainly without the charge of deliberate intention or direct cruelty being justly laid at any one's door. Indifference, carelessness, recklessness, deadness to the sense of duty, of these every page gives more or less evidence; but these certainly must not be charged upon the immediate actors alone; the tyranny of custom and the connivance of society, which, while it has things to its mind, is content to lull its suspicions, and to leave abuses undisturbed—are all-pervading influences. We are not pretend-

ing that the correction of great social evils is in any ordinary individual's power. We are not bound to ascertain as we fasten a button, or draw on a pair of gloves, into what small hours of the night the child sat stitching and pointing them, nor would we make every woman answerable for the noxious vapours inhaled by the artificers of her 'gauffered' bonnet front; but evil there is somewhere, and these books make it a good deal more difficult than we supposed before to dispose of this blame satisfactorily to ourselves; and to lay it on any one particular person's shoulders. Our own share, of course, in such cases may be infinitesimal, or none at all; but we see that no individual and no one class has the whole weight of it, and that in many cases of hardship each one implicated can exonerate himself of everything but acquiescence in a system which it needs exceptional powers to interfere with. In the mass of evidence in these Reports there are few cases of those concerned clinging to a bad system for its own merits. There is a constant desire even to be coerced into better plans, and this not affected or pretended, but evidently because the mischief to be counteracted is a felt one; only one person cannot commence a reform without great risk of serious personal loss; a risk, which every reader ought to be aware, it needs more than average magnanimity to be indifferent to, when the error only lies in carrying on business on the same principles as one's neighbours, these principles being acquiesced in by the employed themselves.

The one painful feature of these books, the one fact brought out with a persistence that defies question is, that wherever the abuse is most flagrant, wherever children are over-worked and deprived of education, treated as mere material out of which wages, profit, money in any form is to be got, without any consideration for their happiness or benefit, present or future, here the parents themselves are the hardest, most inexorable taskmasters. We do not read of much cruelty in the worst meaning of the word; probably in the times when blows, and bad and insufficient food, were aggravations of misfortune, this charge against parents, as being the worst oppressors of their children, could not be sustained; but men, and women too, who would shrink from beating a child unmercifully, and who would not see it starve, are ready enough, under certain conditions of stolid, grasping, ignorant cupidity, to turn it into a machine for earning halfpennies and pennies; to imprison it for hours in one cramped attitude, breathing foetid air; to keep it standing till midnight pinned to the mother's knee; and to employ others to exact unfit and injurious tasks from it by means to which they themselves would not resort. Yet even these parents can defend themselves. What they do others do: they are so used

to the system in which they themselves were trained, as they fancy with harsher severities, that it seems to them simply a law from which there is no escape, or no escape without involving themselves in difficulties and privations which they cannot understand themselves called on to endure. And in fact, except in particularly bad cases, they do not treat their children much worse than they do themselves, or rather they do not mean to do so. Whatever the cause, the fact remains, that these Reports contain no worse cases of overwork, none indeed so bad, as are elicited from the evidence of parents of their treatment of their own children, given without any sense of wrong-doing; as for example the testimony of John Corbett, from the evidence taken at Leicester, of the work he got out of his two little girls, one nearly seven, the other eight years old.

'His daughter Alice, aged 6, and near 7, has been a seamer 2 or 3 years, and her sister Annie, aged 8, began at about the same age. "There's a many begin at 4 and 5." Does not know whether any begin under 4. "They do begin very young, but you see we're so used to it we take no notice."

'Alice and Annie would each do 6 or 7 pairs of hose in a day, working till 8 or 9 at night, and running out at times. On Friday night they both of them stop at work till 11 and 12. All go to bed together. Annie has been up seaming all Friday night with mother many times, and not gone to bed till Saturday night. She did so last winter, and has done so at times for this long time, for this two or three years. Should think it is as long ago as that. It is general in the town to work in that way, especially on Thursdays and Fridays: Fridays most. Those who can be up must be up.'—*Report 2*, p. xxxvii.

Nor is want the real reason for this state of things, though necessity is alleged. The parent who did this probably does not work at all on Monday. Especially when trade is good, and people have money to spend, are they irregular in their hours. An hereditary ignorance and carelessness is the real cause. Amongst the artisans in certain particular branches of industry there is no public opinion on the question. This deadness itself is a cause for national shame; and, when brought to light, it cannot last without national blame. If these parents are so ignorant that they can see no harm in ruining the health and vigour of their children, it may not be all their own fault, but while they are so they must not be allowed to remain sole guardians; the State must interfere in behalf of the rising and future generation, and interpose between the child and its parent as it does between the manufacturer and the crowds of children in his employ. And wherever young children can materially assist it would seem as if it must always be so. There is something unnatural in infancy contributing to the family maintenance, and the practice cannot exist without unhinging and demoralizing the system of labour. Not necessarily as it would seem: there would be no hardship in light toil; but

when once anything so helpless as early childhood is recognised as an engine for money-making, ignorant, and therefore low and short-sighted humanity, cannot resist the temptation to extortion, to putting on the screw. The temptation must be put out of its reach. In the hosiery trade the unlimited power the men have over their children is stated to be the cause of the vicious system under which the hours of work in this trade are now regulated. The men have these hours in their own hands, because 'parents are able without check or control to 'exercise this arbitrary and mischievous power over their young 'and tender offspring.'

Another fact is made clear by these Reports,—though our reason might have led to the same conclusion—the waste of life, vigour, and labour in all unduly prolonged toil. The result is nothing to the cost and misery incurred. Over hours long continued not only produce little themselves, but they retard the worker through his whole time of labour. In all evidence concerning over hours, their unproductiveness comes out, and wherever they are carried on without much apparent or lasting injury to the worker, it is clearly due to the fact that the work throughout is ill sustained, and subject to long breaks from want of order and system. We see this difference constantly in comparing the fitful irregular arrangements in establishments such as a fashionable West-end dressmaker's, where women untrained to organization are the managers, and where the same business is carried on by a London tradesman and subject to the stringent rules, the strict system, indispensable to every large mercantile transaction consisting of many departments dependent one on another. The hours are indefinitely longer in the first, the abuses so much talked of are all most flagrant there, but quite as much work is got out of the young women employed in the one place as in the other. There is no waiting for each other, no hanging about, none of the failure in arrangement where a vigilant supervision is maintained, and where waste of time would be as much grudged early on Monday morning as late on Saturday night. Thus, above everything, in the conduct of business we learn the need of an intelligent head. The larger the view, the better practised the reasoning powers, the less tendency we find to exaction or unfairness of any kind. Those who drive others are driven themselves; they are not equal to their position, not able to see beyond present difficulties, exigencies, or gains; they never can get out of a routine, or find their way out of evils of long standing, or suppose them otherwise than inevitable. It is, as a rule, from large dealers and men of experience that we find such evidence as the following, which treats the subject of long hours on its business, not its moral side.

'Mr. Bradbury (Nottingham) states,—“From long experience I am convinced that long hours do not, on the whole, produce more work. After they have been continued for two or three weeks, the people are unable to do in the long hours even as much as they did in the short.”—P. xv.

Mr. J. Cooper, Leicester, says:—

“The hours in Leicester have been very much shortened in the last few years. This has come from a change made by the railways. Carriers would wait for goods any time up to 12 at night, or even up till the morning, and it was general then for warehouses to be open later. Now goods are generally sent from a warehouse at 5½, and for London or anywhere they must leave not later than 8. This prevents late work, and people work harder earlier in the day.

“I think that great benefit has arisen from the trimmers (bleachers, &c.) and dyers being regulated by the late Act. Young people used to be kept very late then. There was some complaint of the Act at first, but it works well now. The goods come back to us from the trimmers as promptly and regularly as before. The only difference is, that more hands are employed by them if they have not enough. This is more beneficial than for a few to work overtime, as the additional wages made by overtime are seldom well applied.”—P. xxxiv.

And where millinery is a wholesale business:—

“A similar opinion is expressed by Mr. Harrison with reference to the wholesale trade; and this is the more worthy of remark, seeing that, although the majority of the City workers, being paid by the piece, may work harder than those at the West End, while they are about it, they are, on the other hand, a much stronger rougher class of girls, accustomed to hard work, and with the advantage of the air and exercise obtained in going to and from their place of work. ‘Last spring, when we were very much pressed for a short time, they stayed till 11 P.M. for four or five nights in succession; but the girls could not stand it; many did not come in till about 12 the next morning; and we found that they earned more by the work they did in the regular hours, than when they were kept later; in other words, they did a greater amount of remunerative work for us and for themselves between 9 A.M. and 8 P.M. than if they worked three hours later.’ Several of the wholesale manufacturers in Manchester are of the same opinion, and express themselves decidedly in favour of legislative restrictions.”—P. lviii.

Where there is improvement it is thus noted:—

‘From 8 A.M. to 1 P.M. is too long for women to go on without a break; they cannot stand the continual strain that men can. Now and then they may have to work an hour and a half extra for a week at a time, but it does not amount to a month in the whole year. We avoid it as much as possible, for it does no good. In these days people do not work the long hours they used to do, but they give much more labour, work much harder, I mean, while they are about it.’—P. 169.

The following is a testimony by a ‘first hand,’ who had worked under the ordinary system, to the same effect:—

‘The work done after 9 P.M. as a rule does not pay for the gas consumed beyond that hour. Frequently not half an hour’s work is done between 9 and 11 P.M. or later; when an occasional pressure of business arises the hands would work willingly and well late hours. But systematic working after 9 P.M. leads to no profitable result. The whole of the work done after that time could be readily done earlier in the day, if the workers came to their work less fatigued with the over-night labour. The late hours deprive them of all spirit for their work, and they work without that interest in it that drives the fingers

along. They work sluggishly and indifferently. Any excuse to idle a moment is too readily seized upon. In the first house in which I was employed, work commenced in the slack season at 9 A.M. and terminated at 11 P.M. In the busy season work would commence not later than 8 A.M., and be continued until midnight, or 1, 2, or 3 o'clock in the morning. It was common to see some of the hands after 10 P.M. sitting fast asleep with their work on their knees. If there were no particular stress of work, the heads of the tables would take no notice. I have seen workers fall dead asleep in the midst of a stitch. If we worked very late, no relaxation was permitted next day, and as a consequence between 3 and 4 P.M. half the workers in the room would be nodding over their work. In this house I have seen in a single day three or four of the hands faint at their work, and hysterical attacks were common.'—P. 190.

And the same view is taken in the Third Report on the Metal Districts:—

'It is particularly satisfactory to find that so many of the witnesses referred to above express a conviction which now appears to be very general, that the employer loses more than he gains by calling upon his men to work overtime; that, in the words of one of the witnesses, "If over-work lasts only for a short time, 20 per cent. increase of hours' labour gives about 10 per cent. increase of result in production. If overtime is continued for any length of time it gives no increase of result at all."—P. xii.

At Birmingham, the manager of a great screw manufactory employing many girls and children, states:—

'I am decidedly of opinion that they should not be kept after 7. Exceeding the regular hours is a mistake, and does not bring an advantage in proportion to the increase of expense. In the regular hours the employer has had the prime and best energies of his people, and he pays dearly for what he gets beyond. The workpeople's expression would be: "Well, if I work more now, I cannot work so much to-morrow." Besides, finishing orders by a push does not increase the amount of work to be done, and the effect is that a slack time follows, and the tendency of this is to cause a depreciation of prices as a means of encouraging custom. If a trade cannot be carried on profitably in the regular hours it probably is not worth carrying on otherwise.'—P. 112.

It is the glory of the English workman that he can do the greatest amount of work, in a given time, of any labourer in the world; it is the credit and skill of the employer to secure and maintain this amount without damage to the powers, or trenching on the time every happy rational being need have for himself. It is quite clear that intrusion upon this leisure time in the adult must injure the artisan as a perfect instrument; but how much more if this undue pressure is applied to his youth and immaturity. No very superior hands have been put to hard work very early, if that work is anything beyond the merest mechanical facility. You cannot get an extraordinary degree of work out of the boy and profit much by the man he eventually turns into. The more liberal and intelligent employers are quite aware of this, and are reforming for themselves. Thus we read in the Third Report, treating of the metal trades:—

'The practice of employing boys and young persons in the night shifts,

although rare as a general rule in these metal manufactories (C. 33), nevertheless exists habitually in the forges (C. 98, 99) and in some other species of work (C. 100, 116, 121). It is observable that where the practice has been discontinued, "the health of both the men and boys had improved" (C. 97). Also, the work being under the personal inspection of the employer "was better done and they could get better workmen to stop with them" (*ibid.*). And where the practice had been modified by the division of the 24 hours into three sets, the result had been successful; much time formerly wasted, or lost, is now saved. "More is got out of the workmen, and they are better pleased, for they can earn as much as they need with less fatigue to themselves, and have more time at their disposal" (C. 98).—P. xxviii.

But as all people cannot see things in this enlarged spirit, it is necessary that legislation should interpose.

The inevitable consequence of setting children early to long hours of work is to keep them in ignorance. We can very well believe that where this abuse is at its worst, the ignorance of certain classes now is beyond what it has ever been, owing to the increasing subdivision of labour. In old times the man who could not read could do a great many other things. He was obliged to learn these in the natural course of things. Now the child or man who cannot read can often do only one thing well, and that one thing, as being only one part of a whole, says less to him, infuses less satisfaction, than any work that stands complete in itself. What can be more helplessly ignorant, less intellectually what a man should be, than the human being, man or woman, whose thought and observation have been tied down from four or six, eight, or even ten years old, to one monotonous employment, which tells nothing and suggests nothing of its ultimate purpose? The results, though very bad, are positively not so bad as we might expect them to be, owing to the instinctive resistance of the infant mind to being changed into a machine, and its irrepressible gifts of observation and imitation. Yet they are bad and sad enough: the relation of parent and child is constantly found reversed; the sense of filial duty undeveloped; the moral perception obscured; the idea of pleasure mere coarse and low excitement, in the girls dress, in the boys smoking, drinking, gambling; and the feeling and knowledge of religion on a par in their depth of ignorance and deadness. The subject is so large a one, the field of observation laid before us so various, the questions raised so many and important, that any connected summary, any attempt to digest the multifarious contents of these great closely printed folios into system is out of the question in our limited space; but perhaps a few facts concerning the working of the principal trades inquired into, brought together in however desultory a way, may be as interesting and useful to the reader as a more formal treatment of the subject. One thing we would premise,

that in some cases the ignorance may not be altogether so intense, and perplexing to our belief as it seems here. A gentleman questioning a little boy or girl, however skilled he may be in the work, is alarming; a few confused, indistinct ideas, may well take flight under such an ordeal. We think that had the persons from whom the following evidence was extracted been talking with some companion, or probed in language and a voice more familiar to their ears, something more might have been got out of them. The commissioner himself admits this, but explains that all that patience and judgment could do, in a given amount of time, were applied to arrive at the true state of the catechumen's intelligence. For ourselves, as our own experience does not lie within the field of his inquiry, we can only argue on general principles. Mr. J. E. White, reporting upon the metal manufactures of Birmingham, writes:—

‘Considering then the plentiful means of secular and religious instruction provided in Birmingham where most were examined, including Sunday, day, and evening schools, libraries, &c., and the encouragement afforded by the institution of a Prize Scheme, now showing very valuable results within the sphere in which it operates, and considering the educational activity and interest shown not only by the influential persons who have taken the lead in providing these means, but by the zeal with which large numbers avail themselves of them, including a large proportion of adults, some of them even in a comfortable position as small employers, who might be thought little likely to adopt such means unless the desire for mental improvement were very strong and widely spread,—it is at first sight not a little remarkable that the evidence should disclose such a low state of education or rather practical absence of it, as it does amongst very large numbers of those with whom I was immediately concerned.

‘As many as 32 persons, averaging over 12 years each, and including a young man of 20 and three girls or young women, one of 18 and two of 17, could not tell the Queen's name. Q. “Is it Victoria?” A. “Oh no, I don't know it when I hears it so.” “Can't understand them things” (b. 604). Some did not know of her existence; others showed a dark and lately got glimmering by such answers as that she “is the Prince Alexandra,” “is the Prince of Wales,” “him and her got married” (b. 31, 4, 499), “she belongs to all the world” (b. 375), and so on. Indeed, a question about her when put was scarcely ever answered. These 32 persons were in a variety of work places and occupations; 28 of them in Birmingham, one at West Bromwich, and three girls, the eldest of them 16, near Stourbridge; very few indeed of them were under 11.

‘This, however, is merely part of a wider general ignorance shown by very large numbers. Of the commonest and simplest objects of nature, flowers, birds, fishes, rivers, mountains, sea, or of places such as London, &c. in England, or other countries out of it, or how to get there, many knew little or nothing. London, however, “is a county” (b. 192), but also “is in the Exhibition.” Ireland “is a little town.” A violet “is a pretty bird” (b. 699); lilac “is a bird” (b. 464); “believe I would know a primrose, it's a red rose like” (b. 604); “don't know if a robin redbreast is a bird, or if it flies or sings” (b. 193), or “if an eagle is a bird” (b. 432); “don't know what a river is, or where the fishes are” (b. 320, 439); “a mountain would be on the water,

I should think ; don't know where the snow falls from, or whether it comes from the clouds, or sky, or where" (b. 409); "the sea is made of land, not of water" (b. 699). People then may well "go in a train to America, all the way" (b. 320). Even the eye is inaccurate from want of training. A picture of a cow being milked is shown; "he's a lion" (b. 582). A map is incomprehensible to a young man of 20, who thinks that the sun "is in the north in the middle of the day; no, it sets in the north" (b. 599). Even women sometimes are unable to tell the clock.

"But of very many indeed the state of mind as regards the simplest facts of religion is dark almost beyond belief. It is not too much to say that to many God, the Bible, the Saviour, a Christian, even a future state, are ideas entirely or all but unknown. God is "a good man," or "the man in heaven;" "I've heard that (Christ), but don't know *what it is*." Nor do others know "where God lives," or "about the world being made," or "who made it," or of the Bible, "it is not a book." "Have not heard of Christ; I had never done my work till so late;" "have heard about Jesus Christ, but it's so long since that I've forgot;" "don't know if I'm a Christian," or "what it is," or "means," but all people are so. Heaven was heard of only "when father died long ago, mother said that he was going there." Some think that bad and good go there alike, or on the other hand, that "them as is wicked shall be worshipped, that means shall all go to hell;" or again, that when people die "they be buried, bairn't they—their souls as well as their bodies." "All go in the pithole where them be buried; they never get out or live again; they have not a soul; I have not one. The soul does not live afterwards; it's quite an end of people when they die." "The devil is a good person; I don't know where he lives."—Pp. 60, 61.

The trade of Birmingham,—or rather trades, for there are ninety-seven trades in some degree specially belonging to the place,—employs children of both sexes at an age earlier than is permitted by factory regulations. It has been guessed that there are in Birmingham 800 children working under 8, and 2,000 under 10 years of age, and probably some 20,000, or 25,000 altogether, though any accurate returns on this point cannot be obtained; and these children, as a rule, are hired not by the principals, but by piece-workers under whom they work. A vast deal of the trade is carried on by small masters in small, crowded, noisy workshops, and much of it in gloom and darkness. The trades that employ the greatest number of young children are, brass-founding for boys, and button-making for girls; but almost all the peculiar trades of the town share the common evils of crowding, closeness, heat, and gas; several the additional miseries of noxious chemicals, as, for example, 'acky' and 'phizz' and 'pickle,' by which familiar denominations are understood aqua fortis, nitric acid, and vitriol; and many the further disadvantages of excessive dirt, grease, and grime—dirt which blackens the skin and destroys the clothes, so as to be a constant reason for discontinuance of attendance at school and places of religious worship. Wherever the work itself causes dirt, or the low, dark, underground workshop promotes it, here the children are, beyond others, rough and ignorant. The hours

of work are not excessive as compared with the hours we read of in other places; but Saint Monday is an institution (as the commissioner writes) in Birmingham :—

‘Although in Birmingham the *stated* hours of *work* are short, from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M., the actual hours worked during the week vary considerably from the acknowledged standard. In Birmingham, and more or less throughout the district, an enormous amount of time is lost, not only by want of punctuality in coming to work in the morning and beginning again after meals, but still more by the general observance of “*Saint Monday*,” a licence which is often extended to a part of Tuesday also (B. §§ 50, 52, 53, b. 125, 159, 392, 426, 613). Individual efforts are, as a rule, powerless to abolish this wasteful and injurious habit. In the “domestic nail manufacture,” in which parents employ their own children, this irregular mode of work is habitual. Many of the men “work all hours;” *i.e.*, “idling part of the time and slaving the rest,” . . . their labour being bounded only by the limits of physical endurance; *e.g.*, till a man “can hardly reach up to the door or put one leg before the other” (b. 671). Their children share with them, as far as their physical powers endure, in the exhausting labour. “Some nailers begin at 5 and 6 o’clock in the morning and work till 10 or 11 at night.”—P. xi.

The health of the children depends of course much on the nature of their work, but a large proportion are described as stunted in growth, pale, and sickly-looking, though this, it is stated, may be attributed as much or more to defective care and nutriment at home, as to the nature of their employment; for in Birmingham the evil seems at its height, of the mother neglecting her family and household duties for the sake of factory or workshop employment; either leaving her children to each other’s care, or bringing them, too young, to help her in her work; a crying abuse wherever it is found, and fertile of lasting mischief, but for which the drunkenness of the husband often furnishes an excuse and perhaps creates a necessity.

One of the employers speaking on this head says :—

‘The button trade, I should say, employs more women and girls than any trade in the town, A point in which a change is most to be desired is in the employment of married women in factories, at least if they have children. It makes them neglect their homes and families, and they have often to pay large sums weekly for putting out their children to strangers to be cared for, and these children in turn grow up untrained in household duties. One result is that the husbands are led to seek for their comforts and amusements away from their homes, often in drinking. The women also thus bear a great part of the expense of maintaining the family, instead of performing their natural duties at home. In Birmingham generally the men are able to maintain their families without the labour of their wives and young children.’—P. 95.

The most delicate and forlorn class of children Mr. White found among the little button girls, while the most neglected, whether boys or girls, were amongst those employed not by principals, but by their workpeople. At one of the principal button manufactories he reports :—

'Many of the children are very young indeed, three or four being only 6. The mother of one of these, however, a boy, said she must have him to work, as she saved the value of his labour, and also the expense of his being taken care of by some one else. In another case a girl of 6, *i.e.* "going 7," birthday unknown, one of three sisters working here, had worked for a woman here eight or nine months. She was a beautiful child, with bright innocent face, but looking lost and bewildered amongst so many workers. Her eldest sister, aged 12, had a sullen hardened look and manner; the middle sister seemed in the intermediate stage. So neglected, however, was their condition, both of body and mind, as shown by their dirty appearance and tattered dress, and the want of even Sunday-school instruction, and melancholy ignorance of even the eldest sister, that one of the firm who saw me speaking to them was so struck and pained, that he directed the mother to be informed that they could not be received to work any more unless she showed more care for them, at least in their outward appearance. The eldest makes 2s. 6d. or 3s. a week, the two younger 1s. each, and the father is in work as a mechanic. I have noticed this case as an illustration of the kind of care which many of the children whom I have seen in Birmingham plainly receive from their parents.'—P. 94.

Page after page as we turn them we come on such entries as the following. The witness a girl almost grown up, and not below the others in social position or material intelligence—

'Never was at a week-day school that I remember, and never went on Sunday or at night. "T" is "P," "h" is "c." Have been in a church or chapel two or three times in my life, not more. A man prayed to the Lord, and read out of the Bible, but I never heard of Adam or Eve, or the flood, or of all the people being drowned by it. Father is an iron caster.'—P. 89.

or—

'*Lydia Brookes*, age 12.—Do not go to Sunday school. Never was in a chapel or church, or heard any one preach or pray, and do not know what prayer means, or who it is said to. Do remember mother telling me "Our Father," but do not remember any more than those words, or what they mean. Think I have heard of Jesus Christ, but do not know what a Christian is. Have a father and mother.'—P. 94.

or—

'*Emma Lane*, age 16.—Went to day school when about 9 years old, and when mother put me on work she sent me to school of a Sunday. I learned very well for a while, and could spell a bit. Learned more of a Sunday than I had done of a week day, but I stopped away about two years now; don't know why; and forgot all my reading. Never did any writing or figures. They used to try to learn me, and I learned as well as I could. Teacher never took much notice, and I never took much notice of what they used to say. Believe they used to tell me about God, but I am very bad at remembering. Do not know about the world being made,—whether people were made, or Adam and Eve, or if they were the first people. I was one as never took much notice, and did not go in till near 10 and came out at half-past.'—P. 103.

or—

'*John Miller*, age 11.—Mind a machine. Was never at any school. Mother taught me A B C. Know F, not I. Was never in a church or chapel. A church is where a parson preaches. Have not heard of a mountain or a river; never saw a river. Cannot tell how many pennies there are in a shilling, or a

sixpence. (After much explanation) There are six. Have not heard of Jesus Christ. (Q. A Bible?) Ne'er had a book nor Bible.'—P. 107.

In the midst of great educational efforts in Birmingham one employer actually asserts that if children are to be got to school there must be some attraction, such as a meal, or a cake, every time they go, which he suggests could easily be provided for by voluntary subscriptions. The truth seems to be that children, if left to choose for themselves, will always prefer even hard manual work to head work; and one of the points to be observed in the present state of things is their keen appreciation of money; sometimes painful, sometimes not unpleasing. Thus one employer, lamenting the decadence in morals, complains, 'All seem set on getting money in any way.' Another employer, in speaking of the efforts made for the good, and the amusement of the young people, explains how hard he had found it to get them to attend a school he had organized, while he adds:—

'I have many very young children who have neither father nor mother. It grieves me to see them so young, and perhaps to be able to give them so little. I have often been grieved to see the little ones come and ask for work and to have to send them back. Some come looking up with such anxious-looking eyes, and their eyes glisten so if they think you can entertain them.'—P. 105.

In speaking of the efforts of the Band of Hope for young children—

'They have a band, lectures, magic lantern, &c. Some of the young children would work all manner of hours,—would go through fire and water,—sooner than miss a chance. They work hard to get tidy and mend their clothes, &c. to be fit for these holidays. One was laying by for five or six weeks before for a bonnet and frock, and at the same time had not a bed to lie on, and I believe that at the present time she lies on the floor. In this way the holidays inculcate saving habits.'—P. 105.

When children remain at school till eleven or twelve, it is often grievous to find the little trace their learning leaves on the mind; how much more unfit for an examination the pupil will prove five years hence than in his early childhood; but of course where the teaching is cut short a year or two sooner, the bare rudiments acquired may easily pass off altogether. When a child answers the inspector that he *can* read, he often proves incapable of small words or even all his letters. Thus, of the majority of these ignorant children, it is not shown that they have never been to school, but that no faintest effort has ever been made to keep the schooling up at home, and then there is nothing in the daily life to connect it with the short schooling. It is not to be expected that under such circumstance anything should remain. A Manchester foreman gives Mr. Lord his own experience on this point:—

'I was a half-timer in a mill at about 7 years old, and had to go to school for some time, two years, I dare say, but I soon forgot all I ever learnt there,

for, when I left the mill, I didn't go to school any more. What I know now, I got at night school and mechanics institute, when I had grown up. I don't think my previous schooling made learning afterwards come easier to me, except so far as just knowing my letters, perhaps. It isn't with us, as it is in the case you put of yourself, seeming to have forgotten all about some foreign language, which soon comes back to you, when you get abroad and try to talk it. You are always among learning from the beginning, one way or another; but when we leave school early and go to work, there is nothing to keep up in us what we learned there, and it is as completely forgotten as if it never had been; I am sure it was so with me.'—P. 188.

The Third Report, on which we have hitherto been chiefly engaged, treats only of metal manufactures. This branch of labour is, in Lancashire, only second to cotton; it differs from that of Birmingham in employing no girls and scarcely any women; and though revealing much to amend, and in the lower class of work much ignorance in the children and youth employed, the evidence in this head falls short of that from Birmingham in the degree of density, and we will also say in its piquancy. Wherever the work is carried on in small workshops it seems to argue the worst state of things. In the pin-manufactories in Ashton-in-Makerfield, where girls also are employed, and where the hours are from 6 A.M. to 8 P.M. Mr. H. W. Lord writes:—

'The boys who tented pin-making machines were among the most ignorant that I have met with; none could read, and few even spell; some of the hand-sheeting girls were no better than the boys in this respect; those at the sheeting machines had received some elementary education. The boys employed in making gas burners (No. 129) were, and in the hollow ware manufacture were said to be (No. 126), very uneducated. The children employed in the smaller smithies in Ashton-in-Makerfield are, taken as a class, more destitute of training, religious or intellectual, than any in my experience. In each succeeding smithy, in a row of a dozen or more, as I entered and enquired, I found boy after boy, who could not read, had never been even to a Sunday school, and was unable to answer the simplest question of Bible history.'—P. 180.

On the whole, however, the influence of the factory laws on the great branch of Lancashire manufacture is favourable upon the working of those trades not yet under their regulation; and though there is a reluctance in the employers to be subject to factory hours, which are obviously of the first necessity for educational improvement, this feeling is not shared by all. Thus:—

'Mr. T. Hetherington, a member of a firm of long standing and extensive connexions, employing nearly 600 hands, deliberately records his conviction that the hours between 6 A.M. and 7 P.M. are the utmost needed, and that on the whole 57½ hours in the week (or 10½ a day with the half day of Saturday) would be the best to be generally enforced (No. 1). The time-keeper, also, at the largest works of the kind in Lancashire, Messrs. Platfs, of Oldham, speaking with a very just enthusiasm of the size and capacity of a recent addition to buildings and premises already immense, as quite getting rid of any need to work overtime, says, "We find that those on piece-work make as much in 10½ hours as they do when they know they have two hours longer. If they have

seen working their full time well, they haven't the energy left to get through much more at the end of it. Work limited to the factory hours is the most useful both to us and to themselves" (No. 24).—Page 181.

Short of this concession, however, a large number of employers in Lancashire are anxious for an educational test as a condition of employment for young persons, as otherwise the parents will put their children to work at an age which precludes the possibility of a thorough grounding in the simplest elements.

The only substitutes for the ordinary day school, are the night school and Sunday school. Now the Sunday school never can and ought not to be required to do much in rudimentary education, and the night school is a resource for children only not worse than the disease it professes to cure. It is shocking to think of young boys and girls who have worked, including meals, twelve or sometimes fourteen hours in the day, to be put to difficult tasks when they ought to be enjoying entire relaxation or asleep in their beds. Nor can we blame parents for being slow to profit by such an opportunity.

We have taken the Third Report first in order as being the most recent; the Second, issued in the same year (1864), from its greater variety of topics, and its touching on grievances with which the public ear is generally familiar, is the more attractive. We use the word advisedly, for certainly this sort of evidence collected from classes of whose habits and modes of expression we know so little, and telling their own story of employments which have excited so much public attention, is very interesting. The commissioners naturally have it at heart that their pains shall be appreciated, that what has cost them so much labour shall not be thrown aside unread as waste paper. And there is little danger of this when the contents are realized and the eye once fairly arrested. Then it easily skims page after page that tells the trials of the little artificers in Nottingham net and pillow lace, that shows us the dame with her long stick keeping tribes of little children hard at work,—all crammed into a space allowing less breathing room than if each little victim were shut into a box measuring a yard every way—and arguing in favour of this compression that it keeps them steadier to their work in not leaving them room to fight; that brings before us the plaiting schools where babes of two and three are having their fingers trained for the work, and boys of six and eight are condemned to do their ten yards of straw plait, though they hate the work, with an added disgust as a shame on their manhood; that reports on the shirtmaker and her familiar oft-sung wrongs, and last lets us into the mysteries of the West-end Court dressmakers' establishments—and gives the evidence of the young ladies, the Miss Ellens, the Miss Marys, who tell how often they have to

sit till two in the morning, if not all the night through, with heavy eyes and swollen ankles, before a Court day, or a wedding in high life—while here and there the eye lights on the cold words of some hard-hearted fine lady, who cares not who sits up, or how long, so her dress fits at last and is ready when she wants it. All through the reader's judgment is kept in exercise as he weighs the worth of contradictory evidence between employed and employers, speculates on doctors' reports, reads here and there a clerical statement, and draws conclusions, of the nature perhaps of those with which our paper starts, as he learns with how little positive cruelty great wrongs may be carried on, how much more mischief is due to want of system than to ill intentions, and how much to be pitied the employer often is for the fecklessness and incapacity of the persons he must employ. We observe that after early childhood, after say fourteen, as a rule no one is so ill paid as not to be able to procure sufficiency of good food and suitable clothing, who is a good hand at his or her work. The people to be pitied on the score of insufficient wages, of excessive labour with a mockery of remuneration, are young children and grown-up children—persons, that is, without resource, who never do their work thoroughly well, who could not be trusted with a task requiring thought, taste, or judgment, and who would rather sit with their hands before them than submit to the effort of learning anything new: whose industry in fact is merely mechanical. No one, says a competent and impartial witness, without taking pains to look into it, can have any idea of the ignorance of most women who try to live by plain sewing. They scarcely know how to work, many of them. It is somebody's fault that many of these poor souls are the drudges they are; but being what their own self-neglect, or very probably the neglect of others, has made them, we can understand how hard it would be, in reforming any existing system, to invent a new one that shall secure them an adequate provision, or prevent them slipping out of a favourable position into a lower. Where there is no power of learning or adaptation it is no wonder if there is distress. Such people are absolutely in the power of their employers if the alternative is a given routine or helpless inaction. Thus is it the evidence of a City shirt-making firm, who supply shipping orders:—

‘The older ones cannot turn so easily to a new occupation. Indeed very few can change. A shirt-maker cannot make a collar, nor a collar-maker a necktie. Many would sooner sit still than attempt it. There is a certain class of work for each, and they cannot get their hands out of it. We tried for some time to get shirts made at Witney, in Oxfordshire, where a great many persons are employed by us in their own homes as glove-makers, but we could not succeed, and gave it up.’—P. 157.

This helpless class are the victims of 'sweaters,' who make a profit out of their labours. As Mr. Lord says:—

"I believe that most wholesale houses pay a fair price to all whom they employ directly. It is when work passes through several hands, each of which is to take its share of profit, while only the last does the work, that the pay which reaches the workwoman is miserably disproportioned to the price paid by the purchaser for the manufactured article."—P. lxx.

This is explained by the book-keepers of Messrs. Moses:—

'He stated the great cause for the existence of the class called sweaters to be, that it was necessary to have some responsible person who could give security for the goods they took out. This the workpeople were frequently, either from their poverty or their intemperate or improvident habits, wholly unable to do; while the "sweater," who lived in the same district with the workpeople, could easily protect himself from loss by giving out only a few at a time, and paying once or even twice a day, as often as they were returned; so that many lived literally from hand to mouth, obtaining possibly at the end of their morning's work enough to pay for their dinner, and so on.'—P. 151.

The unskilled work that married women can do at home must necessarily pay badly, so many of this class would rather have any remuneration than none; there is an instance given of a devoted wife working for a sick husband from six in the morning to eleven at night most nights of the year, and not earning 6s. a week. But this state of things is more a misfortune incident to humanity than an evil that can be met by parliamentary interference.

The rival of the lower class of seamstress is of course the sewing machine, which figures very importantly in this Report, and we must say very favourably. It is clear that the power to master this instrument implies a better capacity or more fixity of purpose than the lower class of needleworkers are equal to. The machinist, as she is called, uniformly earns fair wages, and often is paid very well, from 12s. to 16s. or 20s. a week, according to skill. Though one witness complains, that this interloper has taken the work from a great many 'poor creatures,' this can hardly be matter of regret, when these poor creatures were toiling for the barest pittance in garrets. Individual suffering for a short period at any rate is the inevitable consequence of a fundamental change in the mode of conducting a large manufacture. But on the whole, the sewing machine has not thrown people out of work. Thus a London staymaker gives his opinion:—

"I do not think that the introduction of sewing machines has of itself at all diminished the number of persons employed in any trade in which they have been adopted. If I were to want the same amount of work done, in the same time, and at the same price, as 40 years ago, I could not get it done; and no doubt girls are far better paid as machinists, than they were 40 and even 20 years ago, when needlework was all done by hand. Every machine maker is still sending out weekly a number of machines; there is a demand for persons to work them; the machinist thereby becomes more independent of her employer."—P. 155.

The head of a ladies' underclothing warehouse says :—

"The youngest we have here is more than 16; we use sewing machines; it is very seldom that a woman over 25 or 30 takes to them. We consider that two machines employ three persons beside the machinists. Machinists earn from 12*s.* to 20*s.* a week; plain-needle workers from 5*s.* to 10*s.* It is the semi-genteel workpeople who keep earnings low in our business; so many are ready to take in work at almost any price, that helps them to keep up appearances; they do not, as a rule, do our best work."—P. 154.

One protection afforded by the machine to female labour is that children cannot work at it; another, that it seems never to become so merely mechanical but that attention and *sense* are necessary. Thus a machinist differs from the lower seamstress in that she can turn her skill into new directions. The stay-maker says :—

"The machinist can turn to mantle-making, when we get slack. When they understand how to use a machine at all, they can easily learn to use it for different purposes. I don't think the extra wages they get over the needlewomen go in the shape of better food; they dress better; every spare sixpence goes on their back."—P. 155.

Except so far as the child can help its mother at home, the long hours and other trials of the seamstress's life do not affect young girls. For their large share in the national sum of labour we must look to the several branches of manufacture of Nottingham lace, pillow lace, hosiery, straw plait, and gloves. All the machine-made net and lace in the kingdom is either made or finished in Nottingham. It is calculated that 150,000 persons are engaged altogether upon lace-making, a comparatively small number of whom are now under Government regulations. Most of these are women and children. They work in what are technically called dressing-rooms, ware-rooms, and private houses. The dressing-rooms are enormous places, one of which costs 100*l.* to whitewash; but there are difficulties in spite of their size in the way of ventilation which render late hours peculiarly injurious. The manner in which trade in Nottingham is carried on renders these long hours a great temptation, if not, as some think, unavoidable. The manufacturers keep no stock in hand, but wait for orders, and when these come in fast, a pressure is put on their hands to complete them as quickly as possible; thus the Report states that—

"The ordinary hours of work for about two-thirds of the year, in most cases, appear to be from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M. or at latest 8 P.M.

"For the remainder of the year, during the times of pressure, the work is continued to 9, 10, and in some instances to 12 o'clock at night.

"The ill effects of even the more moderate hours of work upon the young are amply proved by the evidence. Mr. White enumerates them at p. 183 of his Report (last paragraph):—

"From the great heat, and continual perspiration, they become pale, anguid, and emaciated; fainting and fits are of usual occurrence; consumption

common; and the moral and physical consequences of the undue stimulus given to the female functions very injurious.”—P. vi.

The warehouses which employ a superior class of girls are represented as being more injurious than the dressing-rooms, owing to the large amount of gas employed; and the ventilation there secured being of a nature so unpopular amongst the work-people, as producing draughts, that they stop it as much as possible. The worst effects, however, are found as usual not in the buildings of the larger manufacturers, who give their minds and open their purses to amend those evils, but in the smaller warehouses and in private houses. In these places the children are kept in busy seasons from eight or nine up to twelve o'clock at night, the rooms getting hotter and closer every hour. One witness, who had under her thirty girls between eight and fourteen, reports of a busy time two years ago:—

“The proper hours of work were from 8 to 7 P.M. but they hardly ever left off at 7. The general time was 8 or 9, and sometimes 10. Never kept children under 12 later than 10; thought it was a shame. But if the work was not done, the master would find fault with her unless she had asked beforehand not to be obliged to do it. Very many masters will not give leave so, because the work must be done in time. Once they were very busy, and she had to keep the children to 10 P.M. for nearly a week. Worked three days and two whole nights herself, never leaving the workroom from Wednesday morning till Friday night about 11 o'clock. Half the elder girls, *i.e.* those over 12, stayed at work all through one night, and the other half all through the next. Had her meals brought to her, and ate them as she could at her work.”—P. xii.

During the commissioner's visit trade was bad, but on its revival these hours must be resumed. This is felt so strongly, that the leading manufacturers press for some Government regulation, and candidly acknowledge the impossibility of a general reform without; though each is ready to acknowledge that there is no profit in the long run in hours longer than from 6 to 6, ‘because you cannot get more than a certain amount of work out of people, and if people know that they are going to work late at night they loiter over their work in the day.’ In Nottingham again it is the mothers that press their children upon employers:—

‘Mothers very often bring children, particularly on Monday mornings, to ask her to take them. Many are about 5½ or 6, to judge by their appearance. Last week a man (a glazier) asked her to take his child, “a sharp little girl, 5 last Friday.” In the same week a woman brought her child, so little that she could not be above 5. It was the fifth or sixth time that she had brought her. The mother said that she had been out at work before, and that, no doubt, was true, for she took up the scissors and cut away in such a manner that she must, in witness's opinion, have been at it for at least six months.’—P. xix.

And the work they are put to in the mistress's houses is thus spoken of:—

"Their work is a stooping, unhealthy employment, and they are frequently occupied at it more hours a day than the factory children. It has been at times no uncommon thing in Nottingham to find from 15 to 20 children in a small low room (perhaps not more than 12 feet square) working for 15 hours out of the 24 at an employment in itself exhausting from its tedium and monotony, and, in addition to this, exposed to every cause that can tend to injure permanently the health of those engaged in it."—P. xx.

And another says:—

"I do not know that there would be much difference between a mother and a mistress in exacting work from children under her control, if an excessive amount of work were imperatively required. The pecuniary interest of the mother would be at least as strong."—P. xxi.

The children, thus early utilized, by the time they are fourteen or fifteen are able to support themselves, and recognise no duty to their parents. The system of work there no doubt accounts for a difference, and a very marked one, between the artisans of Nottingham and other neighbouring towns under factory regulations. It is a saying in these places that 'they think nothing of education at Nottingham.' Nottingham people are notorious for their improvidence, so that, though receiving high wages, they are so far from being a day beforehand, that they are always short; the women are great dressers, and know nothing of housekeeping, and so on. This estimate is confirmed by the evidence. Thus, a Mr. Cresswell says:—

"But education is more especially important in the case of girls. If they are without it, by the time they are 15 or 16 they come to think of nothing but dress, having no higher taste, and, as in this town they are by that age in a great measure self-supporting, they then throw off parental authority and settle down in houses, generally with friends, where they are not interfered with. I have long paid special attention to the case of those who are most ignorant, and have found that when they leave work they do not go home or to any place where they can improve themselves, but seem to have no desire beyond that of displaying themselves. At the same time, they are unwilling to take part in home duties, which they look upon as drudgery, and thus they never acquire habits which will fit them for the married state, and are unable to cook a dinner, clean a house, or generally make home comfortable. I speak this from my own observation of what I have seen in their houses when I have gone there to make inquiries in cases of sickness, as well as from inquiries which I have made about them in other quarters. The social consequences of this are, as is plain, very serious."—P. xvii.

There is, it must be owned, a sameness in these Reports; we have to look at the headings to ascertain whether we are reading of the lace trade in Nottingham, or hosiery in Leicester. But in Leicester the ordinary hours have been shortened by the railways. The old carriers would wait for goods till any time in the night, the railway waits for none. Thus parcels which used to be sent off at 12 must now be despatched at 5.30. The occupations in hosiery are frame-work and seaming. Though some girls have begun to work the laborious frame at ten, the younger children

generally do seaming. Such pictures as these are common in this part :—

“Little children here begin to work at stitching gloves when very young. My little sister was $5\frac{1}{2}$ years old; can stitch a good many little fingers,¹ and is very clever, having been at it for two years; i.e. began when she was $3\frac{1}{2}$ years old. She used to stand on a stool so as to be able to see up to the candle on the table. I have seen many begin as young as that, and they do so still, because it makes them cleverer if they begin young. Parents are not particular about the age if they have work, as they must do it.”

‘Little children are kept up shamefully late, if there is work, especially on Thursday and Friday nights, when it is often till 11 and 12. They have to make two days out of Friday. Children younger than 7, but not younger than 6, are kept up as late as that. Mothers will pin them to their knee to keep them to their work, and, if they are sleepy, give them a slap on the head to keep them awake. If the children are pinned up so, they cannot fall when they are slapped or when they go to sleep. I have often seen the children slapped in this way and cry. The child has so many fingers set for it to stitch before it goes to bed and must do them.’—Pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.

The trials that infancy has to endure in pillow lace-making have been set forth in Miss Yonge’s current and very bright and able story, ‘The Clever Woman of the Family.’ This more costly fabric, which is still independent of machinery, is made in villages, each of which has an establishment called the school, a term which conveys to the initiated a meaning quite distinct from the ordinary one. The school in Honiton and its dependencies means the place where lace-making is taught, and taught to little children under the conditions of much crowding, and a good deal less air than ourselves and our readers would think it possible to breathe in day after day, and live. The foulness of air produced by the crowding is sometimes extreme. We are told—

‘At these lace schools, at which the children are employed at learning to make lace, they commence at the early age of 5 or 6, “and sit at work for the first year or two, from four and six to eight hours;” but, after that age, and until they leave the lace school, at from 12 to 15 years of age, to work in their own homes,—they work “sometimes from 6 A.M. to 10 P.M., but in most places not beyond 8 P.M.”; long enough to lay the foundation of ill-health “from the closeness of the confinement and bad air.”’—P. xxx.

And the consequence upon the health is what might be expected. Thus one witness says:—

“Children in this place are delicate, and from always working at lace are not so strong as if they were running about. When little things are brought to sit by the hour so long, their constitution is broken up. It is very trying to them, and every year as they grow older their hours increase, and they are obliged to work more and more.”—P. xxx.

The Vicar of Colyton states :—

“I am convinced that the effects of lace-making, as carried on here, are very injurious in several ways. In the schools it is unhealthy from the small size and crowded state of the rooms, the air of which is stifling. But, apart from this, the work itself, which involves such long-continued sitting and

stooping over the pillow, injures the chest. Consumption is prevalent amongst the people, and to a greater degree in later life."—P. xxx.

We need not explain to our readers that the districts where pillow lace is made are the southern coast of Devonshire, and the counties of Northampton, Buckingham, and Bedford. The conditions of this trade are almost the same as those of straw plaiting, and in the two latter counties, where pillow-lace schools terminate, there straw-plait schools begin and spread over parts of Hertfordshire and Essex.

"Children are taught plaiting in these schools usually at 4 years old, some at 3½, and they can clip the loose straws off younger, when about 3½ or 3. Lizzie Ibbins there, who is between 2 and 3 years old, is clipping some plait made by her sister elsewhere. Lizzie Cook, who was 3 last month, I think, can clip her 'ten' (yards) in a day" (d. 7). "People reckon to set children down to plait at 4 years old and after" (d. 2). "Some begin plaiting a few weeks before they are 4, but 4 is the age of most for beginning."

"These young children remain at the plaiting school from 9 a.m. to 1, and from 2 p.m. to 4. When about 7 years old they return at 5 p.m. and work till 8. The younger children will therefore have six hours of work a day, and those 7 years old 9 hours. There is rarely any attempt at education. The school proper is spoken of by the children as "the reading school," or the "natural school" (d. 16, d. 21), in contradistinction to the plait school, the office of which latter is simply to keep the children at work, or to see that they accomplish the task required of them by the parents. "The children have so many yards to do, and then their mothers sell the plait" (d. 2). "Though my place is called a school, I do not teach plaiting, but merely keep the children to their work, and see that they do the number of yards set to them by their parents, which is according to their age and the kind of plait they are taught by their friends before they come to me. I used to teach them some reading too, but found that too much, and do not do it now" (d. 13). "Many will do a score yards in a day, and sometimes two score, but they do not like to do so much often. About 30 yards seem counted the most proper day's work, to take the bigger ones" (*ibid.*); the straw cuts their fingers and their mouths too, as they draw it through their mouths because it breaks off if it is not damp" (*ibid.*). "They are set so many yards by their mothers, and the mistresses who get the most work out of them are most patronized" (d. 24); "but if they do not finish at school the number of yards set to them their mothers make them do it at home, so it would be all the same. If they think the child can earn 6d. they make it. Children have been kept at work at home very late; up till 10, 11, and 12 . . . It's ruining the children when they are driven so. As they grow up they do not care so much about their parents, and leave them. The parents do not study their children's welfare, but only seem to see how much they can get out of them." . . . (d. 25).—P. xl.

And as the consequence of this system, the Rector of Todington thus gives his experience:—

"Hardly one young man or woman can write even her own name. The marriage registers can prove this. Very few can read, judging by the congregation at church, very few of whom use a prayer-book. Vast numbers of young men and women are to be seen and heard loitering about the lanes at night, and especially on Sundays. Their morals are at a very low ebb. A large average of the women have illegitimate children, and some at such an early

age as quite to startle even those who are at home in criminal statistics. I greatly feel the necessity of something being done to keep the straw-plaiting within bounds, and sincerely hope something effectual may result from the consideration taken in this matter in Parliament. I have seen a great deal of England, and have spent some considerable time, from a month to a year, in many parts, north, south, east, west, but nowhere have I met with such lamentable ignorance as I meet with here, and an ignorance which very little on the part of the clergy can be done to counteract; ignorance which I can attribute to nothing else than straw-plaiting."—Pp. xl. xli.

Curious facts come out in these Reports as to the comparative remuneration of trades. Some manufactures are especially niggardly, as, for example, brace-making, in which a child of seven worked for an old woman in Golden Lane, from eight in the morning till ten at night for sixpence a week. Gloves again are remarkable for their late hours. Thus at Yeovil it is a common thing for children of eight and nine to work from 6 A.M. to 8 P.M. and one mother gives evidence:—

'Mrs. Tomptins.—"I have ten children living, and four of them are younger than that one at the engine; she is 9, and has been two or three years at it; she has worked all night before now, and from 6 or 7 A.M. to 11 and 12 at night in the same week. They do suffer in health, and get very little schooling; they only go on Sundays; I can't say much about the reading. If the Queen was to tell me that I must send all my children to school, I should just ask her to take one or two of them off my hands altogether, and be glad if she would."—P. 176.

The consequence of all this is, that at Yeovil, where 50,000 people are employed, owing to ill-ventilated rooms, late hours, and children being set to work too early, consumption is very prevalent—pulmonary diseases being the natural consequence of sedentary employment in bad air. Another natural consequence is an ignorance exceptional even here, but not very different from what is indeed inevitable wherever infants are set to earn wages. There are districts for example in London, where at shirt and brace making the children help their mothers, in which out of 200 girls, from nine to fifteen, collected in an evening school, more than 160 did not know their letters.

Where factory regulations prevail, and children can remain at school till eleven, or, when they go to work earlier, half-time is enforced and really carried out, cases of dense ignorance are common enough. Yet there is a marked difference, as we can speak from experience, between towns subject in all branches of industry to the control of law, and those exempt from it, a difference we would fain hope in morals, and certainly in knowledge. A tone of greater respectability prevails among the young women, their dress is more modest and in better taste, their manner is less flaunting, their standard of conduct is higher, we mean comparatively, for it is only by comparison that we speak. At least we hear little or nothing of the custom, so

common in places of early labour, of girls leaving their homes and setting up independent housekeeping. The relation of children and parent is not so broken down when the temptation does not exist of making them work too early, and the state of things prevents such evidence as is given in Leicester.

"Parents bring their children to work a great deal too young. I have asked some, if they think we keep an infant school; but, indeed, many use their children just as farmers use their cattle, to get what they can out of them, and have no regard either for their health or their education."—P. 166.

Nor is it only the careless and intemperate who need some check. In cases of distress it constantly comes to the parent as a necessity, if not a duty, to employ the child at too early an age as a bread-winner. Nobody can say anything against the widow's argument, that the little child must either work or starve; but, nevertheless, it is better for the child that such labour is impossible for it, and better for the mother in the long run. Her position towards her children and her subsequent claim on them is stronger; for if anything breaks down the right of the old and infirm on the help of their child, it is that they have abused their authority over its helplessness. The worst charges of immorality induced by neglect occur in a district where glove-making alternates with garden and field labour, as in parts of Worcestershire: indeed, the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Walsh, curate of Evesham, who accompanied Mr. Lord in a round of inspection, is too painful and startling in its charges and its inferences for insertion.

But these pages are not all painful. Thus the hatters' report stands out an oasis in this desert, and is nearly all *couleur de rose*. In this trade the wages are good; there is loyalty and fidelity in employed towards employer; the hours are not excessive; the children work half-time, and their education is attended to. The principal of a firm gave evidence that—

"The girls and women are very well behaved, their moral conduct is good; we should always send away any girl who had an illegitimate child, but there has not been a case for ten years past certainly."—P. 161.

And further, that even in the family there is neither overwork nor bad air.

"All the family work, girls as well as boys, beginning at 13 or 14 years old. They bring their work in once a week and are paid then, that is called "padding" day; they don't do much on that day generally; some of ours have one day, and some another. I don't think that working long and late is a habit with them. A family of four or five persons will earn 3*l.* to 4*l.* a week."—P. 161.

While Mr. Lord's testimony confirms this.

"I found all the arrangements here very good for the health and comfort of the workpeople; all whom I examined could read, and generally read well;

the boys attended school on Sundays, and night school, or Mechanics Institute in the winter, and had been to day school before beginning to work.”—P. 162.

Another principal in the trade says the rule of the trade is high wages; one young man earns 4*l.*, an apprentice 2*l.* 2*s.* with some reduction, even women earn 2*l.*, and girls 18*s.* to 10*s.* And this success does not spoil these model artisans—on the contrary:

“There is, I think, a very marked improvement in the whole population of Oldham in the last 25 years; hatters have partaken of it as well as others. The fathers are a lower stamp of men than the sons. The brutal life that men used to lead, and be proud of, when I first came here, is gone. One great thing is the improvement of their dwellings. I dare say the enforced cleanliness in the factories has something to do with that. Another thing is the Sunday school. It may not teach them much, but I am persuaded it is the main thing that holds together such a society as ours is. The very pride they all take now at Whitsuntide in the rivalry between the different Sunday schools is beneficial. No doubt there are yet very many among those, who dress themselves in finery, and walk in procession with their gay parasols, who are really very ignorant. For all that, it is a great social advance. What we now want is some force from without to prevent any from being employed who can’t read and write; at all events under a certain age. It would be the wisest and finest thing the legislature could do.”—P. 162.

There are individual instances, too, in these Reports, of perseverance and the energy to overcome difficulties, which are hopeful. Cases of men who have worked their own way out of the slough of ignorance into light and knowledge; of children who will try to learn after a long day of hard work; of one Maria Winterbottom, who, at thirteen, attended the night school all one winter at the cost of reducing her dinner hour to five minutes; of little girls who will allow nothing to be too long or too hard for their strength, and who ‘hope they shall never get tired of work;’ but it is precisely such fine material that one grieves to see wasted by premature use, and for which we should especially rejoice to see the Commissioners’ recommendations adopted, recommendations which, with the necessary variations, are embodied in the Second Report in the following clauses. First specifying the age before which work for wages, should not begin, which in the lace manufacture is eight, it goes on:—

‘That it should be unlawful to employ any child under 13 years of age in any of the processes above specified more than six hours in any one day, or before the hour of 6 A.M. or after the hour of 7 P.M.

‘That every child or young person or woman employed in any of the processes above specified should be entitled to the same meal hours as are secured to those working in manufactories under the regulations of the Factory Act.

‘That it should be unlawful to employ any young person above the age of 13, and under the age of 18, or any woman, in any of the processes above specified more than 10½ hours in any one day, or in the night, *i.e.* between the hours of 7 P.M. and 6 P.M.’—P. xxvi. xxvii.

While in the Third Report, on Metal Manufactures, where the

requirements of trade necessitate modifications of the ordinary factory regulations, it is recommended that night work should be forbidden for children, young persons, and women. In the great range of Birmingham trades the provisions of the Factory Act regarding half-time and education are recommended to be enforced in the smallest workshop as well as the large manufactories.

We have confined our comments mainly to what concerns the employment of children; a great deal of the Second Report is given up to the department of millinery and dressmaking, but in this branch children proper have no place, and it is a part of the subject to which the Press has already called attention, and given information.

Of course in these Reports the evidence is conflicting, and in many instances visibly coloured by the witness's temperament and disposition. It might sometimes seem as if the children questioned professed universal ignorance to escape a disagreeable predicament, as in the case of the boy's summary answer, 'I know about my work, and that's about all I do know:' and here and there some monstrous answer may be their crude notion of a joke, as 'he's a lion,' for the cow and milking pail. Still this suspicion cannot affect the great body of evidence, which tells one unvarying unmistakeable tale. As for the testimony of employers and overlookers, people of every variety of temper, training and character, it is necessarily coloured by circumstances. Men see things as they have been used to look on them or as they are sanguine or desponding, croaking or hopeful, disposed to look on the bad or the good side, discouraged by failure or hot in the apparent success of some new scheme, and no doubt also as their interest sways them. But there is little, as far as we can judge, of deliberately false statement. Indeed, it is surprising how many persons these commissioners find to lay bare their books, accounts and systems of business to them; how candid are many of the admissions, and how willing the majority are to have their notions, their ignorance, their shortcomings sought into. The result upon the reader's mind is, that the leading men in each trade have not needed a commission to convince them that some steps should be taken to mend an acknowledged bad state of things, and that even those averse to interference will not fight against it when, or if, it comes; while experience in other branches of manufactures bids us to hope that such interference will ameliorate the condition of the children employed without affecting even the temporary success of the trades on which it is brought to bear.

ART. IV.—*Journal of a Tour through Spiti to the Frontier of Chinese Thibet. With Photographic Illustrations.* By PHILIP HENRY EGERTON, Deputy-Commissioner of Kangra. London: Cundall, Downes & Co. 1864.

FEW of our readers, probably, have ever heard of Spiti, and in truth their ignorance may well be pardoned. It is a small and, in itself, insignificant district in a remote corner of British India, consisting, in fact, of a few thinly populated valleys, those of the Spiti river and its tributaries, on the eastern side of the Himalayan range. The mountains to the north and south of the Spiti valley rise to the height of 20,000 feet, and throw out great spurs which terminate abruptly above the valley at heights of from 16,000 to 18,000 feet. Between these, the second and third Himalayan ranges, there is a space varying from twenty to thirty miles in width, which is the province of Spiti. The river which traverses the valley joins the Sutlej, and, of course, finally the Indus. Territorially, therefore, the province is of little account; like the more celebrated slope of the Savoy Alps, it derives its importance from adventitious circumstances; in fact, from having been, like that favoured province, *revendiquée* by a Power whose mission it is to spread civilisation and Christianity at the cannon's mouth. It is the one point of contact between the British dominions in India, and Chinese Thibet and Tartary, offering a safe and, as it seems, a tolerably practicable route of traffic with the western portions of the Chinese Empire, a traffic which, in Mr. Egerton's opinion, 'if really opened out by the fair and moderate exercise of England's diplomatic influence, would bring our manufactures into the heart of Central Asia, extending civilisation to the barbarous hordes which people those vast tracts, and enriching the manufacturers, exporters, and carriers of European produce, as well as the Thibetan and Tartar shepherds.' Events, we must honestly confess, have not taught us to place much faith in the 'moderate exercise of our diplomatic influence' in those eastern regions; nor can we say that the fruits of our 'civilisation' are generally such as to make us greatly desire its extension: it is open to doubt also whether the enriching of the Thibetan and Tartar shepherds is quite so probable as that of the exporters of English produce. Still these are objects in themselves every way worthy the attention of a powerful government brought into contact with barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes, nor can the British autho-

rities in India be fairly blamed for wishing to push our commerce and extend our 'moral influence' into the regions adjacent to our frontier, nor for somewhat over-rating the blessings likely to accrue to the recipients from the success of these operations. In so far, indeed, as the establishment of this line of communication is likely to afford facilities for advancing our missions in that direction, and furthering the spread of Christianity into regions where, notwithstanding the alleged discoveries of the Abbé Huc, there seems little reason to believe that the Gospel has yet been preached, we most heartily wish that the effort may prove successful. For this, however, we must be content to wait awhile. The immediate object of the endeavour to open a route into Chinese Tartary, is one of a very definite and practical character. The promotion of trade in general and the extension of civilisation are no doubt seen in perspective; but the problem at present is to find some means of procuring a supply of the fine shawl-wool, or pushm,¹ to enable the manufacturers at Umritsur and the other shawl-weaving towns of the Punjab to compete with those of Cashmere. Hitherto the Maharajah of Cashmere has succeeded in retaining the almost exclusive monopoly of the fine wool, while the Punjab weavers have been obliged to content themselves with wool of a coarser quality, and with a very limited supply even of that. This deficiency they have supplemented by adulteration, mixing their shawl-wool, such as it is, with inferior wool of a different kind. It appears that two or three years ago the deputy-commissioner of Umritsur reported to government, on the authority of the principal shawl-weavers of the place, that there was no want of shawl-wool and no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply. The assertion appeared, as it well might, incomprehensible. It subsequently came out, that their shawls were extensively adulterated with Kirmânee wool, and were already beginning to be depreciated in the English market. There is reason to suppose that they had at the time a large quantity of shawl goods in England, or on the way, the sale of which would have been greatly endangered if they had confessed that the supply of wool was inadequate, in other words, that their wool was mixed. Moreover, as they knew the difficulties in the way of increasing the supply, they might naturally ask, what reasonable chance they had of obtaining more after thus publishing the secret of their trade, and, as it were, warning purchasers that their goods were not what they

¹ The pushm is a soft fine wool, which grows next the skin, underneath the long outer hair, from which it requires to be carefully separated after shearing. One goat rarely produces more than two or three pounds in a year.

professed to be. Would they not have to go on using the same spurious material, and trying to sell their manufactures to dealers thus put on their guard against the deception? Government, doubtless, wished to assist them; but would it succeed in breaking down a monopoly which had lasted for centuries? One of the chief manufacturers of Noorpoor, on being pressed, admitted to Mr. Egerton that only the coarse or refuse wool reaches them. Fully aware of the true state of the case, the government has long been anxious to open a road for the introduction of the Yarkund wool. It will be seen, on reference to any recent map, that the most direct route, through Lé, or Ladak, has the disadvantage of passing through Cashmere, which overlaps the British territory towards the east, and of which the ruler has a direct interest in closing the passage to British commerce. This is at present the only road open to Yarkund, and, besides the disadvantage just mentioned, there are considerable engineering difficulties in the way of its becoming available for purposes of an extended traffic. An attempt has recently been made to improve one portion of it by constructing a wooden bridge over the Chundra river, hitherto crossed only by means of a twig bridge—a most difficult and dangerous mode of transit; but the works seem to have been abandoned, or at any rate suspended for the present, owing to a melancholy accident which occurred in the autumn of 1863, to the workmen employed, seventy-two in number. The works had been stopped for the season, owing to an unusually early fall of snow in October. In order to return to their homes in Koolloo, the men had to cross the Rotang Pass, about 14,000 feet high; but as the weather had cleared, no danger or difficulty was anticipated. Just, however, as they reached the top of the pass they were met by a gale of wind, so fierce and cold that they were unable to struggle against it, blinded as they were by the driving snow, and the whole of them perished. It was, as may well be imagined, a ghastly scene when the officials went up a few days after to collect and bury the dead. This Rotang Pass has, if not a sadder, yet at any rate a wider interest attached to it. It was to over-exertion in crossing it in so highly rarefied an atmosphere that Lord Elgin's fatal illness is to be ascribed. It speaks much for the great importance attached to the opening of this communication with Central Asia, that a man of his calm judgment and long experience should have felt himself justified in incurring the risk of testing by his own observation the capabilities of what was then regarded as the most promising, if not the only practicable route. That he should have done so is deeply to be regretted, as it was the immediate cause of the loss of a most able, inde-

fatigable and efficient public servant, yet we cannot feel that we have any right to blame him for exerting himself, somewhat perhaps beyond the bounds of prudence, in furtherance of an object which he deemed, and we may fairly assume rightly deemed, likely to contribute largely to the prosperity of a considerable province of our Eastern empire, and, at the same time, to exercise a beneficial influence on the inhabitants of those vast regions with which we should thus be brought into closer contact. Besides, there is no reason to suppose that he was at all aware that his health was in so precarious a state as to render the expedition one of serious danger. Still, that so valuable a life should have been sacrificed in such a way is greatly to be lamented, and the more so as it seems probable that the route he was exploring will not prove available, owing to the combination already described of physical and political difficulties, as a free and permanent means of communication.

The attention of Lord Dalhousie had been directed to this subject some years before. He commenced, if we remember rightly, a road to Thibet, through Koonawur, *vid* Simlah and Rampoor; but it had the disadvantage, like the more northerly route, of passing through other than British territory, that of the Rajah of Bussahir; thereby subjecting the traffic, if to no more serious impediment, at least to heavy transit dues, which of course it is desirable, if possible, even at considerable sacrifice to avoid. This project however is, we understand, about to be abandoned, owing, it is presumed, to the engineering difficulties in the way of its execution.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Egerton, who has been for some years in charge of the Kangra district, of which the province of Spiti forms a part, and which is traversed by the northern or Cashmere road to Ladak, thought it very desirable to ascertain by actual inspection whether it would not be possible to take advantage of the small space where our territory joins Chinese Thibet to open a practicable road for merchandise; hoping, should the scheme prove feasible, that a considerable portion of the Yarkund and China traffic would flow into that channel, and thus avoid 'the imposts, exactions, and obstructions of intervening states, with narrow-minded rulers and covetous officials.' He perceived that, amongst other advantages, a market would be opened for the produce of our tea districts in Kangra and Kumaon, of which there is no doubt that the inhabitants of Western Thibet would eagerly avail themselves. At present they get only brick tea of the coarsest quality from China, by an overland route of nearly a thousand miles: that grown in Kangra is much superior and would have to be conveyed about one-fourth of the distance.

Mr. Egerton has taken great pains and has been very successful in promoting the cultivation of tea in his district, which is well suited for it. The design, which he had long entertained, was strengthened by the publication, in 1862, of an able and comprehensive report by Mr. Davies, Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, on the State of Trade with Central Asia, which distinctly pointed out the wideness of the field for traffic, and the obstacles which cramp it. The information which he was able to collect as to the character of the passes and valleys which it would be necessary to cross, was such as to convince him not only that no insurmountable obstacles would be encountered, but that the difficulties to be overcome would prove less formidable than on either of the existing routes. Additional facilities appeared to be offered by the circumstance that the inhabitants of Spiti are allied by religion, race and language, as well as by already existing commercial interests, to their neighbours on the other side of the frontier. At this point the British territory oversteps the line which separates the Aryan from the Mongolian races: the natives of these valleys, subjects of the British crown, are Tartars; they are all Buddhists; their religious teachers are educated at Lhassa; their language is the same as that of Thibet. Impressed with these obvious advantages, Mr. Egerton decided, with the cordial assent of Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, to whom he imparted his views, on making a tour through this remote portion of his district, and received from the government a liberal sum for the purpose of providing presents for the native chiefs and of hiring labour to make the route passable.

Accordingly, in June, 1863, he left Dhurmsala,¹ the headquarters of the Kangra district, and two days later joined his tents and servants, previously sent forward, at the first halting-place in Koolloo. And here it must be remarked, that this route appears at first sight to be open to the same political objection as the other two. For, although Kangra and Koolloo are conterminous towards the north, yet the mountain ranges which form the boundary are so high as to be impassable for traffic; consequently the road runs for about forty miles through the intervening independent territory of Mundee. But seeing that it is secured by prescription, if not by treaty, from the imposition of any tolls, and that it is the interest of the Rajah of Mundee, whose independence, moreover, is little more than nominal, to keep it in good order, no practical inconvenience or

¹ At Dhurmsala, a town in a beautiful situation at the foot of the snowy range, there is a pretty little church, close to which Lord Elgin is buried. Three good photographic views of the town and church are given in the volume.

impediment of any kind need be apprehended. Mr. Egerton was detained some days in Koolloo by official business; but at length, on the 30th June, he started from Juggutsookh, the real point of departure, having succeeded in securing as a companion Mr. Heyde, a Moravian missionary, whose knowledge of the people and perfect acquaintance of the Thibetan language, which he speaks fluently, made his presence an invaluable acquisition. The entire distance from Juggutsookh to Gurtokh in Thibet, is about 270 miles, traversable throughout by laden ponies and yâks.¹ Mr. Egerton, however, only succeeded in penetrating as far as Kûrig, the first Chinese village, about 130 miles, beyond which point the Chinese authorities would not permit him to advance. He had previously written to the Garpoon, or military commandant, requesting that he would meet him on the frontier to make arrangements for the establishment of a fair for the interchange of the commodities of the two countries. The Garpoon, however, returned the letter with the seal unbroken, declining, on the plea of his oath of office, to have any correspondence whatever with the Europeans; and at the same time sent strict orders to his subordinates on the frontier not to allow them to pass into Thibet. These orders they obeyed to the letter, excusing themselves on the plea that Spiti was in quarantine owing to the prevalence of small-pox. The pretext was not wholly groundless; for in the spring of the same year the superintendent of Hill vaccination had been through the province with his staff and vaccinated everybody, from the Nono downwards. Hence a rumour had spread into Thibet that the small-pox was raging there, and that many people had died. Of course the real cause of their exclusion was the jealousy of the Chinese with regard to foreigners in general, and especially their dread of British encroachment—a dread which we must confess does not appear to us so strange or unreasonable as it does to Mr. Egerton. Remembering—not to dive too far back into history—the names of Oudh, Scinde, the Punjab, we can scarcely wonder that ‘we should be suspected of aggressive intentions, although the independent existence of the kingdom of Nepaul on the eastern, and of Cashmere on the western frontier of Thibet ought,’ he thinks, ‘to be accepted as substantial proofs of English moderation and forbearance.’ Be this as it may, we do not seem to have succeeded in persuading the Chinese government that the visit of

¹ *Bos grunniens*. A large and powerful species of bullock, covered with long shaggy hair, very short-legged and sure-footed, much used for carrying burdens over the mountains. The tails are greatly prized in India, for *chowries*, or fly-flappers.

an English official was an event to be hailed with satisfaction: and, accordingly, our traveller was obliged to content himself with exploring that portion of the route which traverses our own territory, beyond which, however, it appears there are no serious difficulties to be encountered. This part he surveyed and measured with great care and accuracy, and has given the results of his observations, both as to the nature of the country and the character and habits of the people, in an interesting journal, printed apparently almost as it was written on the spot, and illustrated with upwards of thirty large photographs of the scenery and inhabitants of those wild regions. These last do great credit to the skill and perseverance of the artist, Mr. Egerton himself, as in addition to the risk and labour of transporting the necessary apparatus across rivers and mountain passes, there was great difficulty in taking them, owing to the cold, or, more probably, to the great variations of temperature, the thermometer ranging from about 30° Fahr. at sunrise, to 88° or 90° at noon, which rendered it almost impossible to keep the 'chemicals' in good order. Nor was the operation always accomplished without personal danger. The view (No. 33) of a very remarkable natural bridge of rock, eighty feet in length, across a mountain torrent, was obtained at the cost of two adventures, each of which involved considerable risk to the artist's neck. The most desirable place for the camera was on another huge mass of rock standing in the middle of the torrent, which roared and chafed round its base. The rock was about fifty feet high, and the only way on to it was to jump from a projecting part of the bank. This Mr. Egerton accordingly did; but, when there, he was unable to reach the camera which his servant held out to him across the chasm. He now discovered that, although it had been easy to jump on to the rock, to jump back was impossible: the only alternative was to spring to another rock somewhat lower down. The width to be cleared was not great, nine or ten feet, the drop about the same: 'but the take-off' was a smooth, slippery rock, slanting steeply down, on 'which it was impossible to get a firm footing. I had to make a 'standing jump, and failure was instant destruction.' However there was no help for it, so he took the leap, and fortunately escaped with a severe strain of both ankles, which made him unable to walk for some days. Of course he had to be contented with a less favourable point of view for his photograph. This happened just at the point from which he was compelled to retrace his steps, and the consequences were almost more perilous than the adventure itself. Instead of walking, as he had hitherto done, he was forced to trust to a pony, whose amiable qualities he thus describes:—

'She was a stout, good-looking beast; but for stopping every ten yards uphill to blow—for lifting both forelegs together, and letting them down with a plump, when descending a rocky path—for always shying at the dogs in a dangerous place—for going closer to the edge of a precipice than any other brute, and letting her hind legs slip over the path when crossing a particularly steep bed of shingle—for squeezing close up to the inside of the path, if there happened to be a projecting rock to catch your knee—for always choosing the wrong path if there was a choice, and when there was apparently no option, coolly bolting up or down a precipitous bank, for a particular piece of vegetation which took her fancy, keeping the smallest possible speck of both reverted eyes on you all the time, in a way that became at last quite insupportable—in short, for aggravating a man in every conceivable and inconceivable way, I would back her against any female in creation.'—*Journal*, p. 48.

Her iniquities culminated in coming down a very steep and rocky road overhanging a precipice more than 2000 feet in depth, a place where, but for his sprained ankles, nothing would have induced him to ride. The brute caught sight of some tempting morsel growing in the side of the precipice below the road, and actually poised herself on one fore leg with the other bent up beneath her, trying to reach with her nose over the edge of the path down to the coveted shrub! Of course the least movement on her rider's part would have thrown her off her balance; so that he had no choice but to sit motionless and helpless until the animal chose to resume her course. Photography, however, if it had its perils, had also its incidental advantages. The effect of the sun and wind in those elevated regions seems to be highly detrimental to European noses, making them swell and crack in a most alarming way. Mr. Egerton found great relief from investing his with a coating of collodion!

The equipage of the party, for a mountain expedition, was considerable. The great man himself, as usual in India, travelled in some state and splendour. A 'Swiss cottage tent, of which the chief room was ten feet by eight,' a large shoul-darce¹ for servants and a smaller one for shooting excursions, dark tent and photographic apparatus, tables, chairs, guns, ammunition, &c. Then there were cook and waiter, water-carrier, washerman, a Mahommedan servant who understood Thibetan, dog-keeper, gun-cleaner, photographic assistant, tent-pitcher, and thirty-six coolies to carry the above-named 'impediments.' Besides these, there were Mr. Heyde and a moonshee, with their tents and servants, a police-sergeant and four constables, and lastly, an agent of Wuzeer Goshown, the virtual ruler of Mundee, with some merchandise, needing altogether about as many more coolies, so that the entire party consisted of about a hundred men. By way of contrast to this somewhat

¹ A tent roof and two gable ends.

luxurious style of travelling, Mr. Egerton mentions the arrangements, if such they can be called, of a certain Count Louis de Thurheim, who had been travelling in China and Japan, and was on his way to Ladak and Cashmere. He had no tent, and only one servant, lodged wherever he could find room, and ate anything he could purchase. One is not surprised to learn that he looked extremely dirty and very uncomfortable; but on the other hand he had the advantage, which the English traveller missed, of mixing freely with the people of the countries through which he passed, and becoming intimately acquainted with their habits and feelings.

The cortège effected a start from Juggutsookh on the 30th of June. After following the high road towards the Rotang Pass for a few miles, they turned to the right and entered the new route towards the Hamta Pass, which they crossed on the 2d of July, unfortunately in a mist, but without any difficulty. It is about 15,000 feet high, but nowhere very steep. From the pass the road descends into the valley of the Chundra or Chenâb, at this point a rapid stream about 200 feet wide. The bridge, of which the construction was interrupted by the accident before related, is about five miles lower down below the Rotang Pass, on the road to Lé.¹ Mr. Egerton marched up the Chundra valley, in which there is scarcely a yard of level ground, along a track a good deal impeded by masses of gneiss and granite brought down by the avalanches in early spring. These would require to be cleared annually, and some slight additional repairs to be effected, which however could be done and the road kept in good passable condition during the summer months at a trifling expense. About twenty miles up the river the path crosses the Chota, or Lesser Shigri, a large moraine left by a glacier which has melted away, or, as it were, retreated up the valley, and from which there flows a rapid mountain torrent which they had to cross.

Beyond the Chota Shigri is a comparatively open piece of ground, from which they ascended slightly on to what appeared at first to be another moraine, like the last, but of greater extent, being about four miles long and two broad. This is the Shigri, or Great Glacier, covered with stones and gravel, and sprinkled with boulders and fragments of rock which look as firm as if nothing could move them, but slip away under the lightest footstep, every now and then disclosing a surface of clear green

¹ The Chundra and Spiti rivers rise at no great distance from each other, and appear to run, in this part of their course, almost in parallel valleys, though in contrary directions, the former flowing north, the latter south. Both find their way to the westward, through the mountain range, and ultimately reach the Indus.

ice. This is the only really serious obstacle in the whole route; and it must be confessed that it is a very formidable one. Mr. Egerton admits that it seems impossible to do much to improve the road over this treacherous bed of ice. Yet it must be crossed; 'You cannot,' he says, 'turn its flank, for below is the river, and above is a chaos of crevasses.' It might be possible, he suggests, to carry the road on the other side of the river, with bridges above and below the glacier: 'but the road certainly, and probably the bridges, would be carried away yearly by avalanches. The only feasible plan at present is to pay the Lahoul, or Spiti people, a sum of money (say Rs. 200) yearly to repair every spring, and keep in some sort of order, a precarious path across the frozen sea of Shigri.' This sort of makeshift, however, it is evident would scarcely suffice to make the route permanently available for merchandise; so that unless means can be devised by engineering skill for constructing a road along the side of the valley, which, considering the very short distance, it is not too much to hope for, these two miles of glacier must prove an insurmountable barrier to any very great development of trade along this line of communication. After crossing the glacier, the road to the foot of the Koolzum pass runs up the river-bed and presents no difficulties. This pass is about the same height as the Hamta, nearly 15,000 feet; it is free from snow, and the ascent or descent is very easy on either side. At the head of the valley is the village of Losur, the first in Spiti proper; and below runs the Spiti river, divided into two branches, both fordable—the main stream being that nearest Losur. Here Mr. Egerton narrowly escaped losing his life in a gallant attempt to save a drowning woman. The coolies from Juggutsookh had been sent back before crossing the pass, and their places supplied by Spiti people, among whom were several women, the sexes being scarcely distinguishable by their dress. The water was mid-thigh to the men, of whom a few only, the strongest, ventured to try the passage singly: generally five or six held hands. Two of the women, however, having very light loads, attempted to cross without waiting for the men to convoy them. Mr. Egerton and Mr. Heyde had passed both the main and the lesser branch on ponies, and the former had dismounted and was walking slowly along when his companion called out, 'See, there are two women carried away;' and turning round, he could just distinguish two dark objects borne rapidly down the middle of the main stream. The remainder of the story is best told in Mr. Egerton's own words.

'I was now some way below the ford, and immediately started off in a straight line towards the nearest part of the main stream, crossing the branch which now intercepted me, in a succession of bounds, as I have seen the hill

men near Simla do when a stream is too rapid to wade through. I could just hear Mr. Heyde, who knew the danger better than I did, calling out, "No, no, no!" Darting across a bed of gravel which lay between, I reached the main stream just as the first body was rapidly swept past, and the second appeared twenty or thirty yards above me. Both were rolling over and over in the current, almost entirely under water, and not struggling or exhibiting any signs of life. I saw there was no hope of reaching the first, so dashed into the stream to try and catch the second. I don't think I stopped to consider whether I was going to wade or swim; but the question was speedily decided for me, for in a moment I was taken off my legs and came down head foremost in the torrent, the icy coldness taking away what little breath I had left from running, the waves dashing into my face, and the current sweeping me rapidly down, the water being evidently deep, for I could feel no bottom. For a moment I seemed to give myself up as lost, but only for a moment, and then began striking out lustily, though I must confess with no very definite object beyond keeping myself from drowning; but just then the body of the woman was swept within my reach, and my original object came back to me in full force. I well remember the moment of intense anxiety lest my attempt to get hold of her should fail. However, I got a good grip of her clothes, and after a short but terrific struggle, and more dead than alive, got into shallow water and felt the bottom. Still, even here the current was rapid, and I was so benumbed and exhausted that had not one of my policemen who had followed down the bank arrived and got hold of me, I scarcely think I could have got on my feet.—*Journal*, p. 14.

The body was that of an old woman, apparently lifeless; but she was carried to the tent of some pedlars who chanced to be at hand, and with the aid of a good fire, hot stones, and a little brandy, soon came to and recovered. The other poor creature was drowned. Mr. Egerton 'consolated her husband with a pension, not large enough to be a premium for similar accidents in 'future,' and ordered the erection of a twig bridge as a thank-offering for his own escape. It was completed by the time he came back. The sequel of the adventure is too good to be omitted:—

'On my return up the valley I stopped at Khotto to breakfast, and had hardly sat down, when the old woman whose life I had saved came running, evidently in great emotion, and throwing herself down before me offered me a vessel of milk which she had brought with her, and then began to pour forth earnest words with a profusion of tears. I was much pleased with the earnestness, and called some one to translate what I expected to be a simple but heartfelt expression of her gratitude. Imagine my surprise and disappointment on finding that her eloquence was intended, not to express gratitude at all, but to persuade me that she had lost a valuable "pérāk," or head ornament, in the river, and that I ought to pay for it! On my declining to do so, the old lady bounced off in a huff, and took the milk back with her!'

From this point to the Chinese frontier, beyond which, as we have already seen, he was not allowed to pass, Mr. Egerton found the route comparatively easy, presenting, at any rate, no difficulties which might not easily be removed. The chief is the passage of the Spiti river at a point about six-and-thirty miles below the scene of the adventure just related. Here the width

is about 130 feet, and the stream deep and very rapid. The men crossed by a twig bridge; the ponies and other animals had to swim—a feat which they did not accomplish without considerable difficulty. It was however found practicable to construct a wooden bridge, and the government subsequently authorized a grant of money for the purpose.

Mr. Egerton gives an interesting sketch of the past history of this little mountain province; this however, we must pass over. The list of its products, natural and artificial, is, as may be imagined, a very short one and of no importance in a commercial point of view. In fact they do little more than supply the wants of the inhabitants, leaving a small surplus to be bartered for a few articles of luxury or necessity with their neighbours. Among the former it is curious to find that turquoises hold a chief place; a fact which is accounted for by the universal custom, among all classes, of requiring a '*pérāk*' of these stones as an indispensable part of a bride's *trousseau*. It seems strange also, considering the nature of the country, that the principal export should be grain, chiefly wheat, of which from ninety to a hundred quarters annually find their way into Koonawur and Thibet in exchange for wooden pails, salt, and sheep's wool.

Of the domestic life of the people of course Mr. Egerton could not see much; but he seems to have made the best use of the opportunities which his short sojourn among them afforded him, of acquiring a fair knowledge of their habits and customs, so far as they come within the range of a traveller's observation. On one or two points his official position furnished additional facilities for obtaining an insight into their ways. At Dhunkur, the chief town or village of Spiti and the residence of the Nono, he remained some days, collecting information on various topics, and adjudicating on some contested questions of privilege and authority. While there, he made an unsuccessful attempt to pass a kind of 'Tithe Commutation Act.' A dispute had arisen between the Zemindars or Land-owners, and the Llamas or Abbots of the five Spiti monasteries, on the subject of the grain payments or tithes demanded by the latter, and enforced, as it appears, rather by moral or spiritual, than by legal obligation. The Llamas, attended by some of their monks, appeared in full costume, long yellow robes with high conical head-dresses, like mitres; some of the monks with their faces covered, wearing huge carved wooden headgear, and with petticoats reaching to the ground. The Commissioner refused to sanction a compulsory grain tax, but suggested the assignment of a certain portion of land in lieu of it. The monks gladly accepted the proposal; but the Zemindars unanimously objected, alleging that 'under

'the present system the monks had a direct interest in the welfare of their parishioners,—helped them in their fields and in carrying travellers' baggage, did any bit of handicraft required, frequently came among them, and in short were to some extent dependent on their parishioners; whereas by the proposed arrangement the monks would be quite independent, would cease to look after their welfare, spiritual or temporal, and would no longer take a share in their labours.' The reasoning does not sound unlike what one sometimes hears nearer home in defence of the voluntary principle: so true is the German proverb, '*Hinter dem Berge sind auch Leute.*' However, the Commissioner 'thought the arguments adduced by the Zemindars very sensible, and acceded to their wishes, subject to the approval of the government.' On another occasion we catch a glimpse of vigorous administration of justice, such as one would be glad to see imported occasionally into our own police courts. It was a quarrel between some musicians and some blacksmiths. The musicians were the complainants. At an evening party two of them asked the blacksmiths to let them have a smoke at their pipes: the blacksmiths refused, saying that the others were low caste; whereupon they snatched a pipe and smoked it. A scuffle ensued, in which the ladies took an active part with their tongues. A few days after, the blacksmiths from the neighbouring villages held a consultation, and resolved to vindicate their wounded dignity. About eighty of them assembled, attacked the musicians' houses, plundered them, took two of them, the original aggressors, captive, and held them as hostages for the good behaviour of the rest. It discloses a somewhat lawless state of things, it must be allowed. The facts were all admitted; but a countercharge was made that the musicians were the aggressors, and that they had taken possession of a gun and an ear-ring in the *mélée*. This was also admitted, and the property on both sides produced. Mr. Egerton, rightly judging that such practices should be put a stop to, did not content himself with punishing the ringleaders, but sentenced forty blacksmiths and the two musicians to a fine and a month's imprisonment; and instead of sending them to prison, where they would have been a useless expense, he set them to work on the roads under a guard, the cost of which was defrayed out of the fines. The blacksmiths afterwards presented a petition praying that it might be declared that the musicians are of low caste and are never again to smoke a blacksmith's pipe! We need hardly say that the petition was peremptorily rejected, Mr. Egerton rightly feeling that nothing could be more undesirable than to encourage in any way the establishment of what he justly calls the 'curse of caste' in these valleys. Unhappily it seems to be

making some progress among them, and is, Mr. Egerton appears to think, increasing rather than the reverse in other parts of India also. The Mohammedans, he says, adopt it in a great degree from the Hindoos, and these Spiti Tartars, from their intercourse with Hindoo traders, are beginning to imbibe it. The Maharajah of Cashmere does all he can to introduce into Ladak distinctions of caste, and the Nono,¹ or native chief of Spiti, imagines that he ranks alone in caste as in office. He was strongly suspected of having encouraged the blacksmiths to resent the supposed infringement of caste on the part of the musicians. We rejoice to find that the Indian authorities are alive to the extreme importance of discouraging it to the utmost of their power. It is obvious that there is no more serious obstacle to the introduction of Christianity than the rigid and contemptuous exclusiveness engendered by this most pernicious institution.

We must refer our readers to the book itself for an amusing description of the Spiti Races, got up by the Nono in honour of his visitor, in which the chief's eldest son bore a conspicuous, though not altogether a dignified part: his bridle broke in mid course, and down he came ignominiously to the ground. It appears that they rather pique themselves on their riding, so, of course, like other sportsmen, he was very unwilling to allow that his horsemanship was in fault, and entered into elaborate explanations to show that but for the defective bridle the accident could not have occurred. A horse-race, such as it is, seems to be the recognised mode of doing honour to a distinguished guest: a similar entertainment was provided by the Abbot of Tangyoot, a dozen or more of his monks, who had all had as much *châng*² as was good for them, being the jockeys. The abbot's head-dress on this occasion was composed of two copper saucepans, a small one on the top of a large one, with a round knob surmounting the whole.

In many respects the habits of the Spiti people resemble those of their neighbours in Thibet, familiar to many of our readers in the pages of the Abbé Huc. They use the same curious system of dates: a cycle of twelve years, each year named after an animal in the following order:—1. The Mouse; 2. The Ox; 3. The Tiger; 4. The Hare; 5. The Dragon; 6. The Serpent; 7. The Horse; 8. The Sheep; 9. The Ape; 10. The Bird; 11. The Dog; 12. The Hog. Five of these cycles form a greater cycle of sixty years, and to distinguish these they prefix the names of what they call the five elements, Wood, Fire,

¹ Literally, Deputy.

² A somewhat unpalatable kind of small beer.

Earth, Iron, Water, to those of the above-named animals, in regular rotation, thus: the Wood Mouse, the Wood Ox, the Fire Tiger, the Fire Hare, and so on. Mr. Egerton had a document brought before him officially which was dated the year of the Fire Ape. How they get on beyond sixty does not appear. As with most uncivilised, and too many civilised races, drinking, smoking and gambling occupy no small portion of their existence: the latter habit seems inveterate in all classes. The women bear their share in field labour, but are not kept in a degraded or inferior position. One peculiarity is noticed, the absence of almost any distinction in the dress of the two sexes, at any rate of the unmarried among the women. Mr. Egerton was often unable to decide whether his baggage was being carried by men or women. Neither the one nor the other paid much regard to decency in their precautions to avoid wetting their clothes in fording the numerous streams which had to be crossed on the journey. This absence of a distinctive attire probably contributes in some measure to the universal laxity of morals, which, however, is without question chiefly to be ascribed to a law or custom which imposes celibacy on all younger sons of whatever condition, from those of the Nono downwards. Mr. Egerton relates an anecdote illustrative of the tone of feeling prevalent on this subject. He was one day taking photographs of some men, and several young women had gathered round, laughing and joking with them. Most of them were about twenty years of age, one only sixteen. Mr. Heyde asked these damsels where their husbands were, to which they replied that they were all unmarried. Upon this a priest from Soomrah in Koonawur, who understood Hindostanee and was standing by, observed that one of them was a mother already, and that probably they all would be before the year was out. This was met by a laugh,—no denial, no indignation. The report of a case that came before the Commissioner in his judicial capacity discloses a state of public opinion not more favourable to conjugal fidelity. A villager sued for the custody of his wife, who had gone to live with her father instead of staying at home and working. The wife replied that neither did her husband stay at home, but went to another village where he intrigued with another woman, and ‘what could she do at home by herself?’ The husband admitted the truth of the charge; ‘but that was nothing to the point—it was the custom.’ The wife said she was willing to return to her husband, if he would give up her rival. The husband, admonished by the court, agreed to do so, but thought it very hard, as everybody, even his wife’s father, did the same.

Of course it would be unjust to set all this down to the account of the religion which they profess. They are, as we

have already said, Buddhists; but Buddhism must not be held answerable for their immorality any more than Christianity for the low state of public morals in many a community much nearer home. This is scarcely a fitting opportunity for discussing at any length the tenets of Buddhism, which, after all that has been written on the subject, are in truth but imperfectly known. The fundamental doctrine of the system, however, is obviously favourable to the cultivation of a high tone of morality. The Buddhists hold, in common with the Brahmanical schools of philosophy, that the visible world and everything belonging to it is a temporary manifestation of the Deity, having no real or permanent existence: that the human soul is an emanation of the Divine Spirit; that its imprisonment in a perishable body, subject to the changing accidents of matter, is in itself a state of misery; that every effort of man during life should consequently be directed towards ensuring the perfect liberation of his soul after death; not only its liberation from the necessity of submitting to another birth and being again clothed with a body, but its entire emancipation from individual existence and its reunion with and perfect absorption into the essence of the Divine Being. Opinions vary as to the mode in which this liberation and final union with the Deity is to be accomplished. The Buddhists of Nepal, who seem to have preserved the ancient doctrines of their religion in the greatest purity, and respecting whom, thanks to the researches of Mr. Hodgson, we have the most copious information, are divided into four schools, of which the two chief concur in teaching that the liberation of the soul from matter depends upon its progress, by conscious intellectual effort, towards true knowledge, that is to say, upon the abandonment of the groundless belief in the reality of external objects. When once this great error is relinquished, all its consequences vanish with it, along with all mundane things and existences of earthly origin. The other two schools vary slightly in these metaphysical speculations; but all unite in maintaining that moral purity is essential to the attainment of the true wisdom, without which the soul can never be freed from its earthly trammels. All are likewise agreed in asserting the primeval existence of the Deity, that He was, when nothing else was. The original creed of Buddha was monotheistic; but it has long ceased to be so: the divine emanations, evolved from the self-consciousness of the Deity, are worshipped as Gods. The creation of the visible universe was the work of inferior divinities.

They have no hereditary caste distinctions; the priests are chosen from all classes: they are bound to celibacy as long as they remain priests, but they may resign the sacerdotal office

and are then permitted to marry. They must not slaughter animals themselves, but are not forbidden the use of animal food. Mr. Egerton is consequently in error when he adduces the fact that the Spiti people eat freely of beef and mutton, as a proof of the laxity of their religious principles. According to the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration, the human soul, if we may rely upon our authorities, does not pass into the lower animal forms, but re-enters a succession of human bodies until it has attained the degree of purity required to effect its perfect liberation. Independently of this, however, the religion of these people is a very corrupt and degraded form of Buddhism, a mass, in short, of superstition and idolatry; and such as it is, it seems to have but a slight hold on them. There is at the same time a great deal of show and parade of religion.

Every one, no matter how he is occupied, incessantly repeats the favourite invocation of the Deity, 'Om, Mané, pudmé, Om,' the precise meaning of which is not explained. People of a little extra pretension to respectability, as the Nono and his attendants, always carry about with them a little bundle of sacred books; and many of them have constantly in their hands a prayer drum, a little cylindrical box three or four inches long and two or three in diameter, usually of copper, filled with rolls of paper, on which prayers are written, and revolving on a handle about eight inches long. A rotary motion is given to the cylinder by a movement of the wrist, and it is kept spinning round by a small weight attached to it by a string. Larger drums of the same kind are placed at the entrance of monasteries, and as a person passes in, he gives a good sharp twist to one or more of these, which go on revolving prayers for a considerable time. In many places they are even made to revolve by means of little windmills, which is carrying mechanical contrivances for facilitating devotion about as far as it is possible to carry them. The custom in its origin, and as it still prevails in Mongolia and Thibet, is not so wholly destitute as might be expected of a rational interpretation. The revolving drums are intended solely for the benefit of those who are unable to read: they are turned by the hand, and the process is regarded as efficacious only so long as the personal exertion of turning them is persevered in. In Spiti they are made to roll off prayers with the least possible exertion on the part of worshippers, or with none at all. The number of monasteries in the province is out of all proportion to that of the population: this of course is owing to the rule of celibacy imposed on all younger brothers, who for the most part take refuge in these so-called religious houses. The lives led by these Buddhist monks do not appear to be either very profitable or very regular; much of the same

character probably as those of the lazy, dirty-looking Capuchins with whom for years we were familiar, as they lounged, in winter in the sun, in summer in the shade, in the Florian Gardens in Malta. The moral influence of these establishments we have already hinted at.

Our object, however, in noticing this publication is not simply to give our readers a sketch of the nature and character of this remote corner of British territory and its inhabitants, wholly unknown, probably, to most of them, nor merely to draw attention to its probable value as a route for profitable traffic. From our point of view it acquires a peculiar interest, as it seems to offer special facilities for the introduction of Christianity into the regions of Central Asia, and through them perhaps, by its western frontier, into China. This is a topic on which the necessities of their position impose absolute silence on the servants of the Indian Government, nor could Mr. Egerton have ventured to say a word on it in a work published with the sanction of his official superiors; yet the tone in which he writes convinces us that this inducement, the chief of all, was not absent from his mind when he spoke of the advantages which he foresaw from the extension of European intercourse with the inhabitants of those countries. The first step of course in this direction is to gain a footing in Spiti itself; and this does not seem likely to be attended by any very formidable difficulties. The absence of caste removes one of the most serious obstacles to the spread of Christianity in the greater part of India, while the present religious condition of the people, the slight hold which their own faith has upon their affections, the small influence exercised by their religious teachers, owing to their idle and immoral lives, present a combination of circumstances which experience has shown to be not unfavourable to the reception of the Gospel. The fact also that these people are neither Mohammedans nor Hindoos, that they are aliens in race and religion to the natives of the adjoining provinces of British India, and consequently little cared for even by those to whom their existence is not totally unknown, would obviate another difficulty in the way of extending among them missionary operations. The attempt to convert them would excite no attention and rouse no jealousy, and would therefore probably be regarded with little disfavour by the authorities, always perhaps somewhat over-sensitive to the risks of any interference with the religious prejudices of those under their rule. It does not appear from Mr. Egerton's account that the Moravian missionaries, who have a station in Lahoul, have succeeded in gaining any hold on Spiti, nor even that they have made the attempt, although Mr. Heyde at least has been there long enough, and probably some of his companions as well, to acquire an intimate

knowledge of the language and some familiarity with the habits of the people. While therefore we should earnestly deprecate anything that might lead these people even to suspect the existence of our lamentable divisions, thus introducing Christianity to them under its least favourable aspect, yet there seems no valid reason why the Church of England should abandon to others the field thus opened to us, a field so peculiarly our own. If the hope so long held out of an increase of the Indian Episcopate should be shortly realized, these valleys may well engage the attention of the Bishop within whose jurisdiction they may be placed, opening as they do a way into the very heart of Central Asia under circumstances unusually favourable for reaching with comparative safety those hitherto all but inaccessible tracts.

ART. V.—1. *Paper read by the DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, &c.*
 ‘Fraser’s Magazine,’ February, 1865.

2. *Speech of the DEAN OF S. PAUL’S, &c.* ‘Fraser’s Magazine,’
 April, 1865.

THE Latitudinarian party have had their own way for a considerable time. They have been thriving ever since the secession of Mr. Newman to Rome left the Church party without a leader. Churchmen since that time have suffered blow after blow, sometimes from foes and sometimes from friends; they have been snubbed and kept out of offices and places of employment or of influence, but they have all this time been gaining strength for the mortal combat that is shortly to ensue. Where the battle-field will be, and what is likely to be the exact strength of the combatants, are questions which cannot at present be answered with any precision. But it is certain that amidst the profound indifference and ignorance of what is going on around them, which exist in the minds of the large Evangelical party, the two other parties, who monopolize the intellectual power that is brought to bear upon theological questions, are preparing for an internecine combat. It is true that neither party can claim any one for its leader, at least in the same sense as Mr. Newman led the intellect of Oxford twenty-five years ago. Neither party has any very distinct organization, or any peculiar tactics. The battle is rather forced upon both by the circumstances of the times than eagerly demanded by either of the combatants. But there are symptoms by which we may form some guess how it will proceed, and with which party the victory will lie. The Church party have been for many years realizing the truth so vigorously expressed by the Roman poet—

‘Per damna, per cædes ab ipso
 Ducit opes animumque ferro.’

They have perhaps learned the virtue of moderation from the discipline of twenty years, whilst the insults and injuries that have been heaped upon all that they hold most sacred have almost exasperated them into an utter fearlessness of consequences. On the other hand, the Latitudinarians have profited by victories which have been won for them by others, till they have tried their hand for themselves, and are almost intoxicated with the recent decisions in their favour in the law-courts. The flagrant

injustice done in the reversal of the judgment of the Court of Arches in the Gorham case, though seemingly a triumph for the Evangelical party, has not encouraged the heresy to which it intended to give a place and a status; on the contrary, the tone of belief as to the efficacy of the sacrament of Baptism has been steadily on the rise ever since. The substantial gain of the decision was to the Latitudinarian party. For the first time in the history of the Church of England since the Reformation, a legal judgment has been given in the teeth of the most express statements of Anglican formularies; and that on the very ground that, though the statements of the Prayer-book, and the pronouncement of the Court were as directly contradictory as words could make them, yet there had been always a large party within the pale of the Establishment who had held the views which were now declared to be tenable. We say that the Evangelical cause did not make the least profit out of this astounding judgment in their favour, but the Latitudinarian cause gained a vantage ground from which it has not yet been dislodged.

Several principles of most mischievous application were laid down or implied in that judgment, by lawyers wholly ignorant of theology, assisted by the two archbishops of the day, whose neglect of the subject was as great as the ignorance of the lawyers, without admitting of the same excuse. Of these the chief one (we do not quite remember whether it was expressed or implied) was that the Articles were the primary standard, and that the Prayer-book was to be interpreted by them. Now there is no reasonable defence that can be instituted for such a principle. It is as great an absurdity as would be committed by a magistrate who should take the bye-laws of a particular locality as his standard, and, instead of interpreting them in harmony with the laws of the country to which they are an appendage, should insist on screwing the law of the land from its natural sense into agreement with what he supposed the bye-law ought to mean. This dangerous precedent was followed, and distinctly avowed, by Dr. Lushington in his judgment on Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. H. B. Wilson. Against any such dictum the Latitudinarian party are as much bound to protest as we are ourselves. *We* could not accept the Articles except under the hypothesis of the previously received Prayer-book, so full of ancient doctrine. *They* require somewhat of the same safeguard to neutralize the teaching of many of the Articles, which to them is peculiarly nauseous. It is, we conceive, the duty of all Churchmen on all occasions earnestly to protest against so fallacious and mischievous a principle.

But there is a much more disastrous consequence resulting

from the Gorham judgment, viz. the establishment of a principle of interpretation which opens the way to attaching no meaning at all to words or propositions, and thus easily prepares for the abolition of all dogma, on the ground that it does not, in point of fact, secure the agreement of parties who in words give their assent to it. The indignation that was excited at the publication of Number 90 of the 'Tracts for the Times' will not easily be forgotten by those who were then old enough to take an interest in the subject. Yet the most prominent of the opponents of Tract 90, the only one who has established a reputation for high intellectual power, has veered round and become the advocate of a far more startling system of evading the plain meaning of words. We advert, of course, to Mr. H. B. Wilson and his well-known contribution to the volume of 'Essays and Reviews.' And it is of some importance to remember that this gentleman has been acquitted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upon this very point. He has claimed a larger latitude of construction than ever was demanded even by Whiston and the semi-Arians of the last century. And it is certain that if such opinions are allowed by a succession of similar judgments to be held by the clergy in general, there will remain no defence for retaining any subscription to any formularies whatever. That is, in point of fact, the real wish of the Latitudinarian party, whether avowed or not. The extreme section would avow it. Some of them would probably shrink from this; whilst, no doubt, a very large number are sincerely anxious only to relax subscription to the precise and definite statements of the Prayer-book, and would gladly occupy the ground taken by the Comprehension party of 1689.

We have said that neither party has any distinctly recognised head. It may be added that neither party possesses much of that unity which is an indispensable element of success. But it is not difficult to see that the Church party may both attain to a considerable degree of unity in itself, and may create a large amount of confusion in the ranks of the enemy.

Divide et impera is a motto that has been extensively used by the World against the Church, by politicians against ecclesiastics. Whilst the Church was undivided it was all-powerful. If it ever should become one again it would again carry all before it. With a view to an approximation to that unity with the rest of Western Christendom, it becomes the Church party to exert all its strength to break the ranks of the one party that is opposed to it—that is worth considering. That party is the Latitudinarian party, reinforced from the ranks of the worldly and the unbelieving, the indifferent and the sceptic. *Divide et impera* must be the motto of their opponents. Though this

party is without a recognised head, it has found a mouthpiece in the Dean of Westminster. Dr. Stanley is in all respects a man exactly typical of the Latitudinarians. In saying this we do not mean that he represents the average of the party. We gladly recognise in him many high qualities which cannot be considered to be representative of this school of thought. Yet though a favourable specimen, no other person to our view so exactly typifies and represents them. The manifesto which he has sent forth in the paper which he read at the Rectory House of S. James's, Westminster, accurately represents the end and object upon which they are bent. The party, as we have already implied, are associated with many who go farther than themselves; nay, they will not disdain the assistance of those who are the enemies, either secret or open, of all religion, nor the support of those who care for none of these things. It shall be our aim in this article to show what the nature of their purpose is, how far it extends, and how much it comprehends; also to point out the probable results that will arise from their success, as well as to show why we are of opinion that they will not succeed.

And in the first place, in addressing this party who we suppose to have spoken by their mouthpiece the Dean of Westminster, we venture to use the words of the great historian—*μακαρίσαντες ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπειρόκακον, οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον.* They have not, indeed, revealed to us their tactics except incidentally, but they have very clearly spoken out as to their ultimate object and intentions. They have run a career of victory for so long a time that they have actually come to believe that their final triumph is near at hand. The Dean of Westminster and his party are very courteous and polite to their antagonists, whom they hope to include in the comprehensive Church of the future. We accept their challenge, proclaiming at the same time that there is no compromise on our side possible. If they succeed in lowering in any degree the Catholic tone of the Prayer-book, they will have it all their own way afterwards, unopposed by Churchmen. For Churchmen will not be included in their comprehensive fold. It is an extraordinary instance of defect of mental vision, that they so entirely fail to see this. They can afford, indeed, to offer terms of comprehension, because, as they do not value dogmatic theology, they do not mind including those who differ from them in this, provided only that the dogmatism is only permissive and optional. But we who believe that dogma is of the essence of the Church system, could not acquiesce in its mere toleration. We do not know which is greater, the folly of the mistake they make in supposing that the Church party will ever be content to be included in a scheme where Church doctrine is

only tolerated, or the blunder of proclaiming to the world what it is that at this moment they have set their hearts upon.

It is confidently anticipated that the theology of the nineteenth century is about to achieve a victory by amalgamating in one harmonious whole the Sacramental system of the Catholic Church, with its doctrines of the Apostolical Succession, and the power of the Keys, on the one hand, and on the other that development of Protestantism which denies the supernatural element in Christianity, and which gives the right hand of fellowship to the authors of the obnoxious volume of 'Essays and Reviews' as well as to—— And here we pause. Our readers will ask us whether we were going to end the sentence with the name of the unlucky Bishop of Natal. We reply that so the sentence ought to have concluded, but so it does not in terms end, so far as we gather from the manifesto. The name of Colenso is carefully excluded from a paper the compliments of which range backwards and forwards as occasion serves, from Pusey to Jowett, Robertson to Liddon, Maurice to Newman, and which mentions nearly all the more prominent characters of the day, including Pio Nono himself, with more or less of praise, save and except the one name of him who has done so much for their cause and deserved so much at their hands, the unflinching advocate of the falsity of the Mosaic narrative. Dr. Stanley probably knew that he had ventured far enough when he had introduced, not individually but collectively, the seven essayists and their antagonists. He did not care to provoke the certain opposition that would have been raised at the mere mention of the name of the Bishop of Natal. Public opinion has been roused on this subject, and it would not answer just now to raise an issue upon a question when public opinion would run strongly in the opposite direction to that in which Dr. Stanley would force it, if he could.

Not, however, now to dwell upon names or upon persons, Dr. Stanley's comprehension scheme is plainly meant to go as far as he possibly can in including opinions. The essay to which we are referring is not very definite (no one expects definition or precision from a Latitudinarian) as to what amount of heterodoxy is to be admitted as orthodox; we are left, therefore, to conjecture as to the limits which will satisfy them for the present. The precise direction in which the Church of the future is to expand is scarcely pointed out. We are left in the dark whether the so-called Romanizing doctrines of many in the Church of England, the actual doctrine of transubstantiation, high views of sacramental grace, are only included for the sake of consistency, or whether the indifference of the party to dogma is so great that they are of their own accord willing to propose their comprehension in the scheme. A little light, however, is thrown

upon the essay by a previous publication by the same writer on the subject of Subscription to Formularies. It will be remembered that this pamphlet, with some others to which it gave rise, or with which it was connected, formed the subject of an article in our number of last October. And we recur to it for the sake of elucidating the present subject. From it we gather that one main object the Dean of Westminster has in view is to relieve the burdened consciences of those who from whatever cause have been induced to subscribe, with a faltering assent, to the formularies of the Church of England. We pass by this part of the subject, with which we are not now immediately concerned. But the scheme itself which finds favour in his eyes is the attempt made in 1689 to propitiate Nonconformists. Taking the letter of the Bishop of London of 1864, and comparing it with the paper read at St. James's Rectory in 1865, we can be at no loss to see that the comprehension scheme recommended is that of the Burnet and Tillotson school of the Revolution. The author tells us that 'the Remedy which was vainly attempted in 1689 ought at least to be reconsidered now,' and that on the ground that 'the evil which it was intended to remove has been left in undiminished magnitude and with results more damaging to the welfare of the Church than even Burnet or Tillotson anticipated.'

Again, let us be allowed to express our astonishment at the persistent credulity which can expect to compass that in the present century which so signally failed two centuries ago when the Church was in such imminent peril from Rome, and was deprived of the aid of the most attached and devoted of her sons. It can scarcely be denied that the Nonjurors, as a body, represented the most conscientious, the most learned, and most intellectual minds of the day. If the Comprehension scheme had succeeded, people would certainly have said that it would have been defeated if the High Church party had had the increase of numbers which the accession of the Nonjurors would have secured to them. It seems to us to be the height of absurdity to suppose that any similar scheme could be pressed with success in the present day; the circumstances have all changed in favour of the Church party; the panic now is, lest all doctrine should be lost in the cessation of belief in the Inspiration of the Bible. The Church party are far more numerous and greatly more learned than they have ever been in past times; even Evangelicals, excepting those of the very lowest class, look shy upon Bible Society Meetings, and do not like to appear on platforms with reverend brethren of dissenting denominations. This party would no doubt join with the Latitude party in weeding the Prayer-book of the sacerdotal doctrines,

and in getting rid of certain doctrinal statements. But there the amicable feeling and the concord would cease. And, probably, they will soon find out, if they do not know it already, that the party with whom they would go thus far have an intense abhorrence of what they would term their narrow-minded shibboleths about the doctrines of the Atonement and of Justification by Faith; and have no sympathy whatever with that forsaking of the world and its pleasures and amusements, which is one of the better features of the system as adopted by the more really religious members of the party. At any rate, if the Dean of Westminster had not given up all hopes of assistance from them, he would hardly have spoken so favourably of Roman opinions, both within and without the pale of the Anglican Church, nor have fallen foul so wantonly on the expression of the article which speaks of 'pacifying God's wrath.'

Correctly to describe the present move, it might be said to be an attempt to enclose a party who resolutely refuse to be enclosed, in an union with dissenters who do not wish for any such union, without the faintest chance of assistance from those whose aid is indispensable for the success of the movement. The argument that the project will be a failure takes the *à fortiori* form. It runs thus:—The scheme of 1689 was a failure. *A fortiori*, the project of 1865 will come to nothing. It may, perhaps, be an advantage if we, in the first instance, say a few words as regards the Tillotson and Burnet scheme. It is important to our argument that the circumstances under which it failed should be clearly understood.

It must be remembered then, that it originated in the autumn of the year which followed the landing of the Prince of Orange on the coast of England, for the express purpose of saving the nation from the introduction and establishment of Popery. The Prince's design had been entirely successful, when the shouts which proclaimed William and Mary king and queen of Great Britain on the 13th February, 1689, interrupted the Ash Wednesday services of the churches in London.

It was an ill-omened day for such an event; and perhaps a favourable contrast may be drawn between the state of Church feeling of those times and these, if it is borne in mind that no such unseemly demonstration on such a day would now be ventured on. However that may be, it is certain that the fear of Popery was the one cause of the success of the Prince of Orange. That he should attempt, therefore, to unite Protestants, whether of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or other forms of Church polity, was but natural and politic. All religions were alike indifferent to the man whose conduct was such as to give colour to the charge of the worst forms of sensuality.

Lord Macaulay's varnish cannot obliterate the facts of fornication and adultery, nor relieve the Dutch adventurer from the stigma of the vilest hypocrisy. Whether the dark insinuations of worse sins that were unsparingly thrown out against him in his lifetime can be substantiated, we do not venture to decide; there is enough without that to brand his character with infamy, and to blast the historical reputation of his biographer. But this by the way. We proceed with our narrative. 'The Act of Toleration, entitled, 'An Act for Exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England 'from the penalties of certain laws,' had received the royal assent on the 24th of May; and an address had been previously made to the king to call a Convocation, which accordingly was summoned for December 4. Before the assembling of Convocation care was taken to fill up the vacant sees; and Stillingfleet, the author of the '*Irenicum*,' Patrick, who had once been ordained as a Presbyterian, and Ironside, of whose opinions we know little more than that they were opposed to those of the orthodox and excellent Fell, Bishop of Oxford, were consecrated. The sees of Chichester and Worcester were vacant by the deaths of Thomas and Lake, and that of Bristol by the translation of Trelawney; and to make things more sure, the Primate and five of his suffragans were suspended. Not content with taking these precautions, an Ecclesiastical Commission was appointed; which met in the Jerusalem Chamber, on the 10th of October. This Commission consisted of the ten bishops in occupation, the Professors of Divinity, half-a-dozen deans, about as many archdeacons, with four doctors of divinity, who held prebendal stalls in some cathedral. Their purpose was to carry out, if possible, the object of the declaration that had been issued by the Prince of Orange, promising to endeavour 'a final agreement between the Church of England and all Protestant Dissenters.' Even in those days no step could be safely taken by Parliament, without the concurrence of Convocation, and even Tillotson advised its being summoned to deliberate, though it is plain that he was quite ignorant of the general tone of Church feeling which was likely to prevail in that assembly. There is an interesting paper printed in his life by Birch, and which bears date September 13th, 1689, the very day of the date of the Commission: it is headed 'Concessions which will probably be made by the Church of England for the union of Protestants.' We extract only a portion of these Concessions, which will serve to indicate how far it was intended to go, and how far Tillotson thought the Church would go in her concessions:—

1. The ceremonies enjoined or recommended in the liturgy and canons were to be left indifferent.

2. The liturgy was to be carefully reviewed, and such alterations introduced as would remove, as much as possible, all ground of exception to any part of it.

3. Foreign Protestant orders should be considered valid.

4. Presbyterians might be re-ordained with the form, 'If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee,' &c.

This is the scheme of which Burnet speaks in the following memorable words:—

'We prepared a scheme to be laid before the Convocation, but 'did not think that we ourselves, much less that any other 'person was any way limited or bound to comply with what we 'resolved to propose. On the contrary, we said, if we saw 'better reason we would change our minds. Yet this, which 'was only a council created by the king to prepare matters, was 'complained of as an imposing on the Convocation and as a 'limiting of it; and though a royal licence was sent them, yet a 'previous resolution was taken to admit of no alterations. 'When we saw that, we resolved to be quiet, and leave that 'matter to better times. But then the enemies of the Civil 'Government began to work on the jealousies and fears of many 'well-minded men, and the preserving the Church was given 'out as the word, by those who meant France or S. Germain's 'by it; and under this fatal delusion many are apt to be misled 'to this day.'¹

Tillotson, if he expected that his propositions would easily be accepted, must very soon have been undeceived. The Commissioners appear to have quarrelled and come to no agreement; some of the Commissioners not approving any such forestalling of the decisions of Convocation, and many of them absenting themselves after the first day of meeting. And the defeat of the scheme of Comprehension was certain on the day when parties tried their respective strength in the election of a Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. The Latitudinarian candidate, Tillotson himself, was beaten by Dr. Jane, the Oxford Professor of Divinity, who won by an immense majority.

Even on the previous day, the Latitude party must have a little winced at the sermon which they heard in Westminster Abbey. It was preached by Beveridge, at that time Archdeacon of Colchester. It is instructive as indicating the tone of the moderate party in the Church, who at that time, in the absence of the Nonjurors, represented the best tone of Churchmanship. It must have been pretty plain that nothing could be effected when the Commission gave so much dissatisfaction, and when the preacher himself would not allow in his sermon that the Nonconformists had any just cause of complaint. The tenor

¹ Burnet's Visitation Charge, 1704.

of the sermon is as follows :—After congratulating his audience on their deliverance from any further fears of Popery, he proceeds to speak with favour of the king's project for healing dissensions as undertaken *non sine divino haud dubie afflatu*. He then notices the distinction between doctrines necessary to salvation, and rites and ceremonies necessary for celebration of divine service. Both parties are agreed in their appeal to Scripture, but whereas Scripture is full and express on the subject of doctrine, it is but vague and general in its precepts as regards rites and ceremonies. It must be observed that we are not assenting to this distinction as to the explicitness of Scripture doctrines and Scripture laws, but only repeating what Beveridge says. We are unable to see that Scripture is explicit as to doctrine any more than it is as to its precepts for the government of the Church. From this point of his sermon we can better follow the preacher, who argues that when between Provincial Churches a dispute arises, the example of S. Paul writing to the Corinthians shows, that arguments from analogy based on Scripture and natural reason should be thought available, and, in the last instance, resort must be had to the argument that 'we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.' Customs, he remarks, which have obtained nearly universal assent and have not been enforced by any general Council, must, in all probability, have an Apostolic origin anterior to any general Councils being assembled. And this argument, he observes, by-the-way, is as strong against modern Rome as against Nonconformists. The sermon all through takes for granted that the ceremonies of the Church of England are in accordance with primitive custom, and those who heard it must have been able to judge what chance they had of any concessions, such as were demanded on behalf of Nonconformists, being made by the Lower House of Convocation.

There is one passage in this sermon which we shall extract, less for any other reason than because of its appropriateness to the circumstances of the present dispute about Inspiration. In comparing the law of the Church with that of the land, the preacher says :—

'Ecclesia universa, quod est Christi regnum, sua habet statuta sacris literis conscripta : et suam etiam quasi Communem habet Legem, e certis quibusdam Ritibus constantem. Qui licet in dictis statutis diserte et totidem verbis non præcipiantur, tamen generali ut ita loquar, eorum rationi et proposito adeo sunt accommodati, et tanto usui in propagandâ et stabilîendâ eâ quæ in illis instituitur Religione, ut semper et ubique per universum Orbem Christianum observati fuerint, ac propterea ab omnibus adhuc Ecclesiis observandi, quæ solidam cum universâ communionem retinere cupiunt.

'Si qua enim quemvis ex istis evertiterit, aut quidpiam iis contrarium constituerit, talem exinde consuetudinem non habebit, qualem omnes alie Dei Ecclesie habent. Quod quidem Apostolus Corinthiis criminis loco objectat. Idque jure merito. Quandoquidem communes Ecclesie universae Ritum rescindere minus saltem crimen haberi nequit, quam communem Regni legem violare. Quod quantum sit, omnes fatentur et nonnulli suo damno experti sunt.'

The whole of the sermon is in a style of Churchmanship far superior to Beveridge's usual level. The preacher certainly never contemplated the allowing of the orders of foreign Protestants, or any of the innovations mentioned in Tillotson's paper of concessions. The whole attempt was a dead failure, and for its failure we are chiefly indebted to the Lower House of Convocation. The Prolocutor, on the 25th of November, upon his being presented to Compton, Bishop of London, made his Latin speech, following the precedent set him by the preacher, and the burden of the speech was expressed in the words with which it concluded: *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*

There being some informality in the Commission, the Convocation was prorogued till a new writ for its summoning was issued under the great seal. This bore date November 30th, and upon their assembling, December 4th, his majesty's address was read to them. Every effort had been made in the few days during which the Convocation had been prorogued, to bring the members of the Lower House to consent to the measures likely to be proposed; but ineffectually, for when the bishops had agreed upon an address in answer to the king, they refused to concur, on the ground of its lowering the dignity of the Church of England to be spoken of as of the same kind with the foreign Protestant Churches. Nothing was done after this, and towards the end of January the Convocation and the Parliament were dissolved together.

Such was the termination of the hopeful scheme of comprehension of 1689, introduced under the most favourable circumstances that have ever occurred since the last great change in the Liturgy, which took place in 1662. The reference to that scheme, as the type of the project to be agitated for now, has been made in Dr. Stanley's letter of last year to the Bishop of London, or we should scarcely have thought the resemblance between the two cases sufficiently close to have borne the comparison. The circumstances differ widely; the Latitudinarians of that day had a large majority in the Upper House; they had many who felt and acted with them in the Lower House of Convocation. There was no such amount of interest in the welfare of the Church or knowledge of the subject as is widely spread among the influential laity of the present day. It will be sufficient to

mention the names of such men as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Lygon, as representatives of very different phases of Churchmanship, but who are all deeply impressed with the reality of that sacramental system which it is contemplated to overthrow. And they are the types of very large and influential bodies of laymen in the Church. The comparison then which we wish to institute rather regards the attitude of parties in 1689 and that of 1866, or whatever year may be deemed favourable for the introduction of the measure. In other respects there is no very exact resemblance between the cases. In this particular respect the contrast is most marked. The apathy of the laity has been replaced by zeal, the ignorance of the clergy by a certain amount of theological learning. The Church party, instead of being weeded of all its staunchest supporters, is full both of learning and logical power, and worldly wisdom; whilst the Latitudinarians have to contend against a very shy feeling which has been growing up amongst Dissenters and many Churchmen against adopting recent views on Biblical Inspiration and on the correctness of Scripture statements.

Thus far we have been speaking of the movement with regard to the probability of its success.

It is for once the undeniable interest of the Evangelical party to ally itself with the Church party. It must be, if they please, an armed *Concordat*. They will scarcely be so unwise as to unite with the Latitudinarians in a struggle wherein, if they are successful, they will undoubtedly eject from the Anglican Communion the whole of the Church party. They ought to know—probably some of them do know—the entire and absolute antagonism of the present principle of comprehension to the shibboleths of their creed. They ought to bear in mind that comprehension will not take the direction of including a more rigid school of Calvinism, but is specially intended for the sceptic who hates their peculiar doctrines more than he does any other dogmatic formularies whatever. In order to show this clearly, we now proceed to explain the direction which this movement is taking. We take for our text-book the article in the February number of *Fraser*, to which the Dean of Westminster's name is attached; the letter of Dr. Stanley to the Bishop of London, on the subject of Subscription to Formularies, published last year; and the defence of the 'Essays and Reviews,' and the Bishop of Natal, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, in the April numbers of 1861, and 1863, which we need not scruple to say supplies abundant evidence of having proceeded from the same writer to whom common report universally attributes them.

It is of results only that we speak; of the course of action by which these results are to be brought about, we are left to conjecture. It seems probable that the mode of operation will be cautious, and such as not to give needless offence. Probably the attempt to abolish subscription to formularies, in the case of Oxford graduates, will be the first step of the process. What we are concerned with now is not the method of operation; rather, we will endeavour, from what has been written on the subject, to show what is the extent of the comprehension contemplated.

And, in the first place, it is evident that it is not intended particularly as a relief to Nonconformists. Here the spirit of the scheme is entirely at variance with the project of 1689. The cry was then to include those within the same fold, who were supposed by the Tillotson and Burnet party to agree precisely with them in doctrine—which, in point of fact, Presbyterians, as well as other sects, really did—but who differed in discipline and Church polity. The grievance felt now is not that of those who, outside the pale of the Church, are unable to acquiesce in her forms of worship, but of those who, being within, find the yoke of subscription almost or quite intolerable. The view is to provide for the intellectual scepticism of the day, which is supposed to be so far advanced as to be able to demonstrate that the Anglican formularies are no longer true, whatever truth they may at one time have contained; and to make this go down the more easily, we are reminded of the variable and shifting character of words, which no longer mean exactly the same as they meant a century or two ago. There is, of course, some truth in this allegation; and we shall not here comment on it further than to say, that we, for our part, shall not express any objection to changing the language of the Nicene Creed, when the same authority which imposed it first, and decided that it expressed the doctrine which had been uniformly held from Apostolic times, and handed down to the fourth century, shall see fit to alter the language in which it is preserved and conveyed. But it may, perhaps, be worth while, on the other side, to consider whether the very existence of this Creed has not actually preserved the meaning of the terms used in it amidst the fluctuations in meaning of words which have not been used in dogmatic statements. We think we have reason on our side when we demur to a party in a provincial Church innovating on that which is admitted by all parties—all, at least, whom we are now considering—to be a tradition of the universal undivided Church. In endeavouring to compass this, we shall, no doubt, hear a good deal about the advantage of adhering to Scripture terms; and we shall be told of the sim-

plicity of Scripture language, as opposed to the complexity and dogmatism of ecclesiastical documents. And this, no doubt, ought to seem very plausible to the Evangelical party. They would do well, therefore, to think whether they would be satisfied, in the exciting din of party strife, that subscription should take the form of a profession of belief in the Scriptures. Such a subscription would include a far wider range of people than they would care to admit. And even such a declaration would not—or, at least, ought not to—satisfy the conscience of the modern Latitudinarian; for, in point of fact, he neither believes in the truth of the statements of the Bible, neither does he admit the genuineness and authenticity of its component books.

Dr. Stanley, in holding his shield over the 'Essays and Reviews,' and other writers, with whom he probably does not entirely agree, in his notice of them in the *Edinburgh Review*, seems to think that inspiration may be depended upon so far as it upholds Monotheism,—the creed of Jew, Christian, and Mahometan alike,—and for very little more than this in the way of doctrine. The exact expressions of Scripture can in no case be depended upon, because of the irreconcilable contradictions that exist in some parts of it. There is no guarantee for its accuracy or correctness in any scientific statement; for it is plain that it makes some statements which are at variance with the discoveries of modern science. And as to its literary character, it possesses no proof of genuineness, because some portions of it have not been written by those who have been supposed to be their authors. This we gather to be the opinion of the writer of one of the articles in the *Edinburgh Review*. It must not be supposed that the writer's opinions are identical with those which he defends. On the contrary, it would be very difficult to lay down precisely in words what the Dean of Westminster himself believes. The point to be exhibited is not what this or that individual of the party believes, but what they all agree in thinking may be included under the same formula of belief. And to illustrate this point, we proceed now to the article in the February number of *Fraser's Magazine*. Indeed, the most remarkable feature in this party is their utter disregard of truth. Their special pride is their willingness to find truth; the search after which, rather than the practice of righteousness, many of them consider to be the object of life. We deliberately repeat our charge of an utter disregard of truth: all of them—or, at least, most of them—believe something, yet with regard to the veriest fundamentals of the faith they are willing to receive into their fellowship those who hold contradictory opinions. The belief in the Unity of the Godhead is the single *residuum*

after all the other doctrines of the Church have been, not denied, but either explained away or represented as indifferent. It is not by any means certain that, if they had their own way, in process of time this doctrine would not be subjected to the same volatilizing process under which all definition vanishes, and vague thoughts and impressions are substituted for dogmatic beliefs. But, undoubtedly, every other doctrine is enveloped in such a haze as to be entirely indistinct and imperceptible. After shaking men's belief in large portions of the Bible, we are to be content to be told that, after all, the Bible is unlike any other book in the world; but the Bible is to include, or not, at the will of the believer or the unbeliever, the Second Epistle of S. Peter, a large portion of the Gospel narrative, and of the Revelation of S. John. The Atoning Sacrifice may be regarded in the Catholic sense, or it may be spoken of as the grandest act of morality that the world has witnessed; and so on, of everything that devout Christians hold most sacred.

Dr. Stanley's paper itself has for its subject the theology of the nineteenth century. That there is a theology which adapts itself to successive periods in the history of the Church, the writer thinks is self-evident. That there is a special theology of this century is proved by the alarm which it excites, as also by the attacks which it provokes from its opponents, and the hopes which it inspires in its adherents; and this theology is to consist in a change scarcely less important or widespread than that of the sixteenth century. This theology, though it is so different in different ages, that it means Catholicism before the Reformation, Protestantism subsequently to the Reformation, and the sublimated essence of both Romanism and Protestantism, as extracted by the refining process of criticism for the special use of the Church of the future, has, nevertheless, a pedigree of most ancient standing. In form, however, it is but of recent origin, having sprung up from Germany, and spread in this country so far as to have influenced the writers most opposed to it, and who, therefore, so far as they have been influenced by it, must be quoted as specimens of its training. On this score, the new theology is to embrace such men as the author of the 'Christian Year,' and the Regius Professor of Hebrew. However, as it is difficult to see how the most strenuous opponents of rationalism and disbelief are to be classed amongst its adherents, and such classification will convey but a scanty knowledge of what this theology is, we are next informed more directly what are its direct products. We must give the next sentence in Dr. Stanley's own words; for here we have an actual distinct announcement from him what it is. We look over his pages for an explanation of this little pronoun, and at last

we light, if not upon an absolutely definite account of it, yet on a statement of what *it* has done, by which we may judge what *it* is in *its* real nature. 'The "Essays and Reviews" are *its* direct product, together with a large part of the "Aids to Faith," and 'two, at least, of the seven "Replies."' And now our readers will be able to give a shrewd guess that the Dean of Westminster has made a slight blunder of expression, and that *it*, after all, does not mean theology, but criticism. And if he means that the study of criticism has been forced upon orthodox writers of the Anglican communion by the hostile attacks of sceptical and infidel writers, we certainly are quite of his opinion; but if he means that critical exegesis is anything but a very small portion of the science of theology, we entirely differ from him. The history of theology has been, from first to last, entirely consistent. The science has been developed by the attacks, first of infidels, then of heretics and schismatics; and the attack which Protestants made upon the infallibility of the Church is now, by a process of retaliation, made upon their Palladium, the Bible, and can only result in showing that there is no stronghold for Catholic truth anywhere but in the decisions of a Council truly Œcumenical.

But we proceed with our description of *it*, reminding our readers again that *it*, as appears to us, can mean nothing else than criticism, but that in Dr. Stanley's phraseology it means *theology*. Occasionally, *it* seems to mean the general spirit of the age, as when such men as Lacordaire and Montalembert are included in its embrace; but we wonder, if this is so, that the name of Cardinal Wiseman does not figure among the heroes upon whom so many laudatory epithets are heaped. It might have been thought, from the article in the *Edinburgh Review* of April, 1863, that the modern theology had attained its culminating point in the 'Essays and Reviews.' That article, without at all committing its writer to any of the views which he so cordially welcomes, if it means anything, means to defend the writers for maintaining what they have written as clergymen of the Church of England. We need not tell our readers that two of those writers, amongst other insinuations, assert, either directly or virtually, that S. Peter's Second Epistle is a mere forgery, and therefore full of lies; that another denies the truth of the Mosaic narrative, and makes Moses out to be an impostor; and that another, by denying the possibility of miracles, must, though he does not say so in words, deny the birth and conception of our Lord, as well as His resurrection, and, prior to all these, His Deity. Of this essay the reviewer observes, that a chapter written by the present Archbishop of Dublin, on the apologetic worth of miracles, is in principle identical with any fair

and charitable construction of the main argument of Professor Powell. It is of the same essay, in the same article, that we find the words, '*If he (Professor Powell) means to say no such events as those recorded in the sacred writings could have taken place, he appears to us to have transcended the limits of scientific and historical knowledge not less than of devout belief.*'

We need not continue our account of the volume of 'Essays and Reviews.' It is, unhappily, but too well known; but we think it would have been sufficiently absurd, as a result of the theology of the nineteenth century, if it had rested here. But now our modern theology is not content to have disproved all the old theology; it claims, also, to include not only its elder sister, but even the writers that have set themselves in most strenuous opposition to it. We do not profess here to determine, or to offer even an opinion, as to the success with which the 'Aids to Faith' and the 'Seven Replies' have combatted the errors of the volume of Essays and Reviews; but we shall, at least, be right in saying that they are written for the especial purpose of overthrowing it, and that the propositions which they labour to establish are the exact contradictions of those which they undertake to upset. Yet our criticism, or theology, —call it what you will,—is so very pliant and accommodating, that it is content to adopt them both. Well, we should ourselves consider it but a poor result of criticism to come to a conclusion that much might be said on both sides of the question. And if theology is a science, we suppose its object is not to establish that contradictions may both be true, for that is false logic; nor can its province be in pronouncing that neither of two contradictions is proved, for, in so far as it does no more than this, it ceases to be a science. If the Dean of Westminster is in any degree acquainted with any science whatever, he must know that it arrives at definite conclusions, which admit of being further developed, and, in the case of the inductive sciences, being made more and more probable as time goes on. But theology, in his view, appears to be the only science which admits of contradictions in all parts of its domain. If it possesses any certain conclusions beyond 'the composite origin of some of the Books in the Canon—the possible discovery of the dates, tendency, doctrine, and spirit of the Sacred Books, the distinction between poetry and prose, the moral and religious functions of the prophets'—all very interesting questions, no doubt, and questions which it is very desirable should be solved—we should like to know what they are.

But in reality, if what Dr. Stanley says has any meaning at all, it is this, that dogma is not of the essence of theology; that it does not much matter what you believe, so long as you are

a good man. And if this is the conclusion he has come to, all we can say is that it is perfectly intelligible; but that if it is true, the world has wasted a good deal of time and thought, in coming to a conclusion which many people reached many centuries ago without going through so troublesome a process. Seriously, we are at a loss to conceive in Dr. Stanley's mind what the science of theology is, and what definite conclusions it has established or rendered probable. He implies, indeed, that the study of Scripture has produced a unity of religious thought unknown before since the sixteenth century. But the unity even in his judgment appears to be more in the future than in the present tense; for just when we are wondering at the audacity of the assertion, we find the tense changed and the magnificent statement altered in an instant into an expression of belief, in which the hope is plainly father to the thought, that when Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Nonconformists, are studying the same book on the same principles, 'it is impossible but that greater unity will emerge—greater unity of interest, if not of sentiment.' And what inference is it possible to draw from this, other than that unity of belief is of no consequence? He himself alludes to the late Encyclical of the Pope in terms, which seem to imply some antagonism between it and the new theology of the nineteenth century. Can Dr. Stanley then seriously think because a Roman Catholic here and there, or because any number of Roman Catholics, welcome the results of criticism as likely to fortify the faith which was once delivered to the saints, that therefore the great Western communion is making any, the slightest approach to the rationalism of Germany and the infidelity of England? Is it possible that he can really entertain the hope that the Catholic Church is making any approximation to the views of modern liberalism, because there is one learned Russian writer of whom he partially approves? Is it possible that he can be deceived into supposing that because the *Christian Remembrancer* spoke of part of Dr. Rowland Williams's essay on Christianity and Hinduism as vastly superior in tone to some other writings of the party, therefore we have any sympathy at all with the principles of that school? If he means that the writers in this Review are not bigots, we accept the doubtful compliment, and are sorry that we are unable to return it, if bigotry means an obstinate adherence to views which are found to be untenable. We, at least, do not profess syncretism so far as to give our assent to contradictory propositions, nor eclecticism to the extent of thinking that statements of truth are not coloured by the opinions of the school from which they are derived. If Dr. Stanley is consistent he ought to go on to endorse the opinion of his friend Mr. Jowett, that

the Nicene Definition was a great misfortune to the Christian faith; and let him agitate at once, as he ought to do, for the admission of Socinians to Church communion on the basis of the Apostles' Creed, which we and they alike profess, or on the acceptance of the Word of God, if they can determine what is and what is not Holy Scripture. Does it, we ask, indicate any present agreement between the parties into which even the Church of England is divided, that Dr. Stanley and Mr. Maurice are willing to tolerate Dr. Pusey, whilst the latter emphatically protests that he does not worship the same God whom one of them, at least, professes to worship?

Next we are told that the theology of the nineteenth century has certain relations to philosophy which are indicated by the disappearance of Voltaire, Frederick II. and Paine from polite society. We have exchanged such characters for M. Rénan, Bishop Colenso, Professor Powell and his associates. Our advocates of the new theology seem to think this so much gain, and boast that there is—though it is not clear whether they mean that there is or there ought to be—a corresponding change of tone amongst Christian theologians. For ourselves we do not scruple to aver that the names we have mentioned characterise persons far more dangerous as enemies to Christianity than the avowed infidels and deists of the last century. The mask of friendship which they wear does not impose upon us, and we are writing this in the humble hope of contributing something towards dispelling the illusion it may create with others. But in addition to the strict alliance with philosophy which theology has struck up by means of discarding her own functions, we are told somewhat of the magnificent results of the compact. Amongst these is the increased importance attached to the moral and spiritual aspect of religion, as exhibited in the *concordat* between theologians and philosophers, on the basis of the following doctrines:—‘That God is above all else a Moral Being; that He is Love; that He is a righteous Judge, who will deal with us according to truth; that obedience is greater in His sight than outward ceremonies; that the good, the faithful and the true is above every other offering that can be made in heaven or on earth.’ Now, not here to quarrel with the unphilosophical mode of expression—we do not expect exactness from the theology of the nineteenth century—we must say that philosophy and theology, if this is their end, have taken a long time and a circuitous process in reaching it. These are the very foundations upon which natural theology rests. If Revelation does not go beyond this, it might almost as well not have been made at all. Certainly as much as this is presupposed before the question of miracles comes in at all. We do not pretend to

understand what particular difficulty on this subject is eased by the concurrent testimony of Dr. Moberly and Dr. Temple, that in this generation we do not believe in the Gospel because of the miracles, but in the miracles because of the Gospel; but we suppose it is not of an overwhelming nature, as it is so easily relieved by a statement in which every child who can understand the terms used would easily acquiesce.

The last subject we shall notice is the relation in which the so-called new theology stands to doctrine; and here we unhesitatingly say it is simply antagonistic to it. It is but throwing dust in our eyes, when it is pretended that instead of laying stress on words it investigates their meaning; and it only shows an utter ignorance and misconception of all theology, properly so called, to speak of it as if it were occupied about words instead of things. We need not retort upon Dr. Stanley that he falls into this very error in stating that the whole theory of development is new, because the very word is not a hundred years old. The word is new, the thing is of eighteen centuries growth. Again, we repeat, we do not quarrel with Latitudinarians for their want of logic or consistency. No one expects that of them. But we may reasonably find fault with a system which requires such monstrous misrepresentations for its defence and establishment. What in the world is the whole history of doctrine in the Christian Church but one continuous development of the Apostles' Creed? What have all the controversies on disputed points ended in but in definitions of that one faith which was held implicitly before by persons who differed only about the terms they used? And what have all the definitions done but stereotyped the true theory, to be further developed in future ages, as heresy gradually elicits truth, in the contest that is perpetually being waged by the Church against each successive form of Rationalism? Are we to be told in the nineteenth century, in the face of evidence to the contrary that is palpable to any one who has read ever so small a portion of S. Athanasius's works, that the champion of the Church against the world was fighting for words and not for things? Or, again, is the great writer of the Latin Church to be charged with indifference to the real meaning of the subjects in which he was so profoundly versed? The charge is so utterly ridiculous on the face of it that we suppose it will be at once admitted that these are the brilliant exceptions which, as it were, prove the rule; and the seeming candour which admits the supposed exceptions may, perhaps, go some way towards the securing the acquiescence of the ignorant and unlearned in the unproved assertion of what the rule is. Of course there must have been, in all ages—and our own times are not altogether free from this defect—persons

who with a dogged kind of obstinacy adhere to statements without attaching much meaning to them ; but that this accusation fairly represents the general course of theology, cannot possibly be maintained by any one even moderately conversant with the works of the Fathers from the Apostolic times down to those of S. Bernard. The accusation has only gained credit because it has been so perseveringly reiterated. It is a charge which has had its origin not so much in ignorance of the facts of ecclesiastical history, as in an utter misconception of what theology is. We entirely agree with the Dean of Westminster, as well as with the accomplished professor whom he quotes, that the meaning of philosophical terms is perpetually changing. We go far beyond anything that they have alleged, and assert that every term ought to be perpetually enlarging the comprehensiveness of its meaning as the student in theology, or the devout Christian gains a further insight into truth. How different is the meaning attached to the very name of the Supreme Being by individuals in different stages of moral and intellectual cultivation ; how enlarged the idea which we in this day ought to possess of Him and His attributes, compared with what a heathen Monotheist, or a recently converted Atheist must entertain. But that appears to us to afford the most cogent reason for keeping the nomenclature of the Catholic Church unchanged, viz. that it has borne the stress of all that has been laid upon it. We do not say that it is impossible to substitute other words for those which have been sanctioned by the use of Christendom for centuries, but we fearlessly assert that it rests with those who would change them to demonstrate the superiority of what they would substitute for them. When it is urged that people agree in the main about the thing, but object to the use of the term, we are apt to be incredulous, and retort that the use of the term has been the only apparent means of preserving the integrity of the idea. Again, the change in the meanings of words, it must be remembered, is not urged with any view to the substitution of others which may be more efficient, but it is made the plea for the abolition of all definite statements whatever ; as if in these days of scientific accuracy and refinement we were arrived at such a pitch of perfection as to be able to dispense with the use of terms of communion, if only we can satisfy ourselves that other people will leave us alone in our belief if we will leave them to themselves. Meanwhile it is tacitly assumed by this party, that those who are in the wrong, and those who are in the right, have about as much one as the other to say in their own defence ; and it is considered to indicate a high degree of uncharitableness if it is ever insinuated that belief and unbelief have anything to do

with the state and condition of the heart. It is taken for granted that faith has no province distinct from reason; that all things must be explained to the satisfaction of the reason of every individual inquirer, of whatsoever character he may be. Under such a state of things, the ideas of the supernatural and the mysterious must of necessity soon resolve themselves into the natural and the ordinary.

In saying what we have said on the subject of words and things, we do not of course mean to deny that individual theologians, and much more individuals who are not theologians, have sometimes made the mysteries of faith the battle-field for mere logomachy. It is, perhaps, unavoidable amongst the most earnest and acute disputants, that on some points they will eventually discover that they have been, upon the whole, agreed when they imagined that they differed. We are far from denying that instances of this sort may appear in the writings of the schoolmen. We are not concerned here to decide the limits of this question. We leave it to others who are better versed than ourselves in mediæval theology to settle this point. But if we are not mistaken, it will be found that the questions upon which the East and the West separated from each other will turn much upon the meaning of terms, when in doctrine both parties are agreed. We do not pretend to assert anything positively on the point of difference as regards the *Filioque* of the Nicene Creed; but we think it most probable that there is no real difference of opinion as regards the doctrine, *i.e.* the meaning of the doctrine of the Procession, between the Eastern and the Western Churches. But, certainly, before it could be left an open question, we should expect the matter to be decided by an Œcumenical Council, in which the East and West should be adequately represented. As regards the schism between ourselves and the rest of the Latin communion, we have no doubt it rests mainly upon misunderstandings of words. If this be so, it of course indicates the importance of cautious deliberation in the selection of words to express doctrinal truth, and also affords an argument why a Church which, like our own, has separated from the communion of Christendom—whether by the fault of her own rulers, or that of others, or by the force of circumstances involving both parties in confusion and mistakes—should be ready to reconsider words and phrases which she has adopted on her own sole authority, and to make concessions for the sake of union, if it should appear that the expressions she has used are either unphilosophical or needlessly obscure and ambiguous.

We need hardly say that we allude to the case of the Thirty-nine Articles. We have nothing here to say as to the Augustan

Confession, from which they are derived. Whatever was intended to be the meaning of dogmatic statements laid down in that Confession, it is certain that no authoritative interpretation was ever placed upon the Anglican Articles, which represent, at least, four, if not five different periods of rapidly changing forms of thought in the English Church. The first three dates are those of 1552, 1562, and 1571; then comes Laud's Declaration, still prefixed to them, and the last date at which they were reimposed was in 1662, when the divines of the Savoy Conference accepted and imposed them, as a safeguard against Puritanism, at a time when they would not have cared how far they were strained in the direction of Rome. We do not stop here to inquire what was the meaning of the framers of 1552, or that of the narrow-minded bigots of Elizabeth's reign, who altered the Articles of 1552, and procured the subscription of the clergy to them. For ourselves, as is well known, we entirely decline being bound to the sense of the compilers. On the contrary, we are persuaded that we sign them in an entirely different meaning; whilst, on the other hand, we feel equally certain that we understand them in the sense in which Laud, and subsequently the English divines of 1662 understood them. Now, be it remembered, we are not concerned here to notice any argument that may be deduced from the fact that the Thirty-nine Articles are signed by parties whose theological views differ *toto cœlo*; we are only alluding now to a fact which, for our present purpose, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the method of interpreting the Articles which we adopt—and which we have again and again asserted, is the only honest method, because it is the only one which can be reconciled with the doctrines of the Prayer-book, which are pre-supposed in all modern requirements of subscription,—that this method implies substantial agreement with the rest of the Western Church in all the essentials of the faith. Minor differences, therefore, it would be reasonable to hope might be adjusted by a comparison of the documents to which either side adheres, and by explanations and omissions where such should be found necessary.

We are not now, of course, addressing ourselves to those whose whole theory merges in the idea of antagonism to Rome. That party is fast decaying out, from sheer inability to retain the adherence of the clergy, as at present educated. Nor, again, do we address ourselves to the Latitudinarian party, though on the present question, in the abstract, they would have much of sympathy with us. We are in fact only conceding to them a point which they would stretch to a most unreasonable length. Whilst they would assert that nearly all doctrine is resolvable into disputes about words, we admit that

sometimes prolonged controversies have turned upon the meaning of words, and would draw the attention of the Church party to the point how far this is the case in such of the Articles as are generally spoken of as directed against Rome. There are many indications of earnest longing for unity, springing up in East and West. Let not Anglicans, by undue stiffness in adhering either to formulæ of mere temporary value, or to a set form of words, just because they have been used to them, throw any obstacle to that union with the Churches of the Eastern world, which, we trust, may be preliminary to the reunion of the whole of Christendom.

What a blessed consummation to contemplate! and what a privilege to bear howsoever humble a part in contributing to so grand an object! We may not, perhaps, live to see the desire of our hearts accomplished; but let any one consider the enormous change that has come over the spirit of the Anglican Church in the course of the last thirty years, and, without appealing to the eye of faith, we may be able to pronounce some judgment as to the changes which may possibly be brought about in the next thirty years. Doctrines which were not so much as hinted at for the first quarter of the present century are extensively held by hundreds of the clergy and laity; and opinions, which at that time were tolerated side by side with others which more or less directly contradicted them, are now the recognised belief of nearly all the clergy. In October last, in reviewing the pamphlets which had been published on Subscription, we took occasion to point out what may be called blemishes in the Articles, in addition to others which Dr. Stanley had himself alluded to. In addition to what we then said, it seems worth while to draw the reader's attention to the verbal nature of the differences between the two Churches as regards the doctrines of the Sacraments, on Justification by Faith, and the Scriptural Proof of Doctrines. Much of apparent difference would at once disappear to any one who will just attend to the different definitions of the words sacrament, *sacramentum*, and *μυστήριον*; whilst, again, the strict refusal of the Greeks to admit the Procession from the Son, may, perhaps, admit of easy explanation, on somewhat similar principles.

We are pointing out a very wide and a very difficult field of inquiry, upon which we do not mean to venture now; but Churchmen must be prepared for some such inquiries, if ever they hope for the unity of Christendom. It will not do for an isolated corner of the globe to insist that this Church alone can be right, whilst East and West are alike in the wrong. It will be for us to admit the force of the allegation, that provincial and national synods may, perhaps, have sanctioned what is inju-

dition—may, in point of fact, have erred even in matters pertaining to God. We know not on what ground the Anglican Church can arrogate to herself, either theoretically or practically, an immunity from error which she so pointedly denies to the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. If it is insisted that all that she teaches as against them can be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, let her, at least, not shrink from meeting in Council—General, if so be; Œcumenical, if we dared to hope for so grand a thing—and show that this is so. In the times of her early reformation, appeal was most constantly made to a General Council; and who can tell what a General Council might have done towards preserving the peace and the unity of Christendom? At any rate, if the opportunity should arise, the Church of England would stand self-condemned if she refused to add her contribution to any such projected assembly. And if in any such assembly it should appear that the disputes on any points of theology should be questions of words, and not of things, she must be prepared to alter and amend, to omit, to sacrifice if necessary, any points that rest upon her sole authority. We cannot enter into details now. If what we have suggested seem new to any, let it be remembered that we are recommending a scheme for the reunion of Christendom, which would involve far less alterations than that urged by the Latitudinarian party for comprehending sceptics within the fold of Protestantism.

Indeed we do not know on what principle any boundaries on the side of misbelief or unbelief are placed to the new theology. Its theory is intended to include the writers in 'Essays and Reviews;' they are in fact the very centre round which all other belief is to hang with more or less of closeness of attachment as the case may be; but the theory ought to include the Bishop of Natal—and we suppose is intended to comprehend him, only the Dean of Westminster is chary of mentioning a name so blown upon. And precisely in the same way, Voltaire and Paine ought to have figured in the theology of the eighteenth century. They belong to it exactly in the same degree as modern sceptics and infidels do to that of the nineteenth. They attacked Christianity, and Christianity has managed to survive the attack. So, in a few years hence, their swarm of small followers, who add to the disgraceful conduct which they displayed, the effrontery of claiming to be called the friends and allies of the Christian Church, will be forgotten, and their representatives in the next generation will be fighting the battle from without the walls and no longer from within the citadel.

For, indeed, we are unable to see these signs of a coming victory which the party so confidently proclaim. There are

some amongst them wise enough to know, and incautious enough to have given utterance to the sentiment, that the publication of the 'Essays and Reviews,' followed by the 'Critical Examination of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua,' has retarded the cause of liberalism for twenty years. It is reported that the most influential member of their party is far more despondent on this head than the rest of his friends. Whatever may be the issue of things as regards unbelief rearing its head outside the pale of the Church, it seems to us certain that the recoil of the present day from the extravagances and effronteries with which we have been beset for the last ten years will out-last the lives of most of those who have witnessed its commencement. Convocation, after having been fortunately—shall we say, or providentially?—suppressed during all the period when, if it had been allowed to act, there was every probability of its committing itself to some foolish and absurd or heterodox opinions, has resumed its functions with a vigour and a good sense which surpasses the most sanguine expectations of its well-wishers, and provoke the indignation of those who would if they could regard its proceedings with contempt. It is certain that nothing of any moment in the way of alteration can be passed in the teeth of a strong remonstrance from the Lower House of Convocation. What may be its functions as regards other matters we do not attempt here to decide, but nothing can be more certain than that it will prove an effectual barrier to any attack upon Church doctrine which may be made by the Latitudinarian party.

Whatever may be the successes this party achieves in the way of unsettling the faith of waverers; however many may be the additions they make to the number of the indifferent and sceptical, we are certain that they will not obtain a permanent influence in the Church of England. People cannot be held together by a creed of negatives—they must have something to believe. The poor especially can never sympathize with the vague and the vacillating; and the educated cannot be contented with generalizations which admit of being interpreted upon contradictory principles. The so-called theology of the nineteenth century cannot possibly succeed, because its success would be a retrograde step to which no parallel can be shown during the last three centuries. In the reign of Elizabeth the Church of England had lost nearly every note by which a Church may be discerned. The two great and successful moves that have been made since 1571, were effected by the Hampton Court and the Savoy Conferences. And the great failure of 1689 resulted under circumstances, as we have shown in an earlier part of this article, more favourable than are ever again likely to be combined for any Latitudinarian movement. We fully admit that the return to

a more Catholic tone at the two junctures when the Crown had passed into the Stuart family and was restored to the grandson of James I. was connected with singular coincidences of fortunate or Providential circumstances. And we are content to accept these events as a good omen for the future. Or, to express our meaning in language more congenial to our own feelings, we hope that the good providence of God, which has saved the Church of England from such imminent disaster and ruin, has greater things yet in store for her, and that she may yet be the honoured instrument in His hands of accomplishing that union between Eastern and Western Christendom which so many hearts are set upon, and for which so many and such fervent prayers are now being offered to the throne of grace.

We have said that the fight will be an internecine struggle. Let the Church of England make but one concession to the party who are now seeking to get rid of the restraints which gall them, and we have no hesitation in saying that the step will be fatal. It will follow in quick succession that everything will be an open question. The abolition of doctrines will speedily be followed by that of the Episcopate, and the downfall of the Episcopate will not precede by any long interval that of the Crown itself. May God of His infinite mercy avert any such catastrophe. That He will do so, we cannot doubt. We see a sure and certain pledge of defeat for that party who can afford to be apathetic and calm because there is nothing which is dear to their hearts which they are afraid of losing; and a still surer sign of victory for those who, with that honest indignation against wrong which is one of the noblest feelings of our fallen human nature, denounce the enemies of the truth as, what they are, the enemies of God Himself.

P. S. And here this article would naturally have come to a conclusion; but since writing the above we have seen the remarkable speech made by the Dean of S. Paul's at one of the sittings of the Clerical Subscription Commission, on the 22d of April, 1864, which has just appeared in the March number of *Fraser's Magazine*. In this speech, which is characterised by the utmost sincerity, Dr. Milman entirely disclaims being the representative of any party. Indeed he had, he tells us, studiously avoided any communication with his friends, and the whole tone and tenor of it bear evident marks of its being the production of a single mind uninfluenced by intercourse with other minds of kindred feelings and sentiments. Nevertheless we can scarcely be wrong in considering that in its present appearance it is intended to be a sequel to the manifestation of the other metro-

politan Dean's which we have been reviewing. The Dean of S. Paul's, we believe, speaks from his heart when he says that he abhors party. And the courteous and even admiring tone in which he (evidently with entire sincerity) speaks of the prominent characters of the two schools, whose lines of thought are so divergent from his own, shows that he is genuinely anxious to retain the services of both these schools to the Church of England. But he will pardon us for saying that in the present relation in which he appears, he cannot escape from the classification in which his name must be mentioned now, as of old, amongst the Latitudinarian divines of the present day. We abstain from the use of the term Rationalistic, partly because he evidently dislikes it, and partly because the other term, in the inoffensive sense in which we use it, expresses our meaning better. And for the present we use it only in the sense in which Dr. Milman will not disclaim its application to himself, as being willing and anxious to retain on equal terms the three great bodies that exist side by side in the Anglican communion—the Catholic party, the old Protestant and the new Protestant parties respectively.

But beyond the single fact that the two Deans of S. Paul's and Westminster are playing the same game on the same side, there is little enough of agreement in the methods which they respectively adopt. Whilst the Dean of Westminster is vague and indistinct, and difficult to follow, the Dean of S. Paul's is on the contrary precise, clear, distinct, intelligible. The one suggests no step to be taken, but speaks of a probable future of success that awaits some indeterminate scheme of theology; the other goes straight to his point, and there is not a word that does not bear upon it. That point is the abolition of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. We are far from saying that every argument is of equal value or equally conclusive, but from his standing-point of view the whole must, we should think, appear unanswerable. And from our point of view we may aver that in much of what he urges we entirely and most heartily concur. There is perhaps scarcely a thought in the whole paper but has passed through the mind of most persons who know the history of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the influence that they have exerted over the last three centuries of Anglican theology. But what is really new is that the whole has been put together with such exquisite effect that it will be difficult for the future to defend the existing practice of exacting subscription to them. What surprises us most is that the Dean of S. Paul's should so entirely abstain from allusion to the Prayer-book, in the way of objection. We must quite take it for granted, for there is nothing that appears to the contrary, that he has no wish to interfere either with the Prayer-

book or with the enforced declaration of assent and consent to all that it contains. His attack is solely directed, and with most damaging effect, against the practice of enforcing subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles on candidates for Holy Orders. And the argument may be summed up in one sentence, viz. that the practice is not productive of any good results, whilst it tends to encourage loose views of professing adherence to what people more or less dislike. We may at once dismiss that part of the argument where the writer expresses his disapprobation of young men signing what they have not read and do not understand. The same applies in some degree to all professions of belief, and the signature, in point of fact, in the case of the ignorant only, means that they are content to take the Articles on the faith of the Church of England. The case is very different with those who have studied the matter, and find various difficulties which they are at a loss to explain, and particularly, apparent oppositions between the Prayer-book and the Articles, which, whatever they may hope to do hereafter, they have not at present succeeded in reconciling. Here we entirely admit that a very strong case has to be made out on the opposite side to set against the apparent evil of enforcing subscription. We should think no intelligent person could subscribe the Prayer-book and the Articles quite as comfortably as he could subscribe to one of these documents by itself. We are not prepared to say that no case for the opposite conclusion could be made out, but we do say that such case ought to include some positive demonstration of good effects that had resulted from the practice. Possibly the advocates of subscription may even now be able to show us some such results which we ourselves have failed to discover. But amongst those results undoubtedly the avoidance of diversities of opinion has not been one. The Dean of S. Paul's argues this point with a calmness and strength which show his conviction that it is indisputable. With an irony which is only the more keen because it is so gently expressed, he tells us that he fears the history of the Church gives but an unfavourable answer as to the point of 'stablishing of consent touching true religion;' whilst as regards the supposition that they have 'enforced unity of opinion within certain limits,' he asserts his fears that these limits have grown wider and wider till it is difficult to trace their line. Avoiding all recent occurrences, and carefully abstaining from giving any unnecessary offence, or from committing himself as regards recent transactions, and so withdrawing his hearers or readers for an instant from the point which he is intent upon, he contents himself with observing that they were signed by Whitgift, who yet wished to supersede them by the Lambeth Articles; by Abbot and Laud; by Sheldon and Taylor

(and in these two names we confess we fail to discern the strong antithetical idea that is meant to be conveyed); by Burnet and the Convocation who condemned his work on the Articles; by Tillotson and by the Nonjurors and others who did not scruple to throw out against him the charges of Socinianism, Deism, or Atheism; by the schools of Law and Hoadley; by Warburton and Wesley, Newton and Cecil, Paley and Bishop Law, Mr. Simeon and Bishop Watson; in other words by Arminian and Calvinist, by Catholic and Protestant.

The Dean continues his argument to the effect that if the Articles failed of producing uniformity in times past, still less are they likely to do so now and for the future, when there are so many signs of opinions springing up which it was impossible they should anticipate. It may, indeed, be said that they may nevertheless possess a value as far as they go, and to this the Dean would probably reply that he has shown that that value is either zero or something very nearly approaching it. And to this we would venture to add that the Articles bear on their very face the nature of a temporary expedient; that most of the controversies upon which they attempted to secure, but did not succeed in securing, unanimity of opinion has died away, and that so far as these reasons for retaining them are concerned, the Articles have manifestly lost whatever value they once had.

The varieties of meaning under which the Articles have been subscribed leads to a further inquiry, which the Dean of S. Paul's speaks of as an embarrassing question. Certainly it is not a question which embarrasses himself, for it vastly strengthens his argument. The inquiry is, In what sense the Articles are to be subscribed? By this is meant not what is the sense of the Articles, but, How far is the subscriber bound by them? It has never been authoritatively determined whether they are mere articles of peace, or the best solution of difficulties which do not admit of absolute reconciliation. Does subscription mean a general assent or a specific assent to every individual proposition contained in them? Is any liberty, and if so, what liberty, to be allowed? All these unsolved questions suggest difficulties to the conscience of the subscriber, of which it is asked, 'Is it necessary that he should be subject to such uneasiness?' The passage with which the Dean concludes, though not exactly representing our view of the case, is so well expressed so far as it represents the writer's argument, that we must take leave to extract it just as it stands:—

'And all this is not with regard to the great eternal, irrefragable truths of Christianity; not the broad and pregnant Articles of a creed, but a system of Articles branching out into countless questions, some antiquated, some expressed in anti-

‘quoted language, not like the Christian verities as they appear in the Prayer-book, simple, winning, entirely moulded up with the worship of God, the love of the Saviour, prayer for the grace of the Holy Spirit; the effusion of the pious heart, not the cold abstract theorems of the understanding. With the Liturgy in her hand as her sole credentials, the Church of England will gather into her bosom, not only a growing number of pious and loving votaries, but a never-failing succession of holy and self-denying ministers. Many of such have been, many, I believe, are, many will be, repelled by her hard and inflexible Articles.’

In an earlier part of his speech, the Dean of S. Paul’s expresses his admiration of the wonderful wisdom, skill, and dexterity with which the framers of the Articles treated the theological questions which were then agitated. We must say that for dexterity many perhaps would have substituted the term *duplicity*, or at least, *astuteness*. Neither has our reading of the works of most of the early reformers at all impressed us with the idea of their learning and judgment. Rather in a combination of fortunate circumstances, we think we see an over-ruling Providence guiding their expressions, so as to enable them to be interpreted in unison with the Catholic part of the Prayer-book, in a sense which they themselves probably never contemplated. This is our account of the vast superiority of the Thirty-nine Articles, to the heretical documents with which they are sometimes compared—the Lambeth Articles, the Assembly’s, and the Westminster Catechism, the terms of which would be utterly irreconcilable with the Catholic doctrines everywhere presupposed and implied in the English Prayer-book.

As regards the group of Articles which Dr. Milman describes as relating to Holy Scripture, he avows his own opinion that there are two points on which the Church of England is clear and peremptory, viz. (1) the definition of the books of Holy Scripture, as containing the commonly called Canonical, and excluding the commonly called Apocryphal books, and (2) the assertion that Scripture is the sole rule of faith, so that nothing which cannot be proved by it is essential to Christian belief. Now, we could very well have understood this, if it had been alleged as a reason why all but the Sixth Article should be swept away, but we do not see how the Dean, on his own principles, can escape from the conclusion that it is necessary to retain the Sixth Article, if he wishes the truth supposed to be enunciated in it to be retained as the belief of the Church of England. Undoubtedly the Prayer-book of the Church of England has nothing in it which even remotely leads in this direction, and is quite capable of being signed by persons who do not believe that Scripture is the sole rule of faith.

We say, that on the Dean's principle, he is bound to reduce the Thirty-nine Articles to one; and Protestantism would certainly be more consistent if it entrenched itself in this position, and ceased to dogmatise on matters of faith and doctrine. But we think that few of the clergy can be found with consciences so elastic as to be able to follow him when he avers that a clergyman may safely sign the other thirty-eight Articles if only he believes from his heart this one. Surely the *animus imponentis* can never be satisfied by this; for the imponent, whoever that imaginary person or body may be, would not insist upon the addition of thirty-eight if one were sufficient. We do indeed think that the enforcing subscription to this one Article would be entirely consistent in Protestants, but we suppose they are afraid to try the experiment, on the ground that other people would not be likely to see the same things proved in Scripture that they did. And here we light upon the crucial difficulty of the Articles; for supposing that subscription were limited to the Sixth Article, is it so certain that this Article is definite in its meaning? On the contrary, it is more obscure and indefinite than any of the thirty-nine. In the first place, it contains a statement which, as far as mere words go, is simply false, 'of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.' Then the Article is so worded that it is quite possible for a person to sign it who believes the Apocryphal books to be part of Scripture, for they are called 'the other books,' and the only statement to which the English Church is committed is this, that she does not in fact consider them authoritative in the sense of applying them to establish any doctrine.

Again, who has ever attempted to explain what 'proof from Holy Scripture' means? It is impossible that any expression can be more indefinite. Every sect at the time when those Articles were drawn up, and nearly every division of Christians now appeal to Scripture, and think their doctrines are proved from it. Who is to decide whether the Unitarian hypothesis or the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity is proved from Scripture? Certainly, if another Article had not emphatically declared that the Nicene Creed may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, we should scarcely have thought any individual warranted in making the assertion. Let any one consider the meagre array of texts which are commonly alleged to prove the Personality, Co-existence, Co-equality of the Third Person of the Divine Trinity in Unity, then let him take into consideration the number of persons who believe the exact contradictory to be proved from the very same Scriptures, together with the countless number of those who, apart from any prejudices, and fully believing the doctrine itself, fail to see any very cogent or conclu-

sive arguments for it in Holy Scripture, and then let him try and realize and explain to himself, as best he may be able, what he means by asserting that this may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

Let it be observed that we are not attacking or impugning the Sixth Article. What we allege is, that it is ambiguous—that it would not answer the purpose which, on Dean Milman's hypothesis, we say he ought to think it would answer. Thoughtful persons must see that things are not proved so long as there remains any reasonable doubt about them. That such is the case with regard to most doctrines which are said to rest on Scripture evidence, is patent to the observation of every one. Certain proof must, therefore, mean certain in the estimation of some person or persons, and not certain in the abstract. And this being so, we submit that no interpretation of the Article comes more nearly up to the terms that are used than our own, viz. that there is sufficient evidence in Scripture to satisfy the Church, which imposes this Article of belief on her children. And as the Eighth Article speaks of most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, it is plain that the ordinary Scripture proof spoken of in the Sixth Article may be extended to a vast number of doctrines little contemplated in the bounded horizon of Protestantism.

Lastly, there is one other subject which this remarkable paper suggests to us, but which does not appear to have occurred to the mind of the writer. Supposing that the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles were abolished, supposing that the unfeigned assent to the Book of Common Prayer were the only promise exacted of the clergy at their ordination, the question arises, What would be the resulting *status* of the Articles? It is by no means an easy question to answer. It has been frequently observed, and has never that we know of been contradicted, that laymen at present are in no way bound by the Articles; that a layman may be a very consistent and excellent member of the Church of England who should demur to one or more of the Articles, and who would, therefore, if he had been called upon to subscribe them, have been unable to do so. Would the same remark apply to the clergy if they were relieved of the burden of subscription? If it did not, the relief would be absolutely none. On the contrary, if they were retained as the doctrine of the Church of England, there would remain a more fearful trial to the conscience than before. The more conscientious would feel themselves bound by them, and others would be in the same state of uncertainty which people who sign them in a sense not intended by their framers are now. Practically, the issue would turn upon this, viz. the liability of the teaching of the clergy to be tested

by them in courts of law. The whole of Dean Milman's argument is directed against subscription, but, as we have said, he does not contemplate the results of its abolition. We most earnestly protest against any such abolition, unless it carries with it the entire abolition of the Articles as representing the doctrine of the Church of England. Let us at least know where we are. If it is desirable to retain them at all, the clergy ought to be bound by them. If it be true, as the Dean of S. Paul's urges, that they are of no use, the sooner they are given up, the better.

ART. VI.—1. *A Treatise on the Pastoral Office, addressed chiefly to Candidates for Holy Orders, or to those who have recently undertaken the Cure of Souls.* By the REV. JOHN BURGON, M.A. Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. London: Macmillan and Co. 1864.

2. *Directorium Pastorale. Principles and Practice of Pastoral Work in the Church of England.* By the REV. JOHN HENRY BLUNT. London: Rivingtons. 1864.

THAT the science of Pastoral Theology should gather round it an extensive literature, is what one would expect from the nature of the case. Of all sciences theology covers the largest area in the literature of a Christian country, and pastoral theology is merely theology applied; consequently the treatises concerning it will necessarily be numerous, and will vary infinitely in tone and opinions according to the communion within which the pastoral office is to be exercised, and also according to the views entertained by the particular writer. There are certain conditions under which this kind of theological literature flourishes more vigorously than it can when they are wanting. For example, speaking broadly, books upon the pastoral care will chiefly spring up within the pale of the Church; the sects having little call for such works, by reason of their attitude as schismatics, and also because of their repudiation, on principle, of some of the most important departments of the pastoral function. The preaching, and the personal intercourse of their religious teachers with the people who follow them, will exhaust the subjects upon which a book of pastoral direction among Nonconformists can treat with any effect. Within the pale of the Church different schools of religious thought will be more or less prolific in writings of this kind according as they hold exalted and definite, or mean and vague, notions of the ministerial office. Thus we should look for the hundredfold from the High Church, for the sixtyfold from the Low Church, for the thirtyfold, or else for perfect barrenness, from the Broad Church.

Then, again, countries where the Church is nationalised might be expected to produce more abundant, as well as more complete, works upon the pastoral office: for territory is essential to its full development, and the entire cure of souls demands the parochial system as its basis.

Following up the same line of thought, and taking a survey

of the Catholic Church, we draw certain inferences respecting the state of pastoral theology in the two great hemispheres of Eastern and Western Christendom. The normal condition of Oriental Christianity is repose, that of Occidental Christianity is action. From this we conclude that pastoral theology will be a narrow and superficially cultivated science in the Eastern Church, while in the Western Church it will be refined, elaborated, ramified into the minutest details, and studied with profound attention. For pastoral theology may not inaptly be defined to be theology in action. This conclusion it would be impossible to corroborate by examples, for the growth of all Eastern theological literature is too meagre even to allow a comparison to be drawn between one branch and another as to vigour and extent. In the West the exuberant fecundity of the press supplies every department of theology (and that which treats of the pastoral care not the least) with the utmost variety and abundance.

Such notions readily occur to one's mind while looking forth over the broad field of Christendom in its two great sections of East and West. Still looking forth over the same field, but having an eye to its tripartite division into the Oriental, Roman, and Anglican communions, we make note of the following facts, which may serve as a small contribution towards a general knowledge of the state of culture of pastoral theology in the respective branches. For the use of the orthodox Greek Church a book has been issued by authority from the patriarchate of Constantinople treating of the duties of priests. Those duties have been described to us by one of the priests in the following simple and beautiful summary:—

- 'To preach the word of God.
- 'To minister in the mysteries of the Church.
- 'To endeavour to imitate the life of our Saviour.
- 'To be obedient to the laws of the country.'

In the Russian Church the Holy Synod, which holds the Russian patriarchate in perpetual commission, has put forth a book upon the duties of a parish priest, and enjoins that a copy of it be kept in every parish church. Beyond these two facts, we have not been able to gain any information respecting the state of pastoral theology in the East. Of course such ecclesiastical canons and constitutions as relate to the pastoral office are not included in this view.

When we turn from the East to the West, and compare the literatures of the two Churches which compose Occidental Catholicism, we readily detect, amidst the overflowing abundance of both, a characteristic in each, which distinguishes it from the other. While there is a multitude of comprehensive

works which treat of the whole duty of a pastor, there are also numerous special treatises devoted to some one department of that duty. For Roman priests we find that these special treatises chiefly refer to the office of the confessor, for Anglican priests they mostly deal with the office of the preacher. This is as we should expect. Speaking broadly, the two systems are distinguished by the respective supremacy of these two functions. In the Roman Church the confessional, in the Anglican Church the pulpit, is the chief engine by which the influence of the clergy is brought to bear upon the laity.

And now, to limit our view to our own branch of the Church Catholic. The whole literature of pastoral theology in the recent Anglican Church may be said to derive its origin from the Canons of 1603, and especially from that portion of them (Can. XXXI.—LXXVI. inclusive), which treats of 'Ministers, their Ordination, Function, and Charge.' This is the key-note, struck by authority, to which all subsequent treatises must conform their strain. Merely to name the authors who have followed up, and expanded, and supplemented the series of subjects which come within the scope of pastoral science, would exhaust our space and be beside our purpose. The bundle of tracts which form a text-book at Oxford, under the title of 'The Clergyman's Instructor,' gives a fair selection of specimens of the various forms which the discussion of pastoral science may assume; and the first in the series, though above two centuries and a quarter have elapsed since its publication, holds its ground as the noblest picture of the parish priest that has ever been painted. George Herbert's 'Country Parson' has not yet even been equalled in loftiness of thought, beauty of expression, soundness of judgment, and holiness of spirit; albeit many among the wise and good have taken pen in hand to set forth a pattern-man in this behalf. The forms, indeed, which this kind of writing may take seem sufficiently numerous, when we remember that it is to be found in the shape of episcopal charges and charges archidiaconal; ordination addresses and ordination sermons (among which, that appended to Mr. Burgon's present volume is admirable on the point it deals with); papers read at clerical meetings, ruridecanal chapters, and Church congresses; besides the formal and elaborate treatises, professing to deal with the whole subject of pastoral work, of which the two latest and most extensive examples stand quoted at the head of this article. To these books we now turn, beginning with Mr. Burgon.

Before, however, we address ourselves to the author, we have a word to say to the printer (for we suppose it is his business) concerning an innovation in the style of getting up a book,

which has for the first time attracted our notice in this work. We allude to the printing of the title of the chapter at the *bottom* of the pages, partly on one page partly on the other, flush with the margin of the text. This practice is a source of constant annoyance to the reader: when he reaches the last line of the right-hand page, his eye is caught by the sight of the word, or words, of the 'title' (if title it can be called at the *bottom* of a page), and it runs on to it, to his interruption and confusion. We hope this little printer's affectation will be dropped. In its stead there is a good old-fashioned practice which we should like to see universally revived for the sake of its convenience, namely, what is technically called a 'catch-word,' that is to say, the first word of the top line of text printed, by anticipation, at the bottom of the previous page. There is one other remark we have to make upon the style in which this volume is printed, but we believe we must address it to the author, rather than to the printer. We refer to the intrusion of dotted spaces between sentences. The intention seems to be to introduce a sub-division of the text more distinct than the ordinary full stop, and less of a break than is made by a new paragraph. We cannot see the want of it, and the appearance it gives to the printing is anything but pleasing. It makes the text look as though it were printed from some MS. in which time, or accident, had produced *lacunæ* which it was past the ingenuity of the editor to fill up by conjecture. We believe this practice to be an idiosyncrasy of Mr. Burgon's, for we have observed that his controversial letters in the *Guardian* are plentifully riddled with these unsightly intervals.

We have read Mr. Burgon's book carefully, and have derived from it much that is profitable. No young clergyman can take it up without being wiser before he has laid it down. Extensive reading, well digested; a vigorous and (when not pugnacious) a pleasing style; a thoroughly earnest spirit: these all combine to make this—as they do to make every book Mr. Burgon writes—a valuable work upon the subject of which it treats. But having said thus much of honest commendation, we must, albeit unwillingly, say something more of honest censure. In the first place, we cannot approve the tone in which a good deal of the volume is written. It is that of a man who regards all mankind as undergraduates, and himself as an omniscient don, whose duty it is to lecture them with just so much or so little courtesy as his own sweet will suggests. There is a strong tendency to scold, rather than to reason with dissentients. Although a man may be very well satisfied of the truth of his own views, and of the error of other people's, yet it is well for him to remember that other people will not accept

the mere statement of their views, with a note of wonder affixed, as a complete refutation. There are many opinions held by learned divines, which Mr. Burgon tosses aside with the impatient contempt with which dons, in their lecture-rooms, are wont to receive the unsolicited remarks of forward freshmen. We have also to regret the polemical spirit which tinges some of the pages. We deem the fighting attitude, into which the author sometimes throws himself, not merely inappropriate, but positively mischievous, in a work which is addressed to young men, concerning the duties of a calling which depends so much for its success upon the calm, self-subdued, conciliatory temper in which it is pursued. We lament it the more because of the solid valuable teaching which this book abundantly contains. We fear that a generous-hearted youth may be repelled from taking counsel of an author who snubs and calls names. If he be repelled, he will certainly be a loser; but the fault will lie at Mr. Burgon's door. We shun the invidious task of traversing the pages in search of proofs to substantiate our remarks: where there is so much with which we cordially agree, it is unpleasant to show up the blemishes. We cannot, however, pass by in silence Mr. Burgon's allusion to Professor Jowett as 'the unbeliever' (p. 23), and 'the modern infidel,' (p. 24). We have no fear of being accused of sympathy with Professor Jowett's theological views—if he have any; but we must protest against such language not only on account of its general unseemliness, but—we must say it—for its ungentlemanliness. We gladly dismiss the subject of literary tone and temper, and of our author's offences against their laws, with a wise remark borrowed from a writer in a different line of thought. 'It is quite clear that the world does not now-a-days think it can be improved by the old-fashioned modes of hanging and branding and pillorying, or of scoffing and scolding and snubbing, which it so cheerfully accepted as salutary mortifications from the hands and tongues of our ancestors.'¹

We now turn to Mr. Blunt. And really the opening of his book, after leaving that of Mr. Burgon's, is like nothing so much as reaching the tranquil waters of the harbour when it is, as the sailors express it, 'blowing hard outside.' There is a quiet earnestness in Mr. Blunt's style which is peculiarly becoming in a work that professes to offer counsel and instruction; we feel while listening to his advice, that we are receiving the results of ministerial experience of a very extensive and varied character. As for Mr. Burgon, he seems to have but one parish in his mind's eye, and that an agricultural of about 400 souls. Hence an aspect of straitness, if not of pettiness, in his details: never-

¹ 'Caxtoniana,' by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Essay xxx.

theless, he is the fuller man, as regards his reading, than Mr. Blunt. The former strikes one as having been among his books, the latter as having been about his parish. There is much valuable information to be acquired from each ; and we cannot honestly recommend either work in preference to the other, but would advise our readers to consult both. We shall hope to make good our suggestion by the passages we may have occasion to quote from the two works, in the course of our treatment—necessarily imperfect within our limits—of their common subject. To proceed—

In works professing to treat of the duties of a parish priest there is one point which, so far as we are acquainted with them, meets with scarcely any, certainly with very insufficient, recognition. We refer to the difference of authority and responsibility between beneficed and unbeneficed parochial clergy : in other words, between incumbents and curates. This matter is, doubtless, passed by in silence because it would seem to be amply settled by the terms of the contract which brings men together in this relationship ; and also because it may be thought to be safely left to the good sense of the respective parties. At the same time misunderstandings do arise, all too frequently, between incumbents and their assistants, and they will, we believe, generally be found to have their origin in some mistaken view of the respective positions of beneficed and unbeneficed clergy towards the bishop, towards each other, and towards the people under their charge. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that clergymen, whose views, in the abstract, may be perfectly right upon the matter, suffer a distortion of their views by the influence of feelings which trouble the human breast, even when clad in a cassock waistcoat. To speak plainly, incumbents are morbidly fearful of being eclipsed, and curates of being snubbed. Of course the confession of these weaknesses is very humiliating to clerical human nature ; but that they actively exist, and widely too, common experience bears ample witness. The only question is, does the blame lie equally or unequally between the two parties ; and can any suggestions be offered, tending to clear up the confused notions from which it springs ?

It would, indeed, be invidious to charge either curates or incumbents, as a body, with the greater share of the blame of the ruptures which occur between them. If we were to say that the curates were the more often in the wrong, we should state what it would be impossible to prove, and what, if unproved, would be properly resented as a calumny. We shall not, therefore, commit ourselves to any such rash assertions ; but we must crave leave of the unbeneficed clergy to observe, that when an incumbent takes to snubbing his curate, it oftentimes is but

the mode of defence which the poor man adopts—unwisely, it is true—to protect himself against the overbearing pretensions of his assistant. Unfortunately, incumbents are not always clever, and fortunately, of course, curates are not always stupid ; and this being so, some allowance must be made for the little arts to which weak people in positions of authority resort in order to maintain their authority. The fact is, the point of authority is the real question at issue in most cases ; but when a young gentleman, seeking for a title, declares that he will only work with an incumbent who shall accord to him an absolute equality in all respects, we see at once that this point of authority has been entirely overlooked by the young gentleman. So, too, when a curate of much energy and experience, quickened by a zeal which despises discretion, sets himself to reform a parish, the incumbent of which, either from indolence or incapacity, suffers things to take their own course ; and when the said curate has carried things on so successfully that one half of the people exalt him at the expense of the incumbent, and the other half are angry with the incumbent for letting him go so fast : here again it is clear that authority has been put out of sight. In such a case we would ask, whose is the blame, if the incumbent at last rouse himself to a sense of his disparaged position, and shake himself free of the active curate in a way which unavoidably has the appearance of injustice, and carries the suspicion of envy ? Now authority and responsibility go together. No man *can* have authority without a proportionate responsibility ; and no man *ought* to be weighted with responsibility unless he be also entrusted with a due measure of authority. This seems so true as to be a needless truism. Yet we have known very unpleasant consequences to flow from a disregard of this truism. What with incumbents, on the one hand, abdicating, and curates, on the other, usurping, authority ; while neither the one party could throw off, nor the other assume, responsibility ; a good deal of energy has been wasted, and some awkward collisions have occurred. Both parties would do well to remember that responsibility is a saddle which is never to be found on the wrong horse ; but authority is a saddle which both should be careful to place on the right one. It scarcely needs a moment's thought to ascertain upon whom the responsibility, as regards spiritual matters in a parish, reposes. To the incumbent both the bishop and the people look for their proper administration ; with the incumbent, therefore, should rest the authority requisite to such administration. (We might, if such were our purpose, pass some reflections upon the injustice which incumbents sometimes suffer from overbearing bishops above, and encroaching parishioners below ; but we have not that matter on hand.) If, then, an incumbent weakly or carelessly part

with any portion of his rightful authority to a curate, he to that extent enfeebles his power of self-defence when called to account about the discharge of his duties. On the other hand, if a curate take upon himself authority not belonging to him, he thereby puts himself in a position which is delusive to the people, unfair to the incumbent, as well as perilous to himself. For in a collision, the incumbent is sure to turn out to be the brazen vessel; and it is not right to compel the incumbent to smash the earthenware curate, or to lead the people to believe the earthenware to be brass.

Our counsel (we apologize for the term) to our beneficed and unbeneficed brethren is briefly this: let your behaviour toward each other be exactly the inverse of your wishes respecting each other. Incumbents wish to find curates who keep themselves subordinate in all things: let them treat curates as their equals, their yokefellows, in the labour of the Church. Curates wish to find incumbents who shall sink the authoritative, and associate with them in cordial brotherhood: let them behave to their incumbents as to their superior officers, not in spiritual rank necessarily (save as between priest and deacon) but in ecclesiastical authority.

In offering these suggestions we are not unmindful of the fact that soreness exists upon the subject, and that some of our remarks may touch raw places on both sides. There are incumbents who think that curates, like forward children, can only be kept in their places by the help of a good deal of snubbing; and that to treat them as fellow-workers on an equal footing is simply to encourage presumption. We would remind them that snubbing demoralizes both the giver and the receiver. There are clergymen who wince, and not altogether improperly, under the appellation of 'my curate,' or even of 'curate,' as much as undergraduates do when spoken of as '*young gentlemen*.' We would remind them that, as in the army and navy, the personal dignity of an officer reposes on the fact that he holds Her Majesty's commission, be it as captain or lieutenant; so in the Church, each clergyman derives his dignity from the fact of his ordination, not from the possession of a benefice.

In these remarks we have very slightly touched upon a subject which deserves more careful treatment. The relationship between incumbents and curates needs to be accurately defined, and the duties which they owe to one another require to be set forth with some explicitness, seeing that the growing numbers of the unbeneficed clergy multiply the cases of that relationship, and bring those duties more frequently into play. Mr. Blunt, in his Appendix A, gives some interesting particulars about the great change which has come over the Church of England,

within the last thirty years, in regard of the proportion of clergy to benefices. He says that the assistant curates 'make up at least a third of the whole body of the parochial clergy who are at work.' He goes on to remark: 'It is a very serious consideration that this large body of clergy is now beginning to form a settled separate order from the beneficed clergy. A curacy used to be considered as an apprenticeship which led on to a benefice; but there are now hundreds, and may ere long be thousands, of clergy who will have to work on into old age without being beneficed.' He concludes by saying: 'The office of assistant curate has come upon us unawares; and neither the legal nor the spiritual provisions in respect to it are of a character to bring it into analogy with the true system of the Church of England.' This is, so far, quite true; and we would add that the social provisions, as well as the legal and spiritual, are very inadequate to meet the fact that there is a permanently existing body of unbeneficed priests. The idea that a curate is an apprentice influences the treatment he receives at the hands of society, and also the light in which he views himself. The lay people commonly look upon a curate as a man who has not yet won for himself that position which entitles him to the full respect and confidence due to a parish priest. He is regarded as a subaltern who is waiting for his company. This, of course, is a mistake, and vulgar persons carry it to a point which becomes offensive to a gentleman. It is a much more serious mistake now than it was in days gone by, when a man waited little more than the time requisite for his title before he became beneficed. But curates themselves foster this mistake amongst the laity, by assuming the attitude of waiters on Providence. They regard themselves as prospective incumbents, and thereby they unwillingly cherish the notion that, until they have attained the position they look for, they cannot claim full consideration. Much of the discontent which lurks in the minds of the unbeneficed clergy is of the same sort with that which sours the temper of an officer whose promotion has been excessively slow.

All books of advice to candidates for Holy Orders, and the younger clergy, enlarge upon the course of study they ought to pursue. The suggestions given under this head are sometimes of great value, but they are more frequently of no use at all. For, in the first place, they often represent only the experience of the individual writer, without allowance being made for varieties in opportunity, taste, and previous culture. Then, again, they generally subordinate the chief purpose of educating the priest to the inferior one of training the partisan. Their suggestions are always accompanied by lists of books, which not seldom assume the perplexing length and discursiveness of a

library catalogue. They have also, for the most part, the drawback of onesidedness. As Professor Blunt, in his 'Parish Priest,' observes, they differ 'according to the religious views of the parties who suggest them, and are generally packed with a reference to those views.' Of course the thing to be desired is to make a clergyman orthodox without being polemical; and to this end Mr. Burgon (p. 135) counsels the student to 'close his eyes as far as possible to the *quæstiones vexatæ* of the day;' but how he can offer this advice in the face of his first two chapters is quite incomprehensible to us; for, assuredly, those chapters salute the reader with the hottest breath of controversy. Nevertheless we can very cordially commend Mr. Burgon's chapter 'On Pastoral Studies' to the attention of a theological student. His advice as to the mode of study to be adopted is sound, and the books he recommends comprise a very full body of divinity—too full, perhaps, to be grasped by a young curate, whose hands are occupied by the urgent duties of his office, so as to leave but a small portion of his time for systematic reading. Mr. Blunt is much more moderate in his expectations of what a young clergyman can do.

All recommendations as to theological reading, if they are to be of any practical use, ought to take into account how much its course is necessarily directed by circumstances. It falls under the three periods into which his ordination divides his time. The first is that of preparation for deacon's orders, the second the term of probation before he takes priest's orders, the third extends over the rest of his life. A man's reading during the first period will generally be suggested and controlled for him by external influence. If he be an Oxonian, and have a desire to get some good out of the theological lectures upon which he is obliged to attend for the sake of the certificates, he will endeavour to follow out the suggestions he receives from the professors. This is all he can do at present; and it is much to be desired that the very unsatisfactory position which theological study occupies at Oxford, should be changed for some practical course of teaching, concluded by a thorough examination. If he be a Cambridge man, the requirements for the 'Voluntary,' so-called, will give him a definite standard to reach. The theological course of Dublin, Durham, and elsewhere, will, in each case, speak for itself. If the candidate enter one of the theological colleges, there he will be left in no doubt as to what he should read, but can benefit himself most by diligently working out the appointed course. Moreover, there comes the bishop's examination, which is by no means a nominal affair now in any diocese. Although the subjects appointed, and the books recommended, may receive a slight inclination from the theolo-

gical bias of the particular bishop, yet, in any case, the preparation for the ordeal may be made of the greatest solid advantage for after-work; and, if properly taken in hand, will occupy a considerable portion of the student's time. If the amount of study requisite for success leave him a large margin of leisure, he will do wisely in filling it up by such supplementary reading as naturally branches off from his main line of subjects. From what has been said it will be seen, that a man has little reason to complain of being left to his own devices as to what he should read before ordination. The period of the diaconate, supposing it to be reduced, as in most cases it is, to the minimum of one year, will be regulated, as regards study, by the subjects required in the examination for priest's orders. In the exigencies of the times deacons are expected to work as hard as priests; and it is simply cruel to put into their hands plans of study and lists of books—the one representing what some middle-aged clergyman, on reflection, wishes he had followed; and the other, the aggregate amount of what, in his life-time, he has read—by way of supplementing their preparations for the bishop's examination. It is devoutly to be hoped that the day will come when deacons shall not be called upon to preach.

The third period, as we have said, is co-extensive with a priest's life. It alone affords a fair opportunity for books on the pastoral office to come in with their advice as to what and how to read. And even during this period there are external guides necessarily accompanying each priest's life, which will go some way to render him independent of such advice. In the first place the priest is more of a man, and can tolerably help himself—or else, despite all counsel, he will never be much of a priest. Then again, if he have honestly availed himself of all the opportunities which the divinity courses of his university, of his theological college, of his preparations for the diaconate and priesthood, have afforded him, he will be started with so strong and practical an impetus in the direction of sound reading, that to offer him a list of books and a plan of study will almost seem an impertinence. The influence of the education period will never cease to make itself felt throughout the whole life of a clergyman. The efforts which, as we suppose, he will then have made to read the Holy Scriptures, book by book, regardless of chapters and verses, and with an attentive eye to the subject, will give him a grasp of their style and teaching which will only strengthen year by year. To what advantageous results this diligent reading of Scripture, as distinguished from the *reading up* of Scripture with the aid of notes and comments, will lead, no better example can be quoted than Mr. Burgon himself. The masterly way in which he makes the Bible its own com-

mentary shows that he is a worthy practiser of his own precept: 'That every one should master the Bible *for himself*; take his own survey of every book; classify and distribute the several personages; group together the similar events, expressions, trains of thought.' Mr. Burgon's hints as to the mode of studying Holy Scripture are of much value, and they are conveyed in so real and earnest a tone, as to carry home the conviction that he has found them to answer from his own experience. In the matter of Scripture-reading and theological study he is no finger-post counsellor, pointing out a road which he has never travelled himself. We will just transcribe a couple of paragraphs from his first chapter, bearing upon this subject:—

'The Bible is to be read patiently and laboriously, and it is to be read *consecutively through*. Not a single word may, on any account, be missed; not a single clause slurred over, and when a fresh chapter is begun the concluding words of that which went before should be reconsidered. If a man will be at the pains to find out for himself (which he easily may), how the Books of Kings and Chronicles interlace each other, and chooses to read them *conjointly*,—it is not denied that he will do well. Again, if he is disposed to read the prophets in their presumed historical order, it is thought that he will do wisely so to read them. The same might be said of S. Paul's Epistles. But let not this principle be carried too far. Above all, let no edition of the Bible be habitually read, which professes thus to put the sacred contents to *rights*. Except in the instances above indicated—to avoid distraction, and to ensure perfect work,—let the sacred books of the Bible be read through in the order in which they actually stand; the order into which, by God's good providence, (not unmindful, we may be sure, of His own work!) those books are found to have fallen.'—P. 4.¹

'Another impediment to an intimate acquaintance with the Bible is the habit so early acquired of resorting to extraneous sources for assistance, "introductions," "guides," "analyses," "notes," and the rest. Such an useful elementary work as "Nicholls' Help to the Reading of the Bible," will prove, on the contrary, a serious *hindrance*, if it induces a man to accept tabular statements, summaries, and general deductions, ready done to his hand, in lieu of discovering all these things for himself. It is wished that men would be persuaded that the imperfect enumeration of miracles, the set of references, containing a few mistakes and not a few omissions, which they make for themselves, is incalculably more instructive to *them*, and will in the end prove infinitely more serviceable, than the ready-made achievements of another, however exact and exhaustive, which they simply adopt. Let men by all means acquire the habit of independent study and observation. It will be high time to compare their results with those of others, when they shall have completed their researches, and ascertained experimentally the difficulties of the task.'—P. 6.

There is much wisdom in this counsel. The interleaved Bible and the interleaved Prayer-book are not forgotten by our author, as forming centres round which the divinity student may gather, by brief but sufficient references, the solid results of

¹ The question which Mr. Burgon glances at here has been worked out ably and lucidly, so far as the N. T. is concerned, in Mr. Thomas Dehany Bernard's Bampton Lectures for 1864, upon the 'Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament.' A vindication of the usual order of the books may be found in note 1, at p. 244.

his reading. We would even suggest that the copy of the Scriptures appropriated to this use be without the usual marginal references, so that a wider field may be left open for the exercise of one's own diligence. The crop of references which grows up gradually, and fills out day by day, under a man's own careful reading and recollection of the sacred text, will be of inestimable value, and will be found to reward his industry by presenting not a few items which are omitted from the printed collections. He will be pleased to discover that he has added to the parallelisms of thought noted in the margin, and to the parallelisms of expression collected by Cruden.

Concerning a clergyman's reading beyond Holy Scripture we have little to remark. We cannot concur in Mr. Burgon's observations which would warn him off general literature. In the summary of contents he labels his remarks with, 'The study of the literature of the day discouraged;' but the remarks themselves caution against the *reading* of general literature. Now, to read and to study are not the same thing; and while it would certainly be a most foolish, not to say futile, attempt to *study* the literature of the day, a clergyman would deny himself a very rational and instructive recreation if he abstained from reading it altogether. A man goes to the standard divines of ancient and modern times to learn; but one cannot always be in school, and out of school general literature is no bad pastime. Of course, as a man has to be a law to himself in this matter, he must be discreet in not taking too many play-hours. One more point strikes us. The controversies of the day are indeed not very wholesome food for a clergyman; but a man need not eat all he tastes; and, inasmuch as a priest is the teacher of his people, he ought to make himself acquainted with the questions that are agitated in the region of theology, in order that he may be able to give intelligent counsel to inquirers. In these free-trading and free-handling days, when polemics are not concealed from the vulgar gaze behind the screen of Latin, or even wrapped up in learned English; but when the most momentous questions of theology are dealt with in lightly tripping brochures that may be bought at any railway bookstall, it becomes a duty of a clergyman to know what new forms error assumes. For, assuredly, laymen are not behind-hand in informing themselves of, at least, the wrong side of the *vexatæ quæstiones*; they eagerly discuss such subjects in society; and there is no more favourite trick of *soi-disant* liberals in religious opinions than to assume that the clergy are a set of timid bigots, who dare not look a neologian idea in the face; an assumption which it is well to be able to destroy. In saying this we do not encourage young students to waste time over

pamphlets, or dissipate their minds in reading the sceptical essays in the *Westminster*. They have no call to be posted up in the fleeting discussions of the hour, for their opinion is not likely to be asked, and, if given, will not be very highly esteemed.

From clerical education we pass on to clerical work. The conditions under which it may be carried on are very numerous, but they may be summed up under two heads, parochial and non-parochial. Books which treat of the pastoral office, confine their attention almost exclusively to the former. They contemplate the clergyman only in one character, that of the parish priest, and often only in one type of that character. The two works before us deal with the parochial sphere alone; but Mr. Blunt takes a much wider view of it than Mr. Burgon, and obviously because he draws his reflections from a wider experience. Perhaps it may be questioned whether the term pastoral can be separated from the parochial system; for 'pastor' implies 'flock' as its correlative, and the Church of England recognises no other idea of a flock, in a spiritual sense, than as consisting of the people dwelling within a certain parochial district. Yet, on the other hand, the having the cure of souls makes a priest a pastor, and he may exercise this function in many ways quite independent of the parochial system. For example, he may be an army or navy chaplain, he may be a chaplain to a gaol, union, hospital: and in all these functions he is a pastor, inasmuch as he tends and feeds, in things spiritual, the souls brought within his sphere by these institutions. The non-parochial kinds of clerical work have their specialities, which place them outside of, and out of harmony with, the ordinary duties of a parish priest; and consequently a book which deals with the latter would seem to travel into foreign subjects if it included discussions on the former. But the very fact that such spheres of ministerial labour are strongly marked off by their respective characteristics, makes it all the more to be wished that some counsel, the fruit of large experience in the several callings, should be made available. This might be done by some competent editor organizing a staff of writers, each one of whom shall contribute an essay embodying his experience in the particular kind of duty with which he is familiar, and offering hints for the guidance of those who shall be called to fulfil the same. The difficulties which confront, say a naval or military chaplain, a chaplain to a prison, or a lunatic asylum, are so special in their nature, as well as so perplexing, that it is no cause of wonder, though much of regret, if a clergyman, inexperienced himself, and lacking the benefit of others' experience, should shrink from coping with them, and fall back upon the perfunctory discharge

of his bare official duties. Another desideratum we may also add, namely, that those chaplaincies which are attached to locally permanent institutions should, as far as possible, be blended with the parochial system. It is intolerable that a board of Poor-law guardians, consisting, as it often does, of dissenters as well as churchmen, and of ignorant, vulgar, and bigoted specimens of both, should have the power of reprimanding a clergyman with greater insolence than ever rector showed to curate. Neither is it well that the Poor-law Commissioners should be entrusted with episcopal authority. As for the army and navy, the whole question of the oversight of these clerical officers needs to be gone into; and it is to be hoped that the recent scandal in the Mediterranean fleet may lead to some reform. But we are travelling out of the record:—to return.

Parochial work varies so widely in regard of the spheres in which it may be carried on, that perhaps there is no single book which adequately deals with all its forms, as there can scarcely be found any one man who could minister efficiently in every sphere. A district in Bethnal Green is a very different thing from a district in Tyburnia or Belgravia. A parish in Manchester has little likeness to a Wiltshire parish of 600 souls distributed over an area of three miles square, in cottages that lie dotted among the fields. A district peopled by dock-yard labourers, earning comfortable wages, able to pay sixpence a week for each child's education, to subscribe to the mechanics' institute, and make a donation to the new church which is about to be built amongst them; a district in the north of London, inhabited by attorneys' and merchants' clerks; a parish in Middlesex, near enough to London to catch its vices, but not to learn its industry, where the children have the stupidity of the peasant combined with the impudence of the street Arab—these are only a few of the many types of parochial work which come under notice in considering the exercise of the pastoral office. Yet the same kind of machinery has to be brought to bear upon these very different masses, only extended into more elaborate details, according to the greater requirements of the particular parish. Different writers have adopted different methods of setting forth the plan and working of this machinery; but all of them can be reduced to the three-fold aspect of a clergyman's duties: 1, in the church; 2, in the schools; 3, in the parish. Mr. Burgon and Mr. Blunt differ in their modes of grouping the subjects upon which they offer their suggestions. Mr. Burgon is somewhat discursive; Mr. Blunt is more systematic. For our own part we shall not follow either; but, adopting the triple division stated above, we shall offer under each head some remarks, either suggested by our

authors, or arising from our own experience, on a few (not on all, for that would be to write another *Directorium*) of the subjects in question.

I. In the church a priest sustains two distinct characters, viz. officiating minister and preacher. Concerning his duties in the former capacity Mr. Burgon writes at considerable length, filling seventy pages of his book with his remarks, which he arranges into two chapters, both entitled 'The Pastoral Method,' a title which strikes us as being singularly inappropriate. We must say these chapters are the least valuable part of the book. All his remarks bearing upon ritual show that he knows nothing about it, albeit he puts them forth very dogmatically. His notions are of the old-fashioned, and fast dying out, 'high and dry' school; and they are rather more 'dry' than 'high.' It is manifest, also, that his ideas do not range beyond a small country church to which one clergyman only is attached, and where the actual want of the accessories which fill out the majesty of worship reduces the ritual to the baldest simplicity. He devotes a paragraph to the '*attire*' of the minister. We had expected to find in it some reflections upon M.B. waistcoats and clerical dog-collars, with remarks upon the propriety of priests adopting the costume at present worn only by bishops. But it turns out that he means how a minister should be *vested* for officiating. The passage is rather amusing. He begins by observing: 'A soiled, curt surplice, stained by ironmould, and unfurnished by hood or stole, crumpled bands, tied askew, and muddy boots, form an unseemly accoutrement for one who is to conduct the services of God's house.' Unseemly enough in all conscience; but the censure is hardly worth the printing, for the few remaining specimens of the old type of country parsons who 'accoutre' themselves for service in this slovenly way are not likely to read Mr. Burgon's book, and the rising generation does not need the advice. To the latter, 'crumpled bands' have a fading interest, inasmuch as they are going out of fashion as fast as they can. Our author then passes on to ridicule, and sneer at, in his own favourite style, those whom he differs from in the other direction. 'But is a man therefore driven into curious millinery and the foppish extravagances of unpopular æstheticism? Need he appear in a surplice of peculiar cut; a stole embroidered with red, green, or yellow crosses; a hood so displayed that the crimson lining shall make him look positively smart; or wearing some unauthorised, or at least questionable vestment,' &c. We are rather surprised to find Mr. Burgon speaking of a 'stole.' Surely he would have been more consistent if he had said 'scarf.' His next remark can apply

only to an Oxford M.A. Doctors in all faculties and all universities have no choice—wretched men!—between incurring Mr. Burgon's biting sarcasm, by 'looking positively [nay, superlatively] smart' in their scarlet, and wearing no hood at all. Mr. Burgon often takes us into the tutor's lecture-room for a scolding; now he stands us in the college-quadrangle to learn from some don hurrying to chapel how to fling on a hood in such a way as to display nothing but twists and creases. With regard to unauthorized vestments we only know of one, the black gown. Speaking seriously, the vestment question, though it be not, as we think, of the importance that some of the clergy ascribe to it, yet it is undoubtedly a question on the carpet at present, and the intelligence and earnestness of those who pursue it ought to forbid such expressions being applied to them as 'thorough fop,' and 'contemptible puppy.'

We turn over leaf, and we come upon another of those offences with which Mr. Burgon, while leading his readers through many useful paths of inquiry and instruction, delights to scandalize their footsteps. The passage runs thus. Speaking of the occasional use of the 'Benedicite,' he adds,—

'Let us beware, however, of listening to those unsound guides who, throughout Lent, would omit the (almost divine) "Te Deum," to the infinite annoyance of every person of taste, education, and piety in the congregation. What are the obsolete directions of our unreformed book, to us?'

We pass by the incautious assumption that 'every person of taste,' &c. must be of the same mind with Mr. Burgon, and we dwell upon the astounding exclamation in the next sentence. It would be simply superfluous to adduce proofs to show that 'the obsolete directions of our unreformed book' are everything to us when we seek to ascertain the intentions of the directions of our reformed book. Any one at all acquainted with liturgiology knows well that our present Book of Common Prayer and Offices would, in many of its rubrics, be obscure and doubtful, but for the light which precedent liturgies can throw upon them.

In this sense, indeed, no direction of the unreformed books can be considered obsolete. All have weight in guiding the interpreters of the reformed book.¹ And then, in the other sense of being no longer authoritative injunctions upon the minister in the conduct of Divine worship, it is by no means a settled question what rubrics of old service-books are obsolete. The fact of their not being printed in the reformed book is not

¹ Mr. Burgon had answered, by anticipation, his own query in the affirmative only two pages back. In a note he quotes an 'obsolete direction' of King Edward's first book in reference to the custom of beginning service with a hymn. Concerning this custom, see *Christian Remembrancer*, No. cxxii. p. 500.

conclusive against them, for the very first direction which heads 'The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer,' contains a 'note' about the 'ornaments of the church and of the ministers,' implying that certain rubrics which have ceased to be printed are yet to be observed. In short, the whole matter in dispute between the pro-ritualists and the anti-ritualists turns upon this word obsolete; and upon the question when it can, and when it cannot, be applied to a rubric, issue is joined; and this question is not to be settled off-hand by simply exclaiming, 'What are the obsolete directions of our reformed book to us?'¹

But the fact is, upon all questions connected with ritual and rubrics Mr. Burgon is a very poor authority indeed. The following passage is a striking proof of this:—

'The persons instructed [viz. those lately confirmed], should be shown the meaning of the offertory and the fitness of the sentences. They will also require to be told that the slenderest gift is sufficient; or indeed that they may approach, if very poor, but very desirous of the Sacrament, *without* a money offering. The prayer for the Church militant should be explained, as well as the significant act which precedes it.'—P. 298.

It is unnecessary to point out the error which underlies this passage, and which is sufficiently remarkable in a writer who delivers his opinion upon rubrics as though *ex cathedra*.

Most writers of clergymen's vade-mecums think it proper to offer some hints as to reading the Services. The advice is not often of much value. The Prayer-book itself has given almost all the directions that are needful. In its rubrics three distinct modes of utterance are mentioned, namely, singing, saying, and reading. The chief faults to be found with the clergy arise from misplacing these three styles of uttering the public services. Some read what ought to be said or sung; some say what ought to be read; and others show a strong tendency to sing everything. This last mistake is only less offensive than its opposite tendency to preach everything. Professional elocutionists are always advertising their assistance, and many clergymen resort to them. Possibly some good comes of their lessons; but we venture to doubt whether their instruction is of any use that goes beyond these simple rules:—1. Articulate distinctly. 2. Sustain the voice to the end of the sentence. 3. Mind the stops. 4. Keep the chest well supplied with wind. As for being taught how to 'read' the Lord's Prayer, the General Thanksgiving, or any other portion of the service, all this is worse than useless; for it begets an artificial manner which

¹ If Mr. Burgon were asked why the sentence 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord!' is sung before the Gospel, he would have to account for the practice by going back to the First Book of 1549, and quoting from it the 'obsolete direction' which enjoined this short anthem to be used.

strains after effect. If a man *understand* the liturgy, observe the four rules given above, and attend to the Prayer-book's own distinctions between singing, saying, and reading, he need not spend money upon elocution-masters, and run the risk of catching the 'My-name-is-Norval' style of recitation. It is a sound maxim—he who would read intelligibly must read intelligently. The criticisms of the laity upon this matter are not worth much; and a man need neither be proud when they call his reading 'impressive,' nor disconcerted when they say he 'gabbles.' As regards singing the priest's part, this implies that the priest has a musical ear, and something of a musical voice, which all priests unfortunately have not. When these qualifications are wanting, the alternative of 'saying' will be wisely embraced. We shall not readily forget the effect produced by a priest, whom nature had not endowed with either an ear or a voice, trying to sing his part at vespers in the church of La Trinita dei Monti, at Rome, in painful contrast with the beautiful voices of the nuns, who are justly celebrated for their singing.

Concerning ritual observances nothing need be said here. Mr. Burgon has enlarged upon the subject, giving his view, almost always an incorrect, and often an ignorant one, of how public worship ought to be conducted. His book would not have suffered in value, though it would have been reduced in size, if these remarks had been omitted. Mr. Blunt, on the contrary, says little or nothing about the question, though, from the tone of his work, we suspect he could have treated it intelligently. But he has done wisely in leaving it alone; for ritual is a matter of Church law, and a proper exposition of that branch of Church law would far exceed the bounds that can be assigned to it in a treatise on the pastoral office. The only reference he makes to the subject is by way of admonition to those of the clergy who from carelessness, or from affectation of contempt for ceremonial, are disposed to abridge even the simple ritual which is enjoined in the administration of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. He says:—

'In respect to those essentials of form and substance which are set forth in their respective offices in the Prayer-book, he is not at liberty to administer them otherwise than "as the Lord hath commanded, and this Church and Realm hath received the same;" and he has no right to deviate from rules which were evidently pared down by the Reformers to what those learned men considered the barest essentials, and which have been so considered by the most learned men of later days.'—P. 160.

To do all that the rubrics expressly bid him do is the undoubted duty of every priest; but how far he may venture to add to his compliance with the Prayer-book's expressed injunctions certain observances under shelter of the Prayer-book's

silence, is a point upon which difference of opinion must be borne with.

Before closing our remarks upon this head, we will offer one more observation. In the celebration of the Holy Communion, it is the practice of some priests to introduce *secretæ* at certain points of the service. It would be irreverent and impertinent to complain of this practice, if it only concerned the celebrant personally, as a matter of private devotion; but inasmuch as the effect upon the worshippers is to produce weariness and distraction, we think the counsel of one whose words are golden upon such a matter ought rather to be followed:—‘Non sis in celebrando nimis prolixus aut festinus, sed serva bonum commune modum eorum cum quibus vivis. Non debes aliis generare molestiam et tedium, sed commune servare viam secundum majorum institutionem; et potius aliorum servire utilitati, quam propriæ devotioni vel affectui.’—Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi*, iv. 10.

We come now to that part of the clergyman's duty which has received a larger share of attention than any other at the hands of Anglican writers on pastoral theology. In fact, the attention has been excessive. All practicable, and some impracticable, methods for producing sermons have been propounded. They occasionally assume almost the exactitude of a prescription, leaving nothing for the young preacher to do but to make it up. Some theological Nestor counsels the youthful clergy to read over a sermon of Bishop Beveridge carefully, and then write a discourse upon the same text; and, on the supposition that this is first-rate advice, only no one can follow it, an enterprising caterer for needy preachers offers lithographed sermons ‘after Beveridge,’ at a reasonable cost. ‘Skeletons’ are provided, around the dry bones of which the tyro is invited to mould such flesh and muscle as the limited faculties of his mind can produce. Some counsellors advise him to be anecdotal; and this advice, not being tempered with good taste in the receiver, has been known to degrade the preacher into the storyteller. Other sages recommend that Scripture should be ‘alluded to,’ rather than straightforwardly quoted; caution against long words, strongly insinuating that truth is never so clear as in monosyllables; suggest that ‘Saxon English,’—a language which we suppose has been especially constructed for sermons—is most acceptable to the humbler classes; and broadly hint that a Latin etymon is an antidote to religious instruction. But there is one fault which clings to most of these methods and hints, and that is that the propounders of them do not take into account the individual peculiarities of intellect, education, taste, of those to whom the advice is

offered. Each adviser prescribes the plan, which he himself has successfully adopted, as a panacæa to be accepted by all preachers. For instance, the suggestion to read a sermon by some approved author, and then write one upon the same text or subject, may do very well for a man who, while slow in originating ideas, can lay hold of the ideas of others. But suppose a man be embarrassed with a great *verbal* memory, which snatches up and accurately retains peculiar expressions, and at the same time he be incapable of grasping ideas and arguments, in this case the imitative method would prove a failure. The fact is, all advice, which dictates in particulars, will only result in showing that what is a help to one man is a hindrance to another; and only those suggestions are worth listening to, that keep to broad and comprehensive rules, and avoid trenching on idiosyncrasies.

The two works before us handle the subject of sermons, and the preaching thereof, with much discernment of what the clergy want in the way of advice, and of what the laity want in the way of instruction. Mr. Burgon's chapter 'On Preaching and Sermon-writing' is one of the most practical and judicious essays upon this important branch of a pastor's duty that we have ever read. He comes forward with no theory to maintain, but with a great deal of what is far better—experience to draw upon.

We shall not attempt to give such an epitome of what our authors say about sermons, as would render the perusal of their works upon this point unnecessary. Something, however, may be said, partly supplementary, partly parallel, to their treatises. Our remarks will be chiefly pointed in reference to the complaints which the laity are ever and anon, *usque ad nauseam*, making against preachers and their discourses.

To say that there is no ground for complaint against the average run of preachers would be absurd and untrue. Nevertheless, much of the fault-finding proceeds, not from any intelligent perception of the blemishes in sermons, but from a careless and ignorant compliance with the fashion of the day, which is to vote sermons a bore. In the face of the popular opinion to the contrary, we do not hesitate to say that the average of sermons at the present day is above that which obtained thirty years ago. To this it may be retorted, Then why the general outcry? has it no pretext in facts? We answer, the causes are divers; first, there is that morbid indifference which, every time the serious discussion of important truths is proposed, yawns, and stretches itself, and says, 'There is nothing new, and nothing true, and it doesn't much signify.' Then again, from a very different quarter, we have a tendency to disparage sermons,

which is the natural consequence of the revival of right notions about the importance of worship, with the corresponding interest in the objective side of religion. The monster-pulpit has been removed from before the altar, reduced in dimensions, and placed on one side; the altar has been displayed, elevated, furnished with rich and tasteful accessories. This change in the material arrangements of our churches fitly represents, as it is the result of, the change which has come over the minds of churchmen with regard to the relative positions of the sacramental and the teaching elements in the Church system. The undue depreciation of sermons is an excess into which this reaction has run. Moreover, the impatience of being taught, which prevails so injuriously outside the church, has not stopped at the church-door, but has found only too ample indulgence within the holy walls. Another source of the general disfavour into which sermons have fallen is to be found in the craving appetite for excitement, which is the affliction of the age. Preachers who refuse to pander to this taste are condemned by the majority as dull and insipid; while those unwise pastors who think to keep level with the times by giving their flocks stimulants instead of food, and to that end import sensationalism into the pulpit, are justly censured by the earnest few. Thus both the wise and the foolish are engaged in speaking disparagingly of sermons. Although their grounds of complaint are exactly opposite, yet the general result is one and the same.

The common discontent finds expression in remarks which have become hackneyed. We are wearied with reading and hearing that sermons ought to be short and plain. Now, as regards the length of sermons, while we admit that a wholesome reform, in the direction of brevity, has been effected, we must protest against the excessive emphasis laid upon shortness as a prime quality. Of course, the shorter a positively bad sermon is the better; but when brevity is exalted into a cardinal virtue, it follows that a short sermon never can be bad, or a long one good—which is absurd. ‘The parson exceeds not an hour in preaching, because all ages have thought that a competency.’ Between this remark of George Herbert’s, and the remark commonly heard now-a-days, that twelve minutes is long enough for a sermon, there surely is some reasonable medium. This way of esteeming sermons according to their shortness reminds one of the senseless line in the play:—

‘My wound is great, because it is so small,’
and of the smart rejoinder,

‘Then ’t would be greater, were it none at all.’

The fact is, the purpose of sermons is lost sight of in this talk about brevity. They are intended for instruction, and to

compress anything like a full treatment of an ordinary text, or a doctrine, into twelve minutes is what few preachers can be found to accomplish; and if accomplished, the result would be so concise and close-grained a piece of argument, as still fewer congregations could be found with sufficient intelligence and acute attentiveness to apprehend and bear away. There must be bulk to carry the essence.

Touching the outcry for plain sermons, it, too, conceals a fallacy, which is the fruit of the ignorance of those who raise it. Is it the language or the ideas to which reference is made? Plain language may clothe profound ideas, and simple ideas may be expressed in ornate language. What is it that is wanted? baldness of style, or poverty of thought? Neither, assuredly: but the desideratum is intelligibility. This is not to be attained by those apparently practical but really worthless prescriptions of Saxon English and words of one syllable. The poor (and for them the question is agitated) are by no means so monosyllabic as is generally supposed. We ourselves have been astonished at the tremendous polysyllables which we have heard from very humble lips, spoken not in ignorance but meaningly. Clearness of thought is much more important than the fewness of the letters used in expressing it. The grand object is to make a congregation know what you are *driving at*; and in order to effect this you must first know what you are driving at yourself: then the subject must be on a level with the average intellect of the hearers; and these postulates being satisfied, the matter of language may be safely left to the ordinary rules of good taste and fitness for settlement. What is called flowery language is objectionable, not so much on the score of being unintelligible, as because it is inappropriate and in bad taste. The uneducated can catch a good deal of its meaning, who would be utterly perplexed by the severe style of Butler's sermons. In fact there is an important distinction, not always kept in sight by the advocates for plain sermons; between understanding the meaning of words and comprehending the sense of a passage. The latter is the end to be desired, of course; but it depends less for its attainment upon the former than might at first be supposed. Take a page from *Plain Sermons* (which is a good example of intelligible sermons in simple language), arrange all the words in a column in alphabetical order, and ask any congregation of the humbler classes to give the proper meaning to each word, and the result would be as great a number of blanks as of answers. But read the page to them, and the large majority will be able to explain the drift of the whole; and this is what is wanted. Mr. Burgon and Mr. Blunt both write sensibly upon the subject; and we commend their pages to the attentive perusal of the reader.

The question of the alleged superiority of extemporaneous discourses over those preached from a manuscript is discussed by both gentlemen. Mr. Burgon inclines to the side of the MS. Mr. Blunt is rather in favour of extemporising. The latter sums up the distinctive advantages of each method very fairly:—

‘Of the respective advantages of written and extempore sermons there is something to be said on both sides. None but a very able man indeed should venture to preach an unwritten sermon before a highly-educated and sensitively critical audience; while, on the other hand, any man of ordinary talent, who has trained himself on the plan I have suggested, may profitably preach, “without book” to a village congregation. Every clergyman ought to be able to avail himself freely of both methods, and not slavishly to confine himself to either alone. If a very exact statement of any question with which he is not familiar should be needed, such for instance, as of the Christian law of marriage, a written sermon will probably be the best, or at least full notes, even in a village church. But whether for such a purpose, or for ordinary preaching before an ordinarily well-informed town congregation, much must of course depend on the exactness and point with which a preacher is able to speak readily.’—*Directorium Pastorale*, p. 151.

The plan Mr. Blunt alludes to is that of having the sermon in full on the right-hand page and in skeleton on the left, the preacher gradually to wean himself from dependence on the right to trusting only to the left. This is a prescription, and will not suit every man’s case. Mr. Burgon balances the advantages and disadvantages of each method with much greater fulness. His remarks are too lengthy for insertion here; but the points are very forcibly and justly put, and the reader will profit by perusing them.

For our own part we are disposed to think that the question of using, or not using, a manuscript in preaching, to be discussed satisfactorily, must be dealt with on two distinct grounds; in the one case having regard to the audience, in the other to the preacher. In approaching it on the former ground, the first inquiry to be made is, Will the audience be affected more by the matter of the sermon, or by the manner of its delivery? In other words, What is the educational standard of the congregation to be addressed? This is a consideration of some weight, for the well-educated pay more regard to the matter, the ill-educated are chiefly caught by the manner. And this difference arises not merely from the general superiority in education of the one class over the other, but from superior education in a particular, and, as regards sermon-hearing, all-important point; namely, in the habit of attention. To arrest the attention of those who cannot freely give it, owing to the want of literary culture, it is necessary to do something more than simply rehearse a series of arguments and reflections in their hearing, albeit the arguments be never so sound, and the reflections never so pointed. They want to be talked to,

and to be made to feel that they are being talked to. Now extemporising is this talking-to; but preaching from a MS. is not, and never can be made to appear to be. In short, the poor are accustomed to being talked to, but not to being read to. We have said nothing about gesture and inflection of voice, which by some are thought to be the secret of success in extemporising over reading. They have a good deal to do with it undoubtedly, but only because they are essential parts of the talking manner, and not, as is supposed, on account of their energy and loudness. For they may be very subdued, and still the attention be kept up; while the delivery of a written sermon may be accompanied by much gesticulation and high speaking, and yet the attention may flag. The advocates of extempore sermons to the uneducated put forth another plea, on the score of their being necessarily more simple, and therefore more intelligible. But this is only partly true. The simplicity of extempore sermons is not the cause of their being better understood, but they are better understood because the extempore manner is more easily attended to. In fact, extemporaneous simplicity, if taken down in writing and preached from a book, would probably send the hearers to sleep much sooner than a sermon originally composed on paper. And as regards this simplicity being more intelligible, this is a mistake; for that is most intelligible which is most clearly and appropriately expressed: and it cannot be pretended that a preacher's extemporised expressions will be *more* clear and appropriate than those which he puts together on paper with care and reflection. The most consummate master of the art can only hope to be *as* clear.

On the other hand, the well-educated do not need to be addressed extemporaneously, though they may prefer it, if well done. They have the power of attention, which the uneducated have not; and this power enables them to take in a great deal more matter in the same space of time than those who lack the power. In fact, they demand their food to be packed in a much smaller compass than extempore preaching can ever compress it into. Perhaps we may be reminded that Robertson, of Brighton, addressed sermons of the highest order of ability to congregations of great intelligence without a manuscript. But, besides Robertson's talents placing him above strict rule, it should be remembered that he was not, strictly speaking, an extempore preacher in the sense in which we use the term. If we are not in error, his sermons were most carefully prepared, their chief passages previously worded, and the whole worked up with so much diligence, that his may more correctly be described as memoriter than extempore

preaching. At any rate, his exceptional genius does not affect a general argument.¹

When we turn to view this subject from the side of the preacher, we find that other considerations come in to influence the question besides the capabilities or predilections of the hearers. Even if all congregations could equally profit by extempore sermons, all preachers could not produce them. Though we agree with Mr. Blunt, in thinking that 'any man of ordinary talent may profitably preach "without book" to a village congregation,' yet not only are there some clergymen who have not the ability requisite for this simple effort, but even those who are gifted highly in this way ought to take thought before they commit themselves to extemporising as a rule. For be it noted that extempore sermons have a contrary effect upon a man's intellect to that of written sermons. The latter train him in habits of careful reasoning, lucid expression, accurate quotations of Holy Scripture; whereas the former tend to impair his logical faculties, beguiling him into loose inconsequential statements, by the temptation of the passing moment to fill a gap by saying something which has a plausible sound, but is not logically true; to give a haziness to his language; and, worst of all, to introduce irrelevant texts, because the memory, on the instant, recollects a single expression in them which seems to make them pertinent, but does not. Moreover, a written sermon may be regarded as the results of labour garnered, not necessarily to be used again in the same form, but as sorted materials to be worked up afresh; or, at least (as Mr. Burgon well points out), as a record of what one once did to compare with what one is now doing. An extempore sermon, on the contrary, is all expenditure; it deposits nothing; the only faculty it exercises and strengthens is that of glib speaking—an accomplishment of rather equivocal value; and its effect upon the reasoning powers is more exhausting than bracing.

In the foregoing remarks we seem to lean too partially to the side of written sermons. We do not wish to do so. We highly value the power of extemporising, and we consider that every clergyman ought to try whether he be in any way endowed with it, and if he is, to exercise it, at any rate sufficiently to have it at command. At the same time, we caution against its seductions, veiled under the pleas that it saves time

¹ Touching memoriter preaching, Mr. Burgon, in a note, suggests that it is an imposition upon the hearers of the semblance of the extempore style. We cannot agree with him. All that the hearers have a right to expect is, that what a man professes to be his own should be his own: the manner of delivery they have no business to dictate.

and is more effective. This, at least, we are sure of, that the best training for useful and solid extemporaneous preaching is a long course of carefully-written sermons. We once heard of a clergyman, justly celebrated for the matter as well as the manner of his extempore preaching, that he wrote all his sermons for the first eight years of his ministry. We must also add a caution: let not the common appeal to barristers, and other public orators, as extemporaneous speakers, in contrast with the clergyman enslaved to his book, be too readily admitted as telling against the latter. In the first place there are more of these gentlemen's speeches written out and learnt by heart, than we know of, or they would care to tell; and then, again, the continuous supply of fresh materials, in the subjects they have to handle, afford, as it were, skeletons for their discourse, which it is very easy to fill up, to say nothing of their greater freedom as to the manner of treatment and style of language. It should be remembered, too, that more than half the speeches made in the senate and at the bar are replies, which enjoy the advantage of having the previous address to work upon.

Before leaving the subject of preaching, we must observe that the practice of borrowing sermons is, on every account, to be discouraged. It is bad for the borrower, for the reflection upon his act is humiliating; it destroys his self-respect, and consequently weakens his self-reliance: it is practising a deception upon the hearers, who assume that a man is preaching his own sermon; or if they be not deceived, then, in the last place, it is unfair to those clergy who do deliver their own compositions: for the discovered borrowers, by destroying the belief of the laity in the *bona fides* of preachers, injure their more meritorious brethren, who, when they preach a decent discourse of their own making, are unjustly suspected of ploughing with another man's heifer. But pressing necessity is pleaded in excuse of the practice. We know of no necessity pressing enough to justify it. Whether the plea take the form of want of time, or of want of capacity, we beg leave to demur to it. The former cannot hold good, for, admitting that a clergyman has not time for all his work, then some other portion, but certainly not the sermon, may be left undone; need we add, that if the refusal of an invitation, the refraining from a flower-show or a concert, be the price to be paid for one's own sermon, it ought to be paid? As for want of capacity, we do not believe in this plea. A man of inferior abilities must be more diligent in study, and careful in cultivating the art of composition. As a rule, it will be found that the poorest preachers are those who read the least. This is unpardonable. What but dry vacuity can be expected from

dropping a bucket down an empty well? Skeletons, the imitation system, and the like, are only gradations between complete originality and complete appropriation. By borrowing of course we mean unacknowledged borrowing. If a man be found so bold as to get up into the pulpit, with another man's sermon in his hand, and tell the congregation what he is going to do, neither the congregation can complain of deception nor his brethren of injustice.

II. We must now take a glance at the parson in his schools. It is not unusual to hear it said, in enumerating the qualifications of a clergyman, that he is 'fond of schools.' The taste is a good one, if it be not indulged as a taste, but kept within limits duly proportioned to the rest of his pastoral work. For the judicious pastor will always remember that to entrust the school to the teacher, and to trust the teacher in his office, is the wisest and most beneficial system. If the clergyman be very much in the school-room, there is a danger of his frequent presence overshadowing the authority of the teacher, and virtually lowering him to the level of an assistant. These hints are thrown out only as suggestive of moderation in the exercise of one of the most important duties of a parish clergyman, to wit, the superintendence of the parish school.

A clergyman should never forget that teaching a national school is an art to which he has not been trained, but the teacher has. This recollection will cause him to treat the teacher's opinion with that respect which is due to the professor of any art from one who is not professed. Not but what a clergyman has to keep an oversight over the teacher as well as over the children, and if he think the teacher is negligent, or in error, in his work, to take steps to reform him. He will, however, never express his disapprobation before the children; and if it be a matter of school-system, he will perhaps, think it well to take the advice of an inspector before interfering.

These remarks apply to the general education. The training in religious knowledge more properly comes within the pastor's sphere as the spiritual educator of his people. Over this department he should exercise absolute control. And in order that this control may be exercised most beneficially for the children, 'there should be,' as Mr. Blunt observes, 'a good understanding between the clergyman and the ordinary teacher of the school, as to the subjects which are to form the basis of the religious instruction for the year, or for some definite period, and as to the particular line to be taken in teaching them' (p. 283.) For the establishment of this 'good understanding,' it is most important that the teacher should be such a person as he can place confidence in. Mr. Blunt makes this postulate

'that the clergyman has found, or has secured the appointment of, a teacher, or of teachers, in whose educational ability and religious principles he can have confidence.' But suppose he has not? Suppose he is charged with a parish, in which, on the contrary, he finds a teacher whom he can place no confidence in at all, but who has taken such root in the place as a residence of a dozen years gives? In this case the clergyman's duty is very unpleasant.

Mr. Burgon opens his chapter, 'On Village Education and Catechising,' with the remark: 'In the village schoolroom, nothing strikes one so forcibly as the contrast frequently witnessed between the magnificence of the theory and the imbecility of the practice.' Experience often justifies this observation. He then proceeds to note the common absurdities which meet one, where the teacher is of that most undesirable type, all ignorance at bottom, and all pretence of fine learning at top. His eye is fixed on a village school throughout the chapter; and it is in such schools that the worst teachers are found. Scanty funds, small number of children in the school, and consequently lack of material to stimulate a teacher to energetic and practical work: these and other causes tell against village schools, in respect of their teachers. In fact, rural schools offer a very perplexing problem to the clergy who have to manage them, and to educationalists who try, though not very successfully, to legislate for them; or, when in power, and consequently having to administer the Government grant, more successfully, to keep them beyond the pale of legislation. But our present concern is not with the clergyman as school-manager, but as spiritual pastor, who builds his hopes of the future upon the religious training of the lambs of his flock. It needs not that we should expatiate upon the importance of the parish school; that (as Mr. Burgon expresses it) 'it is to be looked upon as *the nursery* of the Church; that in it 'must be laid the foundations of that structure which, with God's blessing, we are determined in subsequent years to rear;' that in it 'must be sown the seeds of every virtuous practice which we desire to behold afterwards matured.' And besides being the nursery of the Church, in the future, it is a very important key to the parish of the present. The clergyman passes very naturally and with good effect from teaching the children in the class to visiting their parents at their homes, and opening up an acquaintance with them upon a subject which is sure to interest them, and which will soften the most morose into some degree of accessibility, when they find that it also interests him. How well Professor Blunt, in his 'Duties of a Parish Priest,' puts this point before our clerical readers will need to be reminded. In fact, so

advantageous an approach is the school supposed to offer, by which the pastor may get at his people, that it has been recommended as the centre from which to work his system of visitation. Certain it is, that through the school one portion of his flock, not otherwise very accessible, may be reached, namely, the dissenters. In parishes where the Church school is the only school, the Nonconformists out of necessity, and even in places where there are dissenting schools, some of them out of choice, send their children to the Church school. Here is an opportunity for winning back stray sheep which no good shepherd will neglect to seize.

Concerning the method of religious instruction which the pastor should adopt in the school, our authors offer some suggestions. In this, as in other cases, Mr. Burgon enters more into detail than Mr. Blunt. He gives one or two examples of Scripture lessons. Mr. Blunt quotes a 'Method of giving a Bible Lesson,' and also sketches a 'Series of Lessons on the first year of our Lord's ministry.' All these plans will be found useful as hints to a young clergyman in the formation of his system of religious teaching. Amongst the many objects, not merely educational, to be kept in view in giving this instruction, we may mention one; namely, to teach the children to have their Bibles at command, by training them in readiness of reference. Passages containing numerous allusions to other portions of Scripture should be chosen for subjects. The historical Psalms (*e.g.* the 78th, 81st, 83d, 105th, and 106th), are very useful for this purpose.¹

But the parish school, be it remembered, is not linked on to the Church merely by the parish priest taking a class in it. The legitimate connexion lies in the rubric after the Catechism, which directs that 'The curate of every parish shall diligently, 'upon Sundays and holy days, after the Second Lesson at 'Evening Prayer, openly in the church, instruct and examine 'as many children of his parish sent unto him, as he shall think 'convenient, in some part of this Catechism.' This rubric is all

¹ We have not said anything about the different kinds of schools, infant and Sunday, day and night. Our remarks rather point to education than to the channels of it, though, of course, referring mainly to the day-school as the chief of those channels. There is one passage, however, in Mr. Burgon's section upon night-schools, which we know from experience to be well worth attending to. 'Long ere the evenings are light, the goodly band with which we began in October or November will have dwindled down to a very small handful indeed. It is good policy to endeavour to prevent the appearance of being (in plain terms) forsaken by one's night-school. Take the matter in hand betimes therefore. Collect your men and boys just for one more week in the best force you can; and then dissolve the school for the season with a short address,—at which last meeting, (by a very obvious expedient,) you will provide that all shall be present. It is better policy to *kill* a class in February than to let it die a natural death in March. Avoid that.'—P. 271.

the notice that our Church formularies take of the priest's duty as the religious educator of the young ; and therefore it is only through this rubric that the modern school system can properly be welded on to the Church system. By taking school teaching in connexion with public catechising, we make confirmation the point up to which all the religious instruction should tend. With this view, Mr. Burgon rightly associates schools and catechising in the same chapter. We will follow his example, and proceed to make some remarks upon the latter.

The practice of catechising publicly in the church has suffered considerable neglect. Sermons at Evening Prayer, which are not contemplated by the Church, but have grown into a tyrannous custom, owing to that mixed spirit which has possessed the laity since Puritan times, of eagerness to hear teaching and unwillingness to be taught, have had a good deal to do with this neglect. Putting aside a disregard of the Church's commands, the neglect of public catechising is much to be regretted, its revival much to be desired. The practice is advantageous to all parties. The clergyman comes forward as the teacher of his people in a more real way in catechising than he can in preaching ; for sermons are too often regarded as essays or speeches, which have to be gone through, which are secure from interruption, and which suffer in depth and thoroughness from this security. A catechist dare not come forward before the congregation with the shallow, one-sided knowledge of doctrines which the preacher can manage upon in the pulpit. One question from the youngest child, one astute answer from a clever one, will commit him to accuracy of expression, clearness of thought, soundness of learning upon great truths, such as sermons do not always display. Moreover, while bad catechising would do a clergyman harm in the opinion of his people, good catechising would give him a firm hold of their respect and esteem. The young especially would grow to have a more exalted idea of him as their spiritual teacher than his taking a class in the school can give them ; *there* he is more of the schoolmaster's assistant than the parish priest ; in the church his sacred office is distinctly before their eyes. Children, again, benefit by being catechised in church, beyond the mere knowledge they acquire. The knowledge itself rises higher in value, for it is clothed with a sacred character from the circumstances of time, place, and person. The young gain more affectionate reverence for God's Word, and in after years they look upon it, not with the drowsy recollection of unintelligible sermons, but as the place where they learned the golden rules of faith and duty for the guidance of heart and life. The congregation who hear the catechising are undoubtedly gainers. Learned and unlearned may learn

something while hearing the young taught. Moreover, without having their intelligence or their age insulted by being addressed as though they were children and ignorant, they have the opportunity of quietly refreshing their minds and purifying their hearts with simple truths and plain precepts, simply and plainly put, which the cares and bustle of life have worn out of their memories, or which, perhaps, through lack of opportunity, they never possessed.

Easy though it be to expatiate on the advantages of catechising in the church, it is not so easy to carry the idea into practice. There is a difficulty in the clergyman.

'The truth is,' Mr. Burgon justly says, 'catechising is a very difficult art; and if one must speak honestly, the reason why it is rarely practised is *not* because the need for it is superseded by the Sunday-school; but because we distrust ourselves, or are unwilling to undergo the labour which is the condition of excellence.'—P. 282.

There is a difficulty in the congregation. People, though they speak so contemptuously of sermons, yet inconsistently cling to them with such tenacity, that to substitute catechising for the afternoon sermon would meet with opposition. At least to do so always would be much disliked, and, in fact, would hardly be wise, considering how many of the poor can only be got to appear in church in the afternoon. A compromise, therefore, might be made, by holding public catechising once a month, or perhaps twice. We have in view churches where there is not an evening service. Where there is, the clergyman, of course, is more at liberty to dispose as he thinks best of the afternoon. Litany and catechising in the afternoon in such churches is an obvious, and happily much practised, expedient.

III. From the school we go forth into the parish. There the duties of the priest will be found to range themselves under three heads: (1) *Ex officio*; (2) Ministerial; and (3) Social. (1) By the first phrase we designate those duties which devolve upon the priest as the parson, or *persona*, of the parish, and yet have no relation to his spiritual functions as priest. Such duties are the chairmanship of vestries, of school and other committees, trusteeships, whether eleemosynary or otherwise; and, in short, whatsoever form of responsibility the law may lay upon him by reason of his position as parson of the parish. As the law alone can define the limits of the responsibilities which it imposes, the consideration of them is foreign to a discussion of the pastoral care. But it may not be altogether superfluous to observe that the personal influence, and consequently the pastoral usefulness, of a clergyman can be most seriously affected, for good or evil, by the *way* in which those duties are discharged. A hasty word at a vestry; an oversight in convening a committee;

an apparent (though unintentional) slight offered to a co-trustee ; some omission of due respect to the official importance of a churchwarden : any one of these mishaps may cost the unhappy delinquent a world of trouble. In all official intercourse with his parishioners, a clergyman would do well to bear in mind that the general opinion of the laity is that parsons are bad men of business—an opinion which, we confess, is sometimes sufficiently confirmed by facts. This being the case, it behoves a parson to do his best to remove this impression as regards himself, by cultivating business habits, and attending scrupulously to all business details that may come within his sphere. Punctuality and carefully-kept accounts are obvious items. At the same time he will act wisely in not assuming the character of a man of business. The laity look upon 'business' as their own particular mystery ; and they resent the claims of a parson to be considered an initiate, as a craftsman resents the pretensions of an amateur. In a word, let a parson frankly *concede* superiority in business to the laity, and at the same time take care to *show* himself to be their equal. These remarks are stupidly obvious—so obvious, indeed, that nine clergymen out of ten disregard them.

(2) We advance to a far higher subject, viz. a clergyman's ministerial intercourse with his people. It is but a few scattered hints for which we can spare space. Nor is more required of us, seeing that the question has been treated so fully by both our authors, each taking a somewhat different stand-point from which to view it. It is needless to urge the pastoral visitation of every house and family in the parish, for that is an universally admitted duty now. But though the theory be one, the practices are many ; and just as it is unwise to dictate minutely how a sermon should be prepared, so is it undesirable to lay down very elaborately how a parish should be visited. What little we have to say will be chiefly cautionary. And, first, by house-to-house visitation is surely not meant going about like a collector of rates from one house to the next house, so that the parsonic rap at No. 1 gives the old lady at No. 2 due notice to get out her Bible, and insert her spectacle-case at the 'beautiful chapter' which she does so love to read. It is as well to give the least opportunity possible for the practice of these little hypocrisies which beset a clergyman all too thickly. Nevertheless, some system ought to be set up by a pastor for his guidance in visiting his people, otherwise, as Mr. Burgon observes, it may chance that some houses are never visited at all.

The next question is, in paying a visit to the 'whole,' What is a pastor to talk about? On the one hand he is advised that his conversation should not be all about religion, on the other he

is cautioned against its being all gossip. Both counsels are good. The difficulties which surround this part of a pastor's duty are various. On his own side there is, perhaps, a lack of conversational power; on the side of those whom he visits there is either extreme shyness or (which is far worse) canting loquacity. The former may be hard to break through, but when broken through there is generally found that which rewards the effort; the latter is a very discouraging symptom indeed.

Then, again, when access has been gained, and some intimacy established, it is a question how frequent the visits should be. To this no absolute answer can be given; but a caution attaching to it may be offered, and that is, beware of giving encouragement, by the frequency and character of your visits, to that tendency to vicariousness which so readily shows itself in the more ignorant classes. By this we mean, the disposition to lay all responsibility upon the clergyman, and, as it were, leave him to attend to their religious duties for them. If care be not taken in this matter, it is astonishing how easily the poor glide into the notion that the passage of Scripture read, the religious conversation joined in, the prayer offered up, at the clergyman's visit, discharge them of their obligations to personal piety. So that, in fact, the clergyman's visit comes to be looked upon by them as a performance of *their* duty as well as of his own; in fact, that his duty is to do theirs. We have heard of persons of this class having said to a clergyman, whose predecessor had been injudiciously frequent in his visits, and whom he did not imitate in that respect, 'You don't come to see me so often as Mr. So-and-So, sir; he used often to come and look after me. I miss his visits very much.' Surely it betrays a not very healthy tone of piety for a person to want to be 'looked after,' and to 'miss being visited.' The pastoral energy which expends itself in visits so frequent and ministrations so vicarious that the objects of them come to depend upon their recurrence for religious progress, or even for a check to religious backsliding, is more to be commended for its zeal than for its wisdom. It is quite possible, and almost as easy, to pauperise a parish as to things spiritual, as it is to pauperise it as to things temporal; and just as excessive and undistinguishing almsgiving makes the poor dependent and thriftless, so does over-much visitation tend to enfeeble that inward sense of direct responsibility to God, which is the very life-principle of all genuine piety.

But let us not be misunderstood. We confine our remarks to the ordinary visitation of 'the whole.' We are not speaking of the visitation of the sick; still less do our remarks have reference to those ministrations of comfort, counsel, and 'the benefit of absolution,' which specially appertain to the priest's

office. To hint that when people earnestly desire these, they are not to look to the priest for them, would be to contradict the whole theory of the Church. And yet, with regard to these functions, it may be worth while remembering that the theory of the Church is, that those who desire their benefit should 'come' to the minister.¹ But the weakness of our Church-system in practice is, that people do not come to the minister, but expect him to come to them. It is the wont of our zealous and active young priests to regard their spheres of labour too absolutely from a missionary point of view, as practically heathen districts. They talk of 'breaking up the ground' in an ordinary parish as though they were opening a mission on the banks of the Zambesi. They set to work with cottage-lectures, and Scripture-readings, and prayer-meetings, and open-air preachings (we speak without limitation as to 'school') with such ardour that it cannot be a matter of surprise if two undesirable results follow; viz. that the people get to think that their coming to church is superseded by the church coming to them; and also that they lose all idea of opportunity being the measure of responsibility. Now by opportunity we mean those Christian privileges which the Church in her system offers to her children; and by responsibility we intend the freedom to accept or refuse those privileges. But all those extra-Church schemes for forcing religious privileges upon people destroy their character as opportunities, and by diminishing opportunity you lessen responsibility. To express our meaning shortly, we hold, that to exhibit the Church-system in its fulness, and, by pulpit and private admonitions to awaken in people's minds a sense of their responsibility for having that system so presented to them: this is the whole duty of a parish priest.

Surely it is a significant fact that while the English clergy are more persistent, nay, even intrusive in going after their people than any other body of priests, the English laity are more careless and ignorant about the relation in which they stand to the Church and her ministers than any other body of Catholic Christians.

(3) The social intercourse of a pastor with his flock is really part of a larger question, viz. What rules of conduct should be observed by a clergyman as a member of society? Those rules must be framed upon a consideration of his general responsibilities as a minister of Christ's Holy Church; and to these must be added the special responsibilities which bind him to his people as their parish priest. Looking first at the general question: it will be found to be affected considerably by the fact that the social status of the clergy is higher in the Church of England

¹ Exhortation to the Holy Communion.

than in any other communion. It would be untrue to say that this status is assigned to them by the laity on the sole ground of their sacred office; for the English laity entertain much lower views upon this subject than their brethren of other Churches, while in those communions in which high notions of the priestly office are held, the priests themselves are in much less repute, as members of society, than their Anglican brethren. On the other hand, it would be inaccurate to assert that English clergymen owe nothing to their office for the consideration and respect they receive from the laity. They owe something, though not everything, or even the greater part. The fact is, several causes conspire to bring about the one result. Without owning to a reverence for the priestly office, the laity—even the most Protestant in views—acknowledge a clergyman's claim to respect as a clergyman; only, if they were asked to account for doing so, they would give the fine old reason that a clergyman is 'a scholar and a gentleman,' and perhaps add, in an individual case, that he was also a good man. It is impossible to state the proportions of these ingredients which compose an English layman's respect for an English clergyman. They vary in different people: but the general outcome may be pretty fairly said to be that the laity regard the clergy as the salt of society. Now this is a most important fact, which must be accepted as it stands, and which draws after it a train of consequences deeply affecting a clergyman's social responsibilities.

A clergyman, then, is expected to be a pattern man. The laity put him before them as a copy, of which they only profess to be distant imitators. They exact from him greater circumspection in conduct than they pretend to exercise, and even will censure him more severely for falling below his high standard, than they will reproach themselves for coming short of their own low one. The clergy sometimes exclaim against this unequal manner as an injustice: but is it an injustice of which they can complain with good grace? The wrong of the inequality does not lie in the clerical standard being too high, but in the lay standard being too low. Surely it ill becomes a clergyman, who, by the holiest obligations, is bound to God and His Church to set an example to the Christian flock, to complain that men require him to be too good, and to claim more indulgence. This is not the way to redress the unequal measure. The proper ground of complaint is to be found when the laity (as they practically do) change from looking upon a clergyman as an example of what all Christians ought to be, to regarding him as a distinct species of Christian, separated from themselves by some difference which removes him altogether from their line of imitation. This is decidedly bad; but it is worse for the laity than for the clergy.

The most common question, upon which the notions concerning what befits a clergyman are brought to a practical bearing, is that of amusements. (Of course only such amusements are contemplated as are lawful to a Christian.) The most usual form in which it is asked is, What amusements are permissible to the clergy? In this shape, the important assumption is made that there should be one rule of social conduct for the clergy and another for the laity—an assumption which ought not to pass unchallenged. For if it be allowed, then the tendency to seclude the clerical order into a caste receives direct sanction. On this ground such a way of putting the question is objectionable. It ought rather to be framed thus: What considerations ought to regulate the clergy in their participation in amusements? Now we do not profess to enter upon a deliberate discussion of this question here, but we simply offer a few suggestions to those who may have to undertake it; and it is a question which is continually being brought forward, and to which the clergy are often asked to furnish an answer.

There is one grand consideration which should ever be present to a clergyman's mind as the regulating principle of his conduct in society: namely, that while the members of all other professions and callings have their periods of business as distinct from their periods of leisure, the clergyman has no such distinction of times. He is never off duty. As God's ordained minister his whole life is official. He cannot retire, he cannot have a vacation. Although, of course, but a portion of his time can be occupied in directly ministerial acts; although he may very properly seek relaxation from the labours of his office; yet the work he is set apart to do for his Divine Master is not limited to ministerial acts, or fulfilled by the most strenuous labours. In a word, he is a Christian minister. The preaching of Christian truths, and the ministration of Christian sacraments, are necessarily confined within the boundaries of set times and places; but Christianity, as a principle by which men live, knows no other bounds than the lives of its professors. So too, the Christian minister, at all times and in all places, carries the character of an ordained witness to Christian principle. This is undoubtedly the true view of his responsibility; this is being 'instant in season, out of season';¹ and it follows from it that he cannot complain if his whole conduct, even in the hours of relaxation, be tested by the standard of what is becoming in a clergyman. Another consequence is, that a clergyman ought to indulge in lawful amusements less than would be proper in a

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 2, *ἐκκαιρῶς, ἀκαιρῶς*. By the latter expression, S. Paul surely does not intend *unseasonable* intrusion of sacred subjects into ordinary conversation. His words, however, are often quoted in defence of that practice.

layman; because moderation in pleasure is what he ought to teach the laity by his example; and an example, to be of any value, must be somewhat in advance of those who are expected to look to it. Another consideration is often put forward on behalf of the consciences of the weaker brethren. Though worthy of attention, it should be admitted cautiously; for by means of it the laity are apt to tyrannize; and it has, besides, this drawback, that it would substitute the low principle of men-pleasing for the high principle of duty. One more caution: a clergyman suffers damage in his office when he gets a character for being fond of pleasure—a character which the laity will fasten upon him, though he may indulge no more than themselves. One more hint: if a doubt should spring up in his mind, with respect to any particular amusement, whether he may join in it or not, let him ask himself this question: ‘Can I do so and yet feel that I am about my Master’s business?’ The candid answer to this question will solve the doubt.

The special responsibilities which bind a clergyman to his flock do not introduce any new principle in the guidance of his social conduct. Their only effect is to make the application of the general principle more stringent. They add the duty of precept to the duty of example.

Here we leave the subject of a pastor’s duties. Our remarks have chiefly run parallel to the counsel of our authors, and have been more in the way of caution than direction. We hope that in the course of our reflections, we have made sufficient direct reference to the books before us to give the reader a favourable impression of their contents, for that is the impression we have received ourselves. Mr. Burgon’s work abounds in information and advice of great value. But it would be the better for thorough revision and considerable condensation. The first two chapters, ‘On the Study of the Bible,’ and on ‘Inspiration—the Text of Scripture,’ ought to be re-written, and might well be compressed into the space of one. The same might advantageously be done with the two chapters ‘On the Pastoral Method.’ From the whole book let the spirit of polemical bitterness depart. ‘Infidel’ and ‘unbeliever,’ ‘fop’ and ‘puppy,’ are not becoming epithets for a clergyman to apply to his brethren. Of Mr. Blunt we have not a word of disapprobation to say. The tone of his book is all that it should be: he gathers his experience from a wide and varied field. In his chapters upon ‘Auxiliary Parochial Institutions,’ ‘Parish Festivals,’ and ‘Miscellaneous Responsibilities,’ together with the Appendix, the parish priest will find many matters concerning the machinery and details of pastoral work furnished to his hand in a very practical form. Placing the two books side

by side, we can recommend both to the reader. Although they treat of the same subject, and were written in perfect independence, and published within a short time, of each other, yet it cannot be said that either supersedes the other, but rather supplements it.

Our readers among the younger clergy, and among candidates for Holy Orders, must suffer a word from us, partly of encouragement, partly of monition. A young man will take up the books which we have just laid down, and from them gather an idea, beautiful in its perfection, of the model parish worked by the model priest. The first touch of experience dissolves the vision. In the hour of disappointment let him take comfort from the words of the saintly Herbert:—‘I have resolved to set down the form and character of a true pastor, that I may have a mark to aim at; which also I will set as high as I can, since he shoots higher that threatens the moon than he that aims at a tree. Not that I think, if a man do not all which is here expressed, he presently sins, and displeases God; but that it is a good strife to go as far as we can in pleasing of Him who hath done so much for us.’¹ It would be impossible, and if possible it would be unprofitable, to conjecture all the difficulties that may beset the path of a parish priest. The revival of Church principles, and the increasing activity shown in carrying them out, do not lessen, but rather augment, the trials of the parochial clergy. Zealous though a man may be in aiding that revival, and furthering that increase, he must not expect to find things go easily and pleasantly with him. Neither must he look for his troubles to come only from the professed opponents of the Church revival. English self-will is an impartial quality that extends its influence alike to all parties. Notwithstanding loud professions of reverence for ecclesiastical authority, and of submission to the power of the priesthood, a clergyman must be prepared to meet with the spirit of Protestantism thwarting him in the actions of those who only use the word Protestant as a term of reproach. The fact is, much of the energy displayed in promoting Catholic doctrine and ritual will be found, on examination, to be only a more vigorous exercise of private judgment. Bishops, priests, and deacons must look for little respect at the hands of those who style themselves the Catholic party in the Church; and if they interpose an unsympathizing opinion they must expect to be roundly abused. They may recall the words of S. Ignatius as in some way justifying their claims to submission:—*Ὁμολῶς πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους, ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὅντα Υἱὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς· τοὺς δὲ*

¹ ‘A Priest to the Temple,’ the Author to the Reader.

πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων.¹ But these they will discover are among those precepts of antiquity which modern churchmen delight to honour in the breach, rather than the observance. To be blamed on one side for going too fast, and on the other for not going fast enough, is what every clergyman, who prefers exercising his own discretion to throwing himself into the arms of a party, has to undergo. If he preach in a surplice, he will be denounced as a Romaniser; if he decline to burn incense and wear a chasuble, he will be sneered at as a timid Anglican.

And yet, whatever vexation a parish priest may suffer from the confiction of opinions around him, and from the independent expression of those opinions which the laity may thrust upon him, he will, if he be a man of self-control, and likewise of deep love for the Church, find a cheering satisfaction in the thought that out of all the tumult the Holy Spirit is bringing the doctrine and worship of the Church in all the beauty of holiness and truth. And this thought may also be a refreshment to him when his pastoral toils seem to yield little return. To contribute towards the great result, and yet not to see what, or how large, one's contribution is, till, at the resurrection, every man's work be made manifest: this is his lot in the present life: to know that no work done for God is labour lost, to know that the humblest efforts, 'the patient abiding of the meek, shall not perish for ever'—this is all he must hope for as his present reward.

We offer these reflections more especially to the junior clergy. The senior clergy will have learnt them from experience. But a young priest, who goes forth to labour in the vineyard at the present day, not only has not been taught by experience these salutary truths, but, on the contrary, finds in the tone and tendencies of the age much to give his mind a bent in the opposite direction. To be able to show practical results is the ambition of an energetic pastor, and rivalry stimulates the ambition. Large congregations, numerous communicants, well attended schools, ritualistic progress—all these achievements are sought with eagerness, and contemplated with satisfaction. The eagerness is commendable, and the satisfaction is natural; but these are not an absolute measure of ministerial success; 'the end is not yet.' Caution must be used lest the fascination of apparent triumphs should mislead a clergyman into striving after triumphs which are only apparent—lest he should be unduly elated by success, or unduly depressed by failure. It is well to remember that the kingdom of Christ is not like the kingdoms of the world; its prosperity cannot be exhibited in a table of statistics.

¹ Ep. ad Trallianos, iii.

We do not intend, it would not befit us as reviewers, to preach a sermon to our reverend brethren upon the Judgment Day being the time of ingathering of souls, and concerning the duty of the pastor to wait in faith till then for the fruits of his labours. We will, however, call their attention to one or two fragments of loving counsel from the wise and good, which on the instant occur to our minds. We pass by Mr. Burgon's sermon, 'One soweth and another reapeth,' which forms so becoming a supplement to his book: let it be read and read again. The mistrustful and desponding pastor may suffer a word of gentle chiding from venerable lips:—

'Go, to the world return, nor fear to cast
Thy bread upon the waters, sure at last
In joy to find it after many days:
The work be thine, the fruit thy children's part;
Choose to believe, not see; sight tempts the heart
From sober walking in true Gospel ways.'¹

Let Bishop Armstrong frame a pastor's thoughts in prayer:—

'If it should please Thee to bless these my labours, and to give them increase in my time and before mine eyes, then, O Lord, increase in me the grace of humility; humble me so much the more. . . . Or if, Lord Jesus, I should seem to labour in vain, let not my heart fail; nerve me by Thy Spirit to persevere. It may be that Thou hereby desirest to keep me humble, and to make me feel mine own insufficiency, and to trust more entirely to Thy grace, and to seek Thine help more earnestly in prayer. It may be Thou wishest trial of my patience, withholding a blessing that I may seek it with more importunity, and continue labouring in faith. Or it may be, Thou givest me no visible success that I may the more undistractedly desire the final and most glorious recompense of faith. Thou canst give increase when Thou wilt; if not in my day, give it afterwards; make me content to labour without visible fruit of my labours in this life.'²

These holy meditations find beautiful expression in the same volume of sacred song from which we just now quoted:—

'Should e'er Thy wonder-working grace
Triumph by our weak arm,
Let not our sinful fancy trace
Aught human in the charm :

'To our own nets ne'er bow we down,
Lest on the eternal shore
The angels, while our draught they own,
Reject us evermore.

'Or, if for our unworthiness,
Toil, prayer, and watching fail,
In disappointment Thou canst bless,
So love at heart prevail.'³

¹ 'Christian Year : ' Ninth Sunday after Trinity.

² 'The Pastor in his Closet : ' Devotions for Monday.

³ 'Christian Year : ' Fifth Sunday after Trinity.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Hidden Wisdom of Christ and the Key of Knowledge ; or, History of the Apocrypha.* By ERNEST DE BUNSEN. In Two Volumes. London: Longman and Co. 1865.
2. *Avesta: The Religious Books of the Parsees, from Professor Spiegel's German Translation of the Original Manuscripts.* By ARTHUR HENRY BLEECK. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1865.
3. *Heidenthum und Judenthum.* Von JOH. JOS. IGN. DÖLLINGER. Regensburg: Joseph Manz. 1857. Sechstes Buch. § 2, *Zoroaster und der Zendavesta.* Zehntes Buch. III § 5, *Das Alexandrinische Judenthum.* *Philo's Lehre.*
4. *The same translated into English.* By N. DARNELL, M.A. late Fellow of New College, Oxford. London: Longman and Co. 1862.

WHAT is the teaching of Zoroaster and the Zendavesta? What are the elements of thought that go to constitute the religious books commonly known as the Apocrypha? What is the relation borne by the doctrine contained in the Avesta, and that contained in the Apocrypha, to the teaching of the Old Testament, and to the teaching of our blessed Lord and Saviour? To a portion of our readers the mere statement of such queries will, we fear, sound to the last degree uninviting. But if our words are only addressed to a few among the few, that circle of hearers, however small, has its own special claim to consideration. To those few we submit the following pages.

The English translation of the Avesta, made mainly through the German of Spiegel, owes its existence to the zeal of a Parsee merchant, Mr. Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama. The manuscript of the first part, the Vendidad, has been revised by Professor Spiegel; and Mr. Cama and the English translator, Mr. Bleeck, have compared it with a Gujerati translation. A commentary by Spiegel is promised in due time. Meanwhile, although there may be room for improvement, the few Englishmen who, with ourselves, have secured copies of this valuable work, have great

reason to congratulate themselves, and to feel and express their gratitude to the translator and to Mr. Cama.¹

Next to the study of the volume itself, we should recommend the masterly and admirable disquisition on the subject contained in Dr. Döllinger's 'Heidenthum. und Judenthum.' Here, again, thanks to Mr. Darnell, the English reader may enjoy the benefit of an excellent translation. If he wishes to go into the matter still more deeply, he will find an extremely useful list of books set before him by the Messrs. Quaritch at the end of Mr. Bleek's translation of the Avesta.

On another question, that of the Apocrypha, the present writer is not equally prepared to specify sources of information. It is, however, impossible to read the latter part of Dr. Döllinger's book (the *Judenthum* sections), without gaining a great deal. The works of Philo have also been recently translated into English and published by Mr. Bohn. Dr. Davidson's 'Introduction to the Old Testament' is likewise very valuable; and he has not, we believe, retracted that part of his writings. Professor Jowett's 'Essay on Philo,' though in the main (if we recollect aright) avowedly taken from Gfrörer, contains some useful information and suggestions. On the general question a paper by a French rationalist, M. Albert Réville, deserves attention, were it only for the largeness of its admissions as regards the necessity of Church authority, as well as of internal evidence towards the formation of a canon. It will be found in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July 15th, 1864. Students of German may be further referred to several valuable treatises by Herbet, Reusch, and others. It is hardly necessary to name Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible.'²

¹ It is curious to compare the following notices, the one from the pen of Dean Prideaux, who wrote in A.D. 1718, and the other from that of the present translator, Mr. Bleek:—

'Dr. Hyde, late Professor of the Hebrew and Arabic tongues at Oxford, being well skilled in the old Persic as well as the modern, offered to have published the whole with a Latin translation, could he have been supported in the expenses of the edition. But for want of this help and encouragement the design died with him, to the great damage of the learned world. For a book of that antiquity no doubt would be of great use, could it be made public among us, and would unfold and give us light into many things of the times, wherein it was written, which we are now ignorant of.'—*Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament*. Part i. book iv.

'In conclusion the translator wishes to state that this edition has been printed by Mr. Cama for the purpose of distributing it gratuitously to his Parsee brethren in India; but the translator having expressed a wish that a few copies might be sold in this country, to introduce the ancient religion of Zarathustra to the English public, Mr. Cama has kindly acceded to the translator's request.'—*Preface to the English version of the Avesta*.

² See a valuable letter in the *Church Times* for February 12th, 1865.

But a new candidate for approbation on the ground of inquiry into these questions, and many more besides, has now appeared. A son of the late Baron von Bunsen, M. Ernest de Bunsen, has just published two volumes, of which the title, &c. will be found at the head of this article. Can we conscientiously recommend the reader, after he has gone through a course of the Avesta, Döllinger, and Philo-Judæus, to have recourse to the thousand pages of M. de Bunsen?

If that reader imagines that there is ground for suspicion against us; if he thinks that we have been prejudiced by a name or by the tone of a school; if, in a word, he is disinclined to accept our verdict: then by all means let him study these two volumes for himself. We wish him well through them, and can only hope that he may find himself to have gained more than we have done. For in truth we have found the perusal to be a most wearisome task; and at the end our impression was, that we had earned extremely little to reward us for our pains.

It is not that M. de Bunsen is wanting in views, nor in industry, nor in learning. Nor, though his book is rationalistic, does it seem to us that such is his natural bias and temperament. On the contrary, we should imagine that his frame of mind was essentially reverential; but that he had been nurtured amidst influences of a contrary tendency, and misled by a one-sided course of study. Our objections to his publication are (1) That on some fundamental points it is impossible to extract from its pages a plain *yes* or *no* to a plain question; (2) That it propounds wild theories of which no shadow of solid proof is given; (3) That it constantly assumes that the negative may be taken for granted in cases where doubt has been expressed, but on which no positive decision has yet been formed; (4) That the authorities to whom appeal is made lie for the most part on one side of a line which the author hardly ever passes. Let us proceed to consider these points in detail.

(1) When a writer announces that he is about to impart to us a great deal of new information respecting the wisdom of Him who is in a most special sense THE TEACHER of the world, we are naturally anxious to know what the writer holds concerning His adorable Personality. To say that this is a point which can be deferred, that it is matter which does not affect the estimate of Christ's doctrine, is simply absurd. Place the utterances of Christ as recorded in the Holy Gospels before a Jew, a Socinian, a Mahometan, and a Catholic Christian; and, though all four may read the selfsame words, yet all four are reading them in a different frame of mind, and all four will extract from them a different sense. The Jew believes that he is conning the language of an impostor, and his unhappy

incredulity will blind him to the force of the words not only of Christ, but of the great Prophet of the earlier dispensation ; for 'even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart.' The Socinian accepts them as the words of one who is the greatest of all teachers, but still a mere man. To the Mahometan they are the voice of a prophet, but not the greatest of all prophets ; they are to receive colour and meaning from the hints of him who penned the Koran. To the Catholic Christian they are the words of God Himself manifest in the flesh. Does M. de Bunsen accept them in this last manner, or does he not ?

We believe that he certainly wishes to do so, but whether he has attained this end, we feel utterly unable to judge. He avows belief, in some sense, in the Incarnation, but we cannot make out whether he would accept the wording of the Nicene Creed, or of the masterly statement contained in the second of the Thirty-nine Articles. It is, of course, quite conceivable that a man might hold a view of the Incarnation which he could not, to his own satisfaction, bring into harmony with such documents as those just named ; and yet might live to discover that his real inner mind had all along been in accordance with the Catholic Church, holding what it holds and meaning what it means. Granted : but such a person, while his intellect remains in this nebulous state, is by no means in a position to be looked up to as a teacher. He may have a perfect right to kneel among the worshippers in the Temple, but he has no claim to a seat among the Doctors. One who calls upon others to listen to his voice ought, on all fundamental points, to know precisely what he holds and why he holds it. M. de Bunsen has failed to convince us that he has yet attained to any such solid convictions. If we are mistaken, we would propose the following as a fair method of proving our erroneousness. Let any half-dozen readers, of competent ability and fairness, write down, without concert or comparison, their impressions of our author's views concerning the central truth of Christianity. If they succeed in extracting from these volumes a clear and connected enunciation, then—but not otherwise—the present section of this article must be retracted.

(2) We pass on to our second charge, namely, that these volumes put forth wild and unproven theories. A single specimen must suffice. We are gravely called upon to believe that the Adam of the book of Genesis is identical with the Zoroaster of the Zendavesta. The novelty of this surmise will probably win some converts among those to whom what is newest ever seems most true. But we suspect that two years hence its adherents will be easily counted upon the fingers of two hands,

perhaps on those of one hand only. For our author's arguments we must refer the reader to his book. Our own objections, or at least a portion of them, may possibly appear in the course of our remarks.

(3) 'Such a fact has been disputed; therefore it may be assumed to be false. Such a view has been controverted, it may consequently be considered to have been disproved.' This sentiment is not anywhere expressed in M. de Bunsen's volumes; but again and again, unless we misread him, it is implied and it is acted upon. Let us then for a moment, at this point, leave our special subject, and consider the worth of this principle when applied to a few other topics.

A student of Herodotus reads that historian's account of ancient Babylon, of the canal made through the peninsula which is terminated by Mount Athos, and of the tribe in Macedonia whose habitations are said to have stood in the middle of lakes. The historian's account of the great size of Babylon has been sometimes spoken of as if it resembled the narratives of Baron Munchausen: *ergo*, let it be rejected. The canal attributed to Xerxes is, as we all know, selected by Juvenal as a very specimen of the audacities of that lying Greece; and as for the lacustrine habitations, they were scarcely, if at all, mentioned by other authors, and must doubtless be referred to credulity, or the effects of a lively imagination. But, lo! we take up the latest history of Greece. It is the work of a man of profound and varied research, but by no means of credulous mind. Mr. Grote elaborately shows us, by evidence internal and external, and by the analogy of other Oriental achievements (as *e.g.* the Great Wall of China), that there is nothing at all incredible in the account of Babylon as delivered to us by the Father of History. So, again, with the help of Colonel Leake and others, he demonstrates the existence of the Athos canal, and shows that it was not an irrational undertaking. As regard the lacustrine habitations, numbers of them have come to light within the last ten years in Switzerland, Scotland, and elsewhere. Indeed, they may almost claim a small band of *literati* as peculiarly their own; among whom stands conspicuous M. Trognon, of Lausanne.

Such a principle, then, applied to secular history would lead to manifest absurdities. To what does it lead when applied to questions of theology? But where has M. de Bunsen employed it? We can only pause to point out one or two examples. Thus it has, no doubt, been questioned whether the later chapters of Isaiah were written by the same hand that penned the earlier ones. This is of course a perfectly fair subject for discussion. The writers in the *Home and Foreign Review*

seemed to incline towards the notion of a double authorship, on the ground of difference of style. Professor Jowett has supported the same view, but by an argument which involves a pure *petitio principii*. Hengstenberg has warmly, perhaps almost passionately, pleaded for the unity of authorship in the Dictionary edited by Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander; and Professor Plumptre has recently contributed to *Good Words* a paper which not only answers with much ingenuity many of the ordinary objections to the oneness of the book, but which likewise points out with peculiar force the great difficulties attendant upon the counter theory.

Now we do not say that Hengstenberg, Plumptre, and other defenders of the older view are unanswerable. There may be arguments in store against them, though they are as yet concealed *in petto* of their opponents. But this we do say, that such writers are not to be simply put aside, just as if they had never written. Let them, by all means, be fairly met, if they can be met; but in the mean time let writers on theology abstain from talking about the deuterio-Isaias, as if it were a proven case, universally acknowledged and fit to be made a basis for further reasonings. M. de Bunsen's volumes, we repeat, are full of such assumptions; often too of a far graver and more dangerous kind than the one which we have selected by way of illustration.

(4) Our author enjoys the great advantage of having two parental languages, English and German. But why does he almost entirely confine his attention to one school of German theologians only? For example: Dr. Döllinger has treated in a most masterly manner several of the questions discussed in these volumes. Why are the names of Döllinger and of other Munich divines entirely omitted from M. de Bunsen's references? Has the narrow and one-sided school in which he has been trained so effectually warped a naturally liberal temperament, that our author cannot trust himself even to give a glance at the writings of a learned Roman Catholic? Well, let us suppose that it was necessary that *they* should be dropped, as being quite without the pale of M. de Bunsen's toleration as a student. But where is the Lutheran school of which Stier, Olshausen, Dorner, Havernich, Hengstenberg, and others, are distinguished ornaments? These too, as we look at the notes of the work, are conspicuous by their absence. We welcome indeed the names of Neander, Mr. Young, and of a few more; but in general it seems but a partial list that this writer chooses from. Baur, for example, is constantly cited. And yet there is, we imagine, no doubt but that the home of Baur's teaching, the University of Tübingen, knows him no more. On the other

hand, there is an apparent absence of French names, and of ancient or mediæval authorities employed at first hand.

The number of questions raised by M. de Bunsen is exceedingly and overwhelmingly large. The teaching of Zoroaster, the tenets of Philo, the character of the Apocrypha, the apparent diversities between the writers of the New Testament, and the possibility of an esoteric doctrine having been taught by our blessed Lord;—all these problems, and a number besides, are more or less amply discussed in these volumes. As we conceive it probable that, at no distant period, our author's work may be obtained at a very moderate price at the book-stalls, unless it be bought in, we do not propose to detain our readers by any further investigation of its contents. It will be far more satisfactory to ourselves, and we really trust more interesting to others, if we select one, or at most two, of the themes thus suggested, and discuss them in our own way, so far as our knowledge enables us. Let us proceed to say something upon the Zendavesta; and then, if we have space and time, on the Apocrypha.¹

We begin thus:—Let us suppose two persons, who agree in accepting, with their whole hearts, the fundamental principles of Theism. Such acceptance logically necessitates the rejection of Atheism, Polytheism, Pantheism, and that modern figment of a being represented as a sort of constitutional monarch, bound and hemmed in by the trammels of laws over which he has no control. Even Strauss, in his 'Leben Jesu,' admits that such a being is *not* the God depicted in the Old Testament. We should consider it more correct to say that he is not God at all, in the true sense of that sublime and awful Name.

But Theism being admitted, a further question arises; namely, whether it has pleased the Creator to make to His creatures any revelation of His divine will. Let us suppose that the imaginary persons before us are agreed thus far, that there is at least no abstract nor inherent probability in the idea, but that at this point they part company, the one accepting the canonical Scriptures as a book imparting to men the knowledge of God's will; the other holding his judgment in abeyance, and considering it an open question whether he might not be led to accept the Koran, or the Vedas, or the Schu-King, or the Zendavesta, as on a level with, or possibly superior to, the Bible. Let this latter doubter then place before his Christian companion such questions as the following: 'Waiving for the present the Koran, the Vedas, the Schu-King, suppose I fix

¹ It will be seen that, as we proceeded, it was found impossible to consider both subjects. Any discussion on the Apocrypha must be postponed.

‘upon the Zendavesta as *the* revelation *par excellence*. Do you regard this book as a tissue of falsehoods and absurdities, or do you admit that it contains much truth, and is consequently entitled to a place on the same shelf with the canonical Scriptures? If it contains truth, what so great differences exist between it and the Bible?’

We shall try to furnish, or—if that be too bold a word—at least to suggest, some answers to these queries; but it will be necessary before we proceed to lay down one or two general principles.

The first is this: Those who do not believe in Christianity have no right to expect from Christians any dogmatic statement respecting the condition of bodies of men, to whom the light of the Gospel has never been vouchsafed. The Apostolic dictum runs thus: ‘What have I to do to judge them also that are without?... them that are without God judgeth.’¹ Any opinion therefore respecting Parseeism, Mahometanism, Buddhism, or the like, must be regarded as the judgment of individuals only; not of the Church of Christ. Nevertheless, from the earliest times, there have existed among Christians two distinct and parallel lines of thought in reference to these subjects. Some few years since, in an article on M. de Broglie’s ‘L’Église et l’Empire Romain’ these two phases were respectively termed in this review the Tertullianist and the Origenist. We do not see any reason to repent of this attempt at nomenclature. It implies, indeed, a sort of admission that either tendency, if pushed to excess, if unbalanced, if uncorrected by the other, may result in very serious error. But this is an admission from which we have no desire to shrink. We hold that the Tertullianist, while justly denouncing all that is evil in external systems, may lapse into lack of charity and end in Donatism or Montanism: while the Origenist, in his anxiety to see all that is excellent on every side, and discover ‘the soul of goodness in things evil,’ may gradually cease to appreciate the inestimable importance of dogma in its proper place, and may finally loose himself and his disciples in the ocean of a vague and boundless Latitudinarianism. Now the tendency of a Christian student to either of these schools will depend partly on his communion, partly on the age in which he lives, partly on his individual temperament. Partly on the communion to which he belongs; a Calvinist, as such, must almost of necessity adopt a more rigid line of thought than a Lutheran; and we see this exemplified in the writings of Calvin himself, and perhaps of Vitringa, as compared with those of a Dörner or a Hengsten-

¹ 1 Cor. v. 12, 13.

berg. Partly, from the age in which his lot is cast: Dean Prideaux is a writer of deep learning and of great piety and humility. But we cannot help thinking that it was mainly caused by the tone of the day that he always denounced, as utter impostors, Mahomet, Zoroaster, and Pythagoras. In our own time, if any one looks at the account of Pythagoras furnished by Mr. Grote and Dr. Döllinger—and it would be difficult to name men more opposite in training and general disposition,—he will find a very substantially accordant portrait of that great teacher, and one certainly most opposite to that given in Prideaux's very useful and learned work on 'The Connexion between the Histories contained in the Old and in the New Testament.' But much, too, must after all be allowed to the tone prevailing in single minds. Among earnest men some are naturally inclined to Tertullianism, some naturally to Origenism. Görres and Frederick von Schlegel were both Germans and both Roman Catholics: Möhler was of the same creed and of the same nation. Yet while Görres and Schlegel are fierce and almost bitter against Mahomet and his creed, Möhler, on the contrary, was the first Christian divine who placed before our eyes a more charitable, a more generous, and a more hopeful view of that strange phenomenon, the rise and progress of Islamism.

The temper of the *Christian Remembrancer* has not, we think, been usually Tertullianist. But it must be understood that, on matters which are in nowise part of the *depositum fidei*, and which have always been left in large measure to private judgment, this review cannot be expected to tie itself down to a particular line of thought. Some of our ablest contributors may view in a very different light the character of the fierce struggle still raging in North America: but this divergence does not necessitate a different theory upon questions affecting the Church of Christ. In like manner a man may treat the religious books of the Parsees with the contempt displayed by Sir William Jones, or with the respect displayed by Burnouf, without any necessary conflict on the subject of their belief and practice as Christian men. If, then, now or on any future occasion, there shall appear any shade of difference between the tone and temper which, on such questions, is exhibited by our contributors, we protest beforehand against it being construed into a note of division and inconsistency. The present writer is keenly alive to the special dangers of that school in which S. Clement of Alexandria and Origen are leaders, as well as of that which reckons Tertullian and perhaps S. Jerome among its guides: if he seems to follow in the track of the one rather than of the other, he wishes to do so with independence and

circumspection.¹ On the subject now in hand his studies are still very far from being matured: he has not succeeded in verifying all that Hengstenberg, M. Lajard, Dorner, and Döllinger have respectively traced in the religion of the ancient Persians; but he trusts that what he here lays down will be found true so far as it goes, and in want of additions and developments rather than of any positive corrections of a serious character.

The religion of the Persians starts with this antecedent fact in its favour, that the nation which received and practised it stands forth in the page of history as a very grand and noble one. If, as we still incline to believe, the empires of the prophet's vision are rightly understood to be the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman, it must be remarked that while the first of these persecuted God's Church as existent in His chosen race, and the last persecuted that same Church when it had become Catholic, the Persian empire was contrariwise the instrument of chastisement against Babylon, and the restorer of the exiled race to its ancient home in Palestine. Moreover, even in cases where our accounts of the Persians come through hostile channels, it is not difficult to cull many traits of nobleness. Herodotus speaks of their love of truth, and of their horror of debt, because it made men untruthful.² Even Xerxes, though injured by the inevitable seductions that beset a despot, is allowed to have exhibited many elements of gentleness and uprightness. Witness his tears at the grand review, as the thought of the passing nature of all human greatness and earthly life came over him; witness his refusal to put to death the two devoted Lacedæmonians, who offered their lives as an expiation for those of the king's ambassadors so atrociously slain in Sparta by their countrymen. If, as seems to have been the case, the Persian religion was more intolerant than any other form of heathenism; it must be remembered that, apart from the softening influences of the Gospel, intolerance is a necessary condition of earnestness. Both the patriarchal dispensation and the Mosaic must appear intolerant to those who regard them merely from without. And that we may not linger too long over such preliminary considerations, we will only just allude to the character and work of Cyrus, as one brought up under the religion

¹ After the above pages were written, we met with *Fraser's Magazine* for February, 1865, containing a paper on theology [elsewhere reviewed in the present number of the *Christian Remembrancer*] by the Dean of Westminster. The above remarks might possibly look like a *quasi* protest against that graceful collection of half truths. It is right therefore to state in what ignorance of Dean Stanley's paper they were written.

² 'Never was debtor that was not deceiver.' Henry Taylor. 'Virgin Widow' and 'Essay on Money.'

of Zoroaster; and to the impression made upon the minds of Nicolas,¹ Hengstenberg,² Lajard,³ Bähr, and Keble, by the spectacle of this people and their creed. It may suffice to quote the words of the two last named. 'Rectè quidem in nostro loco,' says Bähr on Herodotus i. 131, 'insistunt viri docti nostræ ætatis, ex quo simplicitas atque integritas religionis Persarum optimè cognoscatur, quæ purior et ab humanis superstitionibus magis immunis vix ulla per omnem fuerit antiquitatem.' 'Rem ipsam in ancipiti linquimus,' writes Mr. Keble with reference to a particular theory concerning the *Persæ* of Æschylus, 'ne vel poetæ laudatissimo, vel nobili Persarum genti, quam proximè à suis Hebræis caram fortasse habuit Divina Majestas, iniquiores esse videamur.'

Zoroaster, who stands, so to speak, in the position of a quasi-Moses to this religious book of a great Aryan race, is said by many (as for instance by Dean Prideaux) to have been contemporary with the prophet Daniel. But this assertion will not bear investigation: the books in which he is represented as a kind of mediator between Ormuzd and mankind are unquestionably of high antiquity; and though it may not be possible to assign the exact date, yet it seems probable that he was born about 1300 B.C. and was consequently not much later than Moses. The race inhabiting Bactria, Media, and Persia honoured him as the divinely-taught *founder* of their religion. It would have been more correct to consider him as its *reformer*. Of his genuine works many must have perished: and the Zendavesta, as we now possess it, is not the composition of a single hand nor of a single century.⁴

The Avesta, in the version now before us, is divided into three main portions. The first is called the Vendidad: it is composed of twenty-two Fargards or chapters, and is mainly occupied with the moral and ceremonial laws of the Mazdayacnian religion, to adopt the name here given to the Zoroastrian creed. The second part contains the Vispered and Yaçnas; that is to say, the invocations and prayers. These constitute what may be called the Mazdayacnian liturgy; which has, however, this peculiarity, that it was recited by priests alone, the presence of the laity being neither required nor expected. Thirdly comes the Khordah-Avesta, consisting of prayers intended for the use of the laity, and embodying numerous legends

¹ Etudes Philos. sur le Christianisme, tom. ii.

² Christology: Introduct.

³ Cit. ap. M. Nicolas.

⁴ For the statements contained in this paragraph, Döllinger is our chief authority. But they are confirmed by such investigation as we have been able to make for ourselves. The arguments against the possibility of the late date being the true one are well put in Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography,' Art. Zoroastres.

relating to pre-historic times. Let us proceed to consider each part separately. And first, then, of the Vendidad.

It opens with an introductory chapter in which Ormuzd explains to Zoroaster¹ how he created sixteen places, which places seem to be the countries best known to the early Iranians. As each place was created, Ahriman created an opposition to the same; to wit, some special sin or misery, such as sloth, poverty, sorcery, and the like. We next find an account of the proposal made by Ormuzd to Yima or Jima (the Jemshid of popular legend) that *he* should become the recorder and bearer of the divine law. Yima declines to act as the lawgiver, but he accepts from Ormuzd the commission of enlarging the earth and of rendering it happy. The third Fargard touches upon the things most pleasing and most displeasing to the earth. Among the former are the presence of a holy man, the habitation of a holy man and his family, and abundance of cattle; among the latter, dead bodies and the perversity on the part of the widow or children of a holy man. The general precepts of the chapter point to agriculture as the one duty (next to holiness) which is most acceptable to the Creator of the world, and most displeasing to the Devas or hosts of evil spirits who serve Ahriman. But these precepts are mixed up with much that is obscure,² trifling, and absurd. We then pass on in a succeeding chapter to the punishments for debt. These are atrociously severe, especially when compared with the punishments for other crimes. A horse-goad and an unknown implement, termed the Craôshô-charana, are appointed as the instruments of chastisement. The fifth and four following Fargards may, in many respects, be compared with some of the chapters in the book of Leviticus, as they treat of uncleanness arising from contact with dead bodies, and from other sources of defilement. Some incidental notices are curious: *e.g.* we obtain a hint of the respect paid to fire, a well-known feature of this religion. The tenth asks for means of preservation against the Naçus, the Devas, and their master, the Druchs or Ahriman:—

‘1. Zoroaster asked Ormuzd: Ormuzd! Heavenly, Holiest, Creator of the corporal world, Pure One!

‘2. How shall I combat the Drukhs which flies from the dead upon the

¹ It seems to us better, in a paper like the present, to preserve the popular orthography. The more correct forms, as given by Spiegel, Döllinger, and others, are as follows; for Ormuzd, Ahura-Mazda, the eternally wise; for Ahriman, Anra-mainyus or Angro-mainjus = pernicious spirit (he is also called Druckhs = Lie and Bend-vo = Tormentor); for Zoroaster, Zarathrustra; for Devas, Dævas.

² Allowance must be made for the imperfect mastery over Zend still possessed in by even the best proficient in it. But this darkness has now existed for the last 1,600 years. See Gibbon, chap. viii. and Neander's ‘Church History,’ vol. ii. p. 168 (Eng. Trans. ed. Bohn).

living; how shall I subdue the Naçus which defiles the living from the dead ?'

Some forms of words like charms, and certain defiance of Ahriman and his crew, are then given; but at the 25th verse we arrive at these following precepts:

- '35. Purity is the best thing for men after birth.
- '36. This is purity, O Zoroaster, the Mazdayagnian law.
- '37. He who keeps himself pure by good thoughts, words, and works.
- '38. As to the right purity of one's own body, that is the purification of every one in this corporeal world for his own state.
- '39. When he keeps himself pure by good thoughts, words, and works.'

The next chapters specify means of purifying buildings and objects of nature. They likewise enjoin prayers for deceased relatives. These prayers vary in number, decreasing with the distance of kinship, but they are to be doubled if the departed were sinners. As regards the succeeding chapter we shall avail ourselves of the Introduction prefixed to it by the translator:—

'This part of the Avesta was formerly most severely criticised by Sir W. Jones, as being unworthy of the founder of a religion; but that eminent scholar, in his eagerness to ridicule Anquetil, forgot to take into account the extreme importance and value of dogs to a pastoral people, residing in mountainous country infested with wolves, as appears to have been the case with the Zarathrustrian Aryans at the time the Vendidad was composed. In truth, amongst a pastoral people, the domestication of the dog was the first great step towards civilization; and so far from objecting to this Fargard as puerile, we ought rather to regard it as a proof of the extreme antiquity of the Vendidad. It must, however, be confessed that our ignorance of the mode of life among old Persians, and our imperfect knowledge of the language, render many of the allusions and comparisons extremely obscure.'—P. 102.

The beaver, or some kindred animal, would appear from the next chapter to be treated with similar respect: then follows a Fargard of warning against the crime of seduction, or of procuring abortion, and another of a quasi-Levitical character. (Levit. xii.) An absurd set of rules in Fargard xvii. on cutting the hair and paring the nails, ends thus—

- '30. All those are evil and noxious Drujas, who do not heed the Faith.
- '31. All have not the Faith who do not hear it.
- '32. All hear it who are not unclean.
- '33. All are unclean who are sinners.'

The next chapter in some measure recalls a well-known and somewhat Platonic passage in Milton's 'Comus;' the speech of the elder brother which begins—

'I mean that, too, but yet a hidden strength,
Which, if Heaven gave it, may be term'd her own.'

The nineteenth Fargard is very curious, inasmuch as it narrates an attempt on the part of Ahriman firstly to slay, and

then (when that fails) to tempt Zoroaster by an offer of worldly prosperity on the condition that the Prophet shall curse the Mazdayacnian law. Zoroaster remains victorious over both attempts. Ahriman and his Devas, vanquished and baffled, depart to hell. (It is right to say that this Fargard is admitted to have received interpolations.)

There is nothing worthy of special notice until the last chapter of the Vendidad, which is, however, confessedly of late origin. The following verses are deserving of attention :—

- ' 1. Ormuzd spoke to the Holy Zoroaster :
- ' 2. I, who am Ormuzd ; I who am the giver of good,
- ' 3. When I created this abode, the beautiful, brilliant, admirable,
- ' 4. (Saying) I will go forth, I will go over,
- ' 5. Then the serpent looked at me.
- ' 6. Thereupon the serpent, Ahriman, who is full of death, made in opposition to me nine sicknesses, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nineteen thousand.'

Manthra-çpenta, the Holy Word, declines the task of seeking a remedy for these evils on the ground of incapacity: whereupon Ormuzd sends Naïrgô-çanha, seemingly his own embodied Word, to practise healing by the production of various kinds of animals.

We now turn to the second part, the Liturgy. This the priests were bound to recite every twenty-four hours, principally in the night. It was combined with an offering of holy water and of Haôma (of which more presently) to Ormuzd, and to the good spirits. The recitation was held to be a necessary condition for performing the rites of purification.

To us these Visperedes and Yaçnas seem to involve the most wearisome sameness. There is also a strange mixture of appeals to the good genii intermingled with created objects, as for instance the mountains. Moreover, they seem to tread upon the very verge of polytheism. Nevertheless, as we are anxious to give the fullest recognition to all the good features of these books, we select at random a few of the most striking thoughts:—

- ' Hail ! Ormuzd praise we ;
- ' Happiness for the pure man praise we ;
- ' The entire prosperity praise we ; the coming to nought is for wicked men.
- ' The unbounded prosperity praise we. As fortunate praise we those pure, him who is, was, or is to be.'—*Vispered* xxi.
- ' This advancement we praise—this victory we praise.
- [Certain holy prayers are then named]
- ' In order, through the utterance of good thoughts, words, and works,
- ' To withstand evil thoughts, words, and works ;
- ' For an atonement for my false thoughts, words, and works.'—*Vispered* xxiii.

‘ May we also thus be well provided with remedies and food, we who belong to the creatures of Ormuzd.

‘ Be serviceable to us, ye stone mortars, ye iron mortars.

‘ For us, the Mazdayacnians, who bring offering with wood, with sweet odours, with prayers at the right time.’—*Vispered* xiv.

In the eighth Yaçna we find the worshippers (rightly and properly, according to the law of religion everywhere and at all times) partaking of the offering which they render:—

‘ 1. With purity give I food, Myazda, waters, trees, the well-created cow, Haöma and Para-haöma, wood and fragrance. Laud be to Ormuzd, to the Ahuna-vaisya, to the well spoken-speech.

‘ 3. To the Haöma, to the Mánthra, to the pure Zoroaster. May he come to us in holiness.

‘ 4. “Eat, ye men, of this Myazda, ye who are worthy of it, through purity and piety.”’

The editor here subjoins a note, ‘ It is singular that the language of this verse is older than that of the rest of the chapter.’ Possibly the fact is less singular than it appears at first sight. We suspect that in most of the Oriental religions, the duty of partaking of the sacrifice is one of the most thoroughly primitive elements; but that in process of time it was in some cases eliminated. Now a reformer might be glad to insert the proclamation of this duty in words borrowed from some older source.

The following is one of these reminiscences of the golden age, surely no other than the dispensation of Paradise, which meet us at every turn, both in the East and West; alike in Hesiod and Virgil, alike in the Vedas and the Avesta. Inquiry is made respecting the original discoverer of the mystic drink, the Haöma; and the Haöma, being personified, replies:—

‘ Vivanhao has, first of men in the corporeal world, prepared me.

‘ This holiness became thereby his portion, this wish was granted to him :

‘ 13. That a son was born to him, Yima, the bright, possessing a good congregation.

‘ 14. The most majestic of beings, who most gazes at the sun amongst men ;

‘ 15. Since on account of his rule men and cattle were immortal, water and trees not dried up,

‘ 16. The eatable food inexhaustible.

‘ 17. In the wide rule of Yima there was no cold, no heat ;

‘ 18. *No old age and death, no envy created by the Devas.*

‘ 19. Father and son walked along, fifteen years old in countenance, each of the two,

‘ 20. So long as Yima of the good rule, the son of Vivanhao, governed.’

In this (the ninth) Yaçna, Zoroaster is named as the son of the fourth person who prepared the Haöma. Superior to the three spiritual heroes mentioned before him, Zoroaster is said to have overcome the Devas, who were previously going about on

the earth in the shape of men; insomuch, it would seem, that subsequently they have no corporeal bodies, but only souls. The many appeals to the virtues of this marvellous beverage in the Yaçna end with a summons to it as a weapon to protect the body against the assaults of impurity.

From the thirteenth Yaçna we extract the following:—

‘1. Drive away the Devas, I profess myself a Zoroastrian, an expeller of the Devas, a follower of the teaching of Ormuzd.

‘2. A hymn-singer of the Amēsha-çpēntas, a praiser of the Amēsha-çpēntas;

‘3. To Ormuzd, the good, endued with good wisdom, I offer all good.

‘11. With prayer to Asha with uplifted [offering ?] pray I as follows :

‘12. May I not hereafter bring harm and affliction to the Mazdayagnian clans,

‘13. Not on account of love for the body, nor for the love of life.

‘14. I deny rule to the bad, wicked, wandering in error, evil-witting Devas,

‘15. The most lying of beings, the most wicked of beings, the most reprobate of beings.

‘16. I deny to the Devas, to those possessed with Devas, to the sorcerers, the possessed by sorcerers, to all evil beings :

‘17. I deny with thoughts, words, works, and tokens, rule to those that are bad and fearful.

‘18. Thus has Ormuzd commanded Zoroaster,

‘19. In all questionings, in all meetings in which Ormuzd and Zoroaster conversed with one another.

‘20. So also has Zoroaster renounced the rule of Devas.

‘22. Thus I also, as a Mazdayagnian, a follower of Zoroaster, renounce the rule of the Devas, as the pure Zoroaster renounced them.’

Very striking, too, in our judgment, is the forty-second Yaçna, which is one of the most ancient chapters, known as Gâthâs. We select the following verses:—

‘For the Holy One, held I thee, Ormuzd.

‘5. When I first saw thee at the origin of the world,
As thou effectest that deeds and prayers find their reward—
Evil for evil, good blessings for the good,
At the last dissolution of the Creation through thy virtue.

‘6. At this dissolution there will come to Thy kingdom,
O Holy, Heavenly Ormuzd, through good-mindedness,
He through whose deeds the word increases in purity;
Armaiti teaches them, the leaders
Of Thy spirit, whom no one deceives.

‘7. For the Holy One held I thee, Ormuzd,
As it came to me through Vohu-manô,
And asked me, “Who art thou, to whom dost thou belong ?”
How shall I at the question teach to know the signs of the day
In reference to thy worlds and to thy bodies ?

‘8. Then spake Zoroaster to him first :
Since manifest torments are desirable for the wicked,
So may I suffice for strong joy to the pure,
Since I will bring knowledge in the power of the Ruler,
So will I, as long as I exist, laud and praise thee, O Ormuzd.’

We might cite very similar passages from the few remaining Yaçnas. But it must be sufficient at present to refer to a remarkable verse (xlv. 8), which teaches that 'it is not Ormuzd who punishes the wicked, but that the wicked man's own hatred to a good life drives him to a bad life, and so occasions his punishment.'¹

A previous passage also deserves special notice, being explained, says the editor, by the tradition that at the time of the Resurrection the hosts of Ormuzd and those of Ahriman will encounter each other, and the former prove victorious. It occurs in Yaçna xliii. 15:—

'That will I ask Thee, tell me the right, O Ahura!
Whether Thou rulest openly in that time with purity
When both the imperishable hosts come together?
According to those laws which Thou, O Mazda, teachest,
Where, and to which of both, givest Thou the victory.'²

The following calls to mind the message to Eli (1 Sam. ii. 30), and similar passages of Holy Writ (Yaçna, xlv. 11):—

'May there come to the Devas—then to men—
Scorn; if they scorn Him,
The contrary if they highly esteem Him:
To the serviceable wise is through the Holy Spirit,
Friend, Brother, Father, Ormuzd.'

We have not space to enter deeply into the obscurities of the third part, the Khordah-Avesta. Some portions, which are not found in Zend, but in the later Parsee, have been very properly printed in a different type in the edition before us. These parts, though Persic in the main, look to us (though we say this with diffidence) as if they had been modified by men who had caught some echoes of Christianity.

But we cannot refrain from extracting at length a fragment which has arrested our attention as much as anything in the entire series. It is concerned with the state of the disembodied soul; and though some of its imagery may sound strange and possibly rather materialized, yet we can hardly think but that it may fairly claim a place beside some of the finest passages of a kindred nature in Plato: say for instance the conclusion of the 'Republic' or of the 'Gorgias.' We have ventured to italicize some of the more peculiarly striking expressions.

'1. Zoroaster asked Ormuzd: Ormuzd, Heavenly, Holiest, Creator of the corporeal world, Pure! when a pure man dies where does his soul dwell during this night?

¹ This explanation of an obscure passage is given by the editor. It seems quite satisfactory, and may well be compared with S. James i. 13—15, and with the general argument of Bishop Butler in his 'Analogy,' pt. i. ch. 4.

² We have here left the correct forms, having explained that Ahura-Mazda = Ormuzd.

* 2. Then answered Ormuzd : Near his head it sits itself down, reciting the Gâthâ Ustavaiti, praying happiness for itself : "Happiness be to the man who conduces to the happiness of each. May Ormuzd create, ruling after his wish." *On this night the soul sees as much joyfulness as the whole living world possesses.*

* 3. Where does the soul dwell throughout the second night ?

* 4. Then answered Ormuzd : Near his head it sits itself, &c. (as in verse 2).

* 5. Where does the soul stay throughout the third night ?

* 6. Then answered Ormuzd : Near his head it sits itself, &c. (as in verse 2). Also in this night this soul sees as much joyfulness as the whole living world possesses.

* 7. When the lapse of the third night turns itself to light, the soul of the pure man goes forward, recollecting itself at the perfume of plants. A wind blows to meet it from the midday region, from the midday regions, a sweet-scented one, more sweet-scented than the other winds.

* 8. Then it goes forward ; the soul of the pure man receiving the wind in the nose (saying) : Whence blows this wind, the sweetest-scented which I have ever smelt with the nose ?

* 9. In that wind (?) there comes to meet him his own law in the figure of a maiden, one beautiful, shining, with large breasts, praiseworthy body ; one noble, with brilliant face, one of fifteen years, as fair in her growth as the fairest creatures.

* 10. Then to her (the maiden) speaks the soul of the pure man, asking : What maiden art thou, whom I have seen here as the fairest of maidens, in body ?

* 11. Then replies to him his own law : *I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, words, and works ; thy good law, the own law of thine own body.* Which would be in reference to thee (like) in greatness, goodness, and beauty, sweet-smelling, victorious, harmless, as thou appearest to me.

* 12. Thou art like me, O well-speaking, well-thinking, well-acting, youth, devoted to the good law, so in greatness, goodness, and beauty, as I appear to thee.

* 13. If thou hast seen one there practise witchcraft, practise unlawfulness, and bribery, fell trees, then thou didst set thyself down whilst thou recitedst the Gâthâs, offeredst to the good waters and to the fire of Ormuzd, whilst thou didst seek to satisfy the pure man who came near and from far.

* 14. *Thou hast made the pleasant yet more pleasant to me, the fair yet fairer, the desirable yet more desirable,* that sitting in a high place, sitting in a yet higher place, in these (Paradises) Humata, Hûkta, Hvarsta. Afterwards men praise me, and ask Ormuzd, praised long ago.

* 15. The soul of the pure man goes the first step, and arrives in (the Paradise) Humata ; the soul of the pure man takes the second step, and arrives at (the Paradise) Hûkta ; it goes the third step, and arrives at (the Paradise) Hvarsta ; the soul of the pure man takes the fourth step, and arrives at the Eternal Lights.

* 16. To it speaks a pure one deceased before, asking it : How art thou, O pure deceased, come away from the fleshly dwellings, from the earthly possessions, from the corporeal world, hither to the invisible ; from the perishable world hither to the imperishable, has it happened to thee—to whom (be) hail !—long ?

* 17. Then speaks Ormuzd : Ask not him whom thou askest, for he is come on the fearful, terrible, trembling, way, the separation of body and soul.

* 19. *Bring him hither of the food of the full fatness, that is the food for a youth who thinks, speaks, and does good, who is devoted to the good law after death ; that is the food for the woman who especially thinks good, speaks good, does good, the following, obedient, pure after death.*

But this, alas! is not the law for all. Universalism is not the doctrine of these books, any more than it is the teaching of Pindar, or of Plato, or of Virgil. What large body of men ever can persuade itself that all are safe, however they may have spent their time on earth?

This fragment thus proceeds:—

' 19. Zoroaster asked Ormuzd : Ormuzd, Heavenly, Holiest, Creator of the corporeal world, Pure! when a wicked one dies, where does the soul dwell throughout this night ?

' 20. Then answered Ormuzd : There, O pure Zoroaster, near the head it runs about whilst it utters the prayer Kemannm, "Which land shall I praise, whither shall I go praying, O Ormuzd?" In this night the soul sees as much displeasing as the whole living world.

' 21. Where does this soul then keep itself the second night through ?

' 22. Throughout the second night it runs about near the head, &c. (as in verse 20).

' 23. Where does this soul keep itself the third night ?

' 24. Throughout the third night it runs, &c. (as verse 20).

' 25. When the lapse of the third night approaches towards light, O Zoroaster, then goes the soul of the wicked man to the impure place, recollecting itself continually by the stench. To it comes a wind blowing from the north region, from the north region, an evil-smelling one, more evil-smelling than other winds.

' 26. When the soul of the wicked man receives this wind into the nose, it goes (saying), Whence comes this wind which I smell with the nose, as the most evil-smelling wind ?

' 27—32. . . .

' 33. The fourth step takes the soul of the wicked man *and arrives at the darkness without beginning.*

' 34. To it speaks a formerly deceased wicked one, asking it : How, O deceased wicked one, art thou come away from the Drukhs, from the fleshly abode, from the earthly possessions, from the corporeal world to the spiritual, from the perishable world to the imperishable ; how long—woe to thee!—was it ?

' 35. Then speaks Ahriman : Ask it nothing, it whom thou askest, which has wandered on the fearful, terrible, trembling way, the separation of body and soul.

' 36. Bring hither food, poison, and mixed with poison, for that is the food for a youth who thinks, speaks, and does evil, belongs to the wicked law, after his death ; this is the food for a harlot, who most thinks, speaks, and does evil, is indocile and disobedient, the wicked after her death.'

Enough has, we think, been exhibited of these books to justify us in returning at this point to the questions of that imaginary sceptic, who might be inclined to place the Zendavesta on a level with the Bible. 'But surely,' it will possibly be suggested by some, 'such a phenomenon is too imaginary to need being

¹ The MSS. omit these verses, which must, however, of course have contained a description exactly the converse of verses 9—15. In the Minokhireel the verses corresponding to this passage say that the soul of the wicked meets the ugliest and most hateful maiden that can be conceived ; and on asking her who she is, he is told that she is his own wicked deeds, &c. It is characteristic of Ahriman and the Devas to mock, as well as to inflict torments. (These notes are given by the translator.)

taken into account.' Not so: we have before us the spectacle of one who was consecrated to the Episcopate speaking of documents, inferior to these Zendic ones, as sources of truth which admit of full comparison with Holy Scripture.¹ To argue with Dr. Colenso is no part of our immediate business. It may be enough to refer to the remarks of a colonial bishop, endowed with gifts of far calmer and deeper thought. 'Nor must he wonder,' says the Bishop of Calcutta,² 'if our Pundits welcome his [Dr. Colenso's] writings as auxiliaries against the Gospel, when he extols pantheistic prayers and thanksgivings to Rama, here regarded as inculcating the belief that good and evil are alike from God, and calls them, "living truths learned by the secret teaching of the Holy Spirit," to be placed side by side with the revelations of Scripture. It is probable that such passages were penned partly in haste and partly in ignorance, but we read them with sorrow and surprise.'

To return, however, to the books immediately under consideration. That they contain much solemn and weighty truth is a fact which we rejoice to think of, and would most ungrudgingly proclaim. Even if, with Hardwick, we suppose them in their present form to date from only A.D. 226, yet in that case we must probably hold that they represent the main outlines of the older documents in all that concerns fundamental doctrines, somewhat as (to use that writer's illustration) the existing English Prayer-book retains so much of the Sarum Breviary.³ To some chapters of the Avesta, and particularly to the Yacnas, may be applied, in good measure, what Möhler said of the utterances of Mahomet in the Koran; namely, that they display 'a very original piety . . . which cannot possibly be forced or artificial.'⁴ Of the Avesta too it may, we trust, be said, 'that many millions of men have fostered from it an estimable, moral, and religious life, and one cannot believe that they have drawn from an empty spring.'⁵

When, however, we attempt to analyze that teaching, the task appears to be one of very considerable difficulty. It is true of many systems, but it applies very specially to the Zoroastrian system, that a very different colour may be given to it, in proportion as its critic is inclined *in pejus, vel in partem meliorem, interpretari*. Archdeacon Hardwick cites the language

¹ 'Colenso on the Pentateuch.' Part I. ad fin.

² Charge delivered in A.D. 1863, p. 82.

³ 'Christ and other Masters,' part iv. chap. iii. The writer did not look at Hardwick, or at Milman ('Hist. of Christianity,' vol. i. chap. ii.) until after having completed his own studies of the Avesta. He has learnt much from both, especially from the work of the late lamented Archdeacon, but has not found reason to change to any serious extent the conclusions at which he had arrived.

⁴ 'Ueber das Verhältniss des Islams zum Evangelium,' p. 370.

⁵ Ibid.

of an Anglicized Parsee, Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee, to the effect that the religion of Zoroaster inculcates pure Theism; that it represents the Creator as the One Ruler and Preserver of the universe; that it does not require any image of God for the purpose of worship; and that the adoration of any other object would be blasphemous. The same writer maintains that a Parsee while engaged in prayer is merely 'directed to stand 'before the fire, or to direct his face towards the sun, as the 'most proper symbols of the Almighty.' Further, he interprets Ahriman to be a mere personification of the principle of evil.

We are not conscious of having come to the study of these books in a hostile or prejudiced frame of mind. So far as our extracts are concerned, we lie far more open to the charge of having kept back what is childish, wearisome, and absurd, than of having selected unfavourable specimens of the *Vendidad*, *Yaçnas*, or *Khordah-Avesta*. But we find it scarcely possible to conceive that the interpretation assigned by Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee is correct. To us he seems to have gazed upon the volume that taught religion to the fathers of his race through a glass of strongly Europeanized tint, and to have seen in the *Avesta* precisely that which he wished to see.

That the creed of the ancient Persians originally taught Monotheism, immortality, the need of purity, of faith, and of repentance; the duty of worship and of making offerings to the Creator; probably too the pre-existence of an age of innocence, and so possibly by implication the fall; perhaps too a doctrine of original sin:¹ all this we are prepared to admit. That it is surpassed in excellence by no heathen system we have already granted. In no other is the idea of creation by the Almighty (as distinguished from emanation or arrangement of co-existent matter) equally prominent, in no other is there a greater call upon the individual mind to combat evil. We may recognise also something like the Scripture teaching concerning guardian angels, and the seven spirits around the throne of God, combined with an apparent hope of a future conflict, after which the good genii and all that they foster will prove far more triumphant than heretofore.

With Morris, Elphinstone, Windischmann, and many more, we may allow that the books respectively held sacred in China, in India, in Bactria, and Persia, did really retain a great deal of sacred truth which had been lost or dimmed in Western Europe, where the most cultivated nations had no such standard to ap-

¹ Döllinger asserts the Parsee form of this deep truth to be as follows: that an evil spirit whispers into the infant's ear the accursed word, and that the betrayed child says after him, 'Ahriman is the true God.' We have failed to verify his reference; but the fault is probably our own.

peal to. To name these books with the Holy Scriptures, even in the way of contrast, will seem to many of our readers a profanation. But if such tasks be not undertaken in a right spirit there are, alas! plenty who will attempt them in a wrong one. The writer of these lines would be very thankful if he could but add a few slight contributions in a right direction to the labours of such investigators as Hardwick, Möhler, Döllinger, Hengstenberg, and Dr. Mill.

To us it certainly seems that the teaching of the Zendavesta is not thoroughly and purely monotheistic. We desiderate the definite emphatic assertions of a holier Book, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. . . Thou shalt have no other gods but Me.' And so too as regards the worship of the elements. A Parsee, who has long dwelt in a Christian land, may succeed in persuading himself that the sun and the fire were to be regarded as symbols of the Divinity, and nothing more. But not such do we believe to be the impression that would be made on any impartial student. Here, again, we lack such plain declarations as that of Job: 'If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand; this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge: for I should have denied the God that is above.'² Certain it is that Christians were persecuted in Persia because they refused to invoke fire and the sun. This may have partly come from an infusion of Magianism; but still real worship of fire does seem to be Zoroastrian.³

The position of Ahriman, if not actually involving dualism, is still unduly magnified. In Catholic theology Satan is, after all, a creature, and a creature only. His rival is not God, who is *his* Maker as well as *ours*; but among the Angels it is S. Michael; and among men, Christ in His *human* nature, overcoming the adversary by righteousness and justice, not by mere authority and power. The condition of the Evil One in the Zend writings looks to us more like that incorrect view maintained, or at least implied, by Milton in the 'Paradise Lost.' In each case there is too much like an opposition to the Almighty being represented as on equal terms. To say that Ahriman in the Avesta is not a person is surely the excess of prejudice: one might with equal truth deny the personality of its Ormuzd.

Herodotus,⁴ and others have remarked on the absence of the burnt-offering from the Persian sacrifices. According to Zoroastrian notions this would have been a sin against fire. They offered, however, with readings of the law, fruits, milk, oil, &c.; but above all, the mystic *Homa* or *Haōma*. This liquid, the

¹ So, too, Hardwick and Dollinger

² Job xxxi. 26—28.

³ I. 132.

juice of a plant, is greatly celebrated in the Indian Vedas, under the name of *Soma*; the interchange of the aspirate and the sibilant being, as is well known, very common among the Aryan languages.¹ It was mixed with whey, wheat and other meal, and brought into a state of fermentation. The sacrificer duly partook of what he offered, and the effect of the draught was narcotic and intoxicating.²

And here, if we mistake not, appears one of the very deep differences between the true priests and prophets of God's chosen race, and the ministers of systems enshrining indeed many 'wrecks of Paradise;' but painfully marked and disfigured by a thousand evidences of the corruption of man's fallen nature. Nowhere in the pages of Old or of New Testament do we hear of the revealers of God's will having recourse to any purely physical source of excitement. The one apparent exception is not a real one. The employment of the divine art of music, the instruments of melody wherewith the company of the prophets met Saul, and David soothed the sorrows of the same monarch, and under whose influence Elisha gave inspired orders:³ this is something utterly distinct from the condition induced by such means as the draught of fermented liquor. Nobly and grandly does the calmness with which God's commissioned servants uttered their revelations contrast with the wild shriek of the Pythoness at Delphi, the fury of the priests of Bacchus or of Cybele, the intoxication of the Assassins by Hashish, the excitement wrought in Indians by Soma, or in Zoroastrians by Haōma. We do not say that all these cases were equally bad, equally removed from the mysterious truths of sacramental influences; but there is, we conceive, enough to show that between even the least corrupted usage (which is probably the Persian) and the living truth there yawns a mighty gulf. Still, just as the Persians looked upon Ahriman as somewhat of a *simia Dei*, to use a Patristic expression, even so, too, in the idea that through the Haōma the Deity manifested Himself, we may trace the distorted lineaments of mighty and consoling verities.

Its freedom from anthropomorphism, the doctrine denounced by it,⁴ and the general reasonableness of its doctrine of penance, are among the bright features of the Zendavesta. But although we have diligently sought for these, and suppose that it would be slightly less absurd to mention it with the Christian's Bible than it is in some of the cases selected by Dr. Colenso, yet, take

¹ Cf. *ῥs* = *sus*, *ῥrrd* = *septem*, and a long list of similar variations between Latin and Greek.

² Spiegel, Döllinger, and others.

³ 1 Sam. x. 5, 6; xvi. 23, and 2 Kings iii. 15.

⁴ Döllinger gives the following list: insolence, ingratitude, lying, cheating, breaking a promise, sloth, rape, pæderastia, thieving.

the Zendavesta at its best, and how poor it becomes by such a juxtaposition, if we venture on it just for a passing moment ! The Bible teaches Theism purely, definitely, dogmatically ; the Avesta with faltering and uncertain note. The Bible shows that man is fallen, and teaches the cause and the means of recovery ; the Avesta is uncertain, obscure on all these cardinal points. The Bible contains true and definite prophecies long since fulfilled ; the Avesta has not the semblance of such a thing. The Bible stakes its credit on the truth of at least one stupendous miracle ;¹ the Avesta makes no such challenge. The Bible not merely proclaims the love of God didactically, but it gives us the history of His true servants, shows how He has watched over His people, and while in the Psalms of the Older Covenant it supplies a fund of erotic devotion unknown elsewhere, transcends even those proofs of loving-kindness by the marvel of the Incarnation revealed in the Newer Dispensation. In all this the Avesta has no share.

To similar inferences should we be led by any attempt to compare the breadth and range of duties taught in Holy Writ with the comparatively limited range of the Zoroastrian system. Of literary beauties we do not speak : even the most Rationalistic critics, a Paine, a Strauss, a Renan, are keenly conscious of the immense difference in this respect between the Hebrew and the Greek Scriptures, and these would-be Bibles of other nations ; nay, they even admit the fitness of the latter to be the instructors of many nations ; while the Vedas, the Schu-King, the Zendavesta, have been each limited to some one or two families of the earth.

And now, what test do we apply to such books ? how do we discriminate between their truth and falsehood, their merits and defects ? The answer simply is, that we judge them by the religion of Christ Jesus. The influence of the Chinese religious books has long been evanescent ; the Vedas contradict the existing religion of Hindostan ; the Zendavesta awakes little interest even among the Parsees themselves, save when a native has had his spirit of inquiry quickened in Christian lands. About a century has passed since the adventurous Anquetil du Perron made the discovery of these writings, and to the best of his ability translated them. All honours to him and to subsequent labourers, Kleuker, Rask, Eugène Burnouf, Brockhaus, Westergaard, Haug, and Spiegel ! They have, one and all, contributed to our means of investigating many deep and interesting problems. May we, who enter into their labours, strive to show ourselves worthy of the privilege, by endeavouring in a calm and reverent fearlessness to grapple with such further difficulties as still beset our progress towards the discovery of truth !

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 14, 15.

ART. VIII.—*Φωτίου Ἐπιστολαί. Ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Ν. ΒΑΛΕΤΤΑ, πρώην Διευθυντοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σύρῳ Ἑλληνικοῦ Παιδαγωγείου. Ἐν Λονδίνῳ : D. Nutt, 270, Strand. 1864.*

WE are about to approach one of the hardest of Liturgical questions: a question which must undoubtedly exercise considerable influence over any negotiations for the future re-union of the Church. We can perhaps state it most easily in a series of inquiries.

I. Is it possible that the divergence of East and West in the most solemn part of the Liturgy, the omission by the Latin Church of the Invocation, which is the crowning seal of Consecration in the Eastern Church, should have existed from the beginning?

II. If that be answered in the negative; then is there reason to believe that the Invocation itself is neither Apostolic nor Isapostolic, but a late insertion?

III. Or, is there any ground for believing that the Latin Church, having originally possessed it, has since, from whatever cause, omitted it?

IV. And if that seem likely; then to what influence is this omission to be probably ascribed?

It is to these questions to which the following paper will attempt a reply: though we foresee that one article cannot possibly conclude the subject.

I. It is not easy to imagine the shock to our feelings which so wonderful a divergence would occasion, were we not so habituated to it as a matter of fact. But some idea may be formed, when we see how those who, without much knowledge of, but with deep feeling regarding, the subject, and who have been only and entirely accustomed to the English office, are shocked when they first hear the Scotch Liturgy. To them it seems not only perfectly unaccountable, but altogether profane, that, after those words in which they have learnt to believe that the whole transmuting efficacy lies, the priest should still continue, by beseeching the Holy Ghost 'to make this bread the Body of 'Thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of 'Thy Christ.' And when we remember the wonderful unanimity of heart and soul in the Apostolic Church,—the twelve years that, according to very ancient tradition, the Apostles dwelt in Jerusalem together,—the thousands of Liturgies which together they must have celebrated: that while S. James laid so great a stress on the Invocation in his form, S. Peter should altogether

have ignored it in his own, is surely incredible. And we must remember this: the early Church of Rome was scarcely anything else than a Greek colony of Christians in a Roman city. We must all have been struck with the number of Greek names in St. Paul's list of salutations to that Church. Epenetus, 'the first-fruits of Achaia,' Andronicus, Amplias, Apelles, Aristobulus, Herodias, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Persis, Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, Hermes, Philologus, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas and Stachys. These on the Greek side. On the Latin only, for certain, Urban, Rufus, Junia and Julia: and perhaps Mary. The household of Narcissus, that is, undoubtedly, some of his slaves, were just as likely to be Greeks as Latins. And it seems certain that, whatever might have been the case had the Gospel in those very early days taken firm hold of the Roman part of the population, forming them into a Church, separate from, or only remotely connected with, the East; in that case it might not have been altogether impossible to imagine that the Liturgy did receive some, it might be considerable, alteration. It is clearly and manifestly impossible that Easterns, settling at Rome, would not have brought their own Liturgy in its fulness and continued to employ it. In confirmation of this remark, it is also well to observe how many of the primitive popes have Greek names: Linus, Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander, Telesphorus, Hyginus; all these within the first century and a half.

Let this also be noticed; no one will doubt that St. Mark was really sent by St. Peter to found the Church of Alexandria. And in confirmation of this fact, it may be noticed that the Liturgy of the 'Evangelical See,' in several particulars, much more closely resembles the Petrine Office than do those of any of her sisters. But the Liturgy of St. Mark has the Invocation at least as decidedly as any other Oriental Rite. No; whatever hypothesis on the subject may be tenable, it is absolutely incredible that, from the beginning, one Apostle followed the present Latin, and others the present Oriental, use. Let it be said, if you please, that the East has inserted, or the West omitted, the Invocation, but not that the insertion and omission co-existed in Apostolic, or even Isapostolic times.

II. If, then, it is impossible to conceive that the Primitive Church both employed and omitted the Invocation, what are we to say to the second hypothesis; that at some later, but still early, period, the great Eastern Communions inserted it?

Here, of course, the starting point is the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril. In the middle of the fifth century, then, the Invocation in the Liturgy of Jerusalem was the same, and held the same place, that it is and holds now; and was then of age

beyond the memory of man. We go backwards to the Clementine Liturgy, which is of the second century; there is the Invocation also. We still go back to S. James's Liturgy, and there, in one piece with, and with one texture of, the oblation from which—as we now think we may fairly assume proved—S. Paul quotes the famous text, *Eye hath not seen*, the same Invocation has its place.

But how could it be that in India, in Central Asia, in Egypt, among Nestorians, Monophysites, Armenians, everywhere, it is the same thing; everywhere a component part of the Liturgy, and not a trace of insertion, rent, or patch to be seen, if indeed the Invocation did not exist from the very beginning? How could theological writers of all schools, all nations, all sects,—Bar-Hebræus, and Severus, and Nierses, no less than Cyril,—agree in accounting it the keystone of their respective Liturgies, unless in very deed it was there from the first? This branch of our subject is hardly worth an argument.

III. But then it follows, by the exhaustive process that, if the Apostolic Church could not have ever differed regarding such a subject, and if the Orientals have not inserted, the Latins must have omitted, the Invocation. And to this point we now address ourselves.

And firstly, we have the remarkable fact that, whether in the Petrine Liturgy or not, in other Liturgies more or less manipulated by Rome, it has more or less, yet not entirely, disappeared. This is so very important, that we shall prove it at some length. Let us examine the *Post Pridie* of the Mozarabic Breviary more carefully than has hitherto been done, and see what traces we can find that it was, originally, a true Invocation.

Sundays in Advent.—1. No trace.

2. No trace.

3. A very slight trace. 'Veni, Domine . . . His quoque sacrificiis nostris ita Sanctificationem tuam infunde ut,' &c.

4. No trace.

5. No trace.

6. Slight. 'Quæsumus, oblationis hujus libamina sanctificare digneris.'

Christmas.—Very strong. 'Rogantes profusissimam tuæ misericordiæ pietatem, ut in eodem Spiritu quo te in carne Virginitas incorrupta concepit, has hostias Trinitas indivisa sanctificet.' A remarkable passage. This Mass is of the fourth century at latest.

S. Stephen, S. John, Holy Innocents.—No trace. But the two latter Missæ have no character of especial antiquity.

Circumcision.—No trace.

Sunday before Epiphany.—No trace.

Epiphany.—No trace. A very remarkable Mass; certainly older than A.D. 380, because it has reference to the Epiphany Baptism, which S. Damasus, consulted by Himerius of Tarragona, about that time forbade, and which was finally abrogated by the counsel of Jerome. But the shortness of its noble *Post Pridie* contrasts remarkably with the great length of the other collects, and forcibly suggests the idea that some sentences have been omitted.

First Sunday after Epiphany.—A trace. ‘. . . . flagitamus, ut effundas in his hostiis Sancti tui Spiritus largitionem, ut, dum a te benedicta sumimus,’ &c.

Second Sunday after Epiphany.—A most remarkable *Post Pridie*. ‘Ob hoc ergo quæsumus famulantes, ut oblationem hanc Spiritus Sancti permutatione sanctifices, ET CORPORIS AC SANGUINIS D.N.J.C. PLENÂ TRANSFORMATIONE CONFORMAS (confirmas?).’ Here is an express acknowledgment that, whenever that Mass was written, the Spanish agreed with the Eastern Church in considering the *transformatio* not *plena* till the Invocation.

Third, Fourth, and Fifth Sunday after Epiphany.—A slightest trace in each. The Fourth Sunday has a most lovely P. P.

Sixth Sunday after Epiphany.—A strong trace. ‘Rogamus ut hæc Oblatio sit semper accepta, simulque efficiatur illo S. superveniente Spiritu benedicta.’

Seventh Sunday after Epiphany.—No trace.

Eighth Sunday after Epiphany.—No trace. But manifestly mutilated, for it ends thus: ‘ut omnes de diabolica astutia liberati, non insidiantem timeat, sed curantem’

Ninth Sunday after Epiphany.—No trace.

Ash-Wednesday.—(Modern.)

First Sunday in Lent.—(Originally the Missa for the Second.) Strong trace. ‘Emitte Spiritum tuum de Sanctis cœlis tuis, quo sanctificentur oblata,’ &c.

Wednesday.—A very slight trace.

Friday.—No trace. But these *Ferias* in Lent *missæ* seem of no very great antiquity.

Second Sunday in Lent.—A trace: ‘qualiter ea, quæ tibi offerimus, luce perlustres æternæ Sanctificationis.’

Wednesday.—A remarkable P. P. ‘Emitte, Christe Fili Dei, de Sanctis cœlis tuis copiam benedictionis quo et jejunium nostræ devotionis gratum officietur in oculis tuis, et hæc libamina benedictione dignificentur virtis.’ We cannot but think that the original address was to the Third ever-blessed Person, not to the Second.

Friday.—Strong trace. ‘Virtus quoque tua’ (the Son has

been mentioned just before—the prayer is to the Father) ‘*de cœlo descendens . . . hæc ipsa libamina, quæ tibi litamus, sanctificationis dono perlustret.*’

Third Sunday in Lent.—(Originally *Fifth.*) A very singular allusion to the Gospel (about Lazarus). ‘*Præsta . . . ut eo fremitu spiritus, quo illum suscitasti in vitam, ed quoque modificatione digneris hæc oblata sanctificare.*’

Wednesday.—No trace.

Friday.—Very slight.

Dominica Mediente, Monday, Friday.—No trace.

Fifth Sunday in Lent.—This again is a most remarkable P. P. ‘*Majestatem tuam supplices rogamus, et petimus, ut in his sacrificiis benedictionum tuarum plenitudo descendat, et infundas in eis imbrem Spiritus tui S. de cœlis. Ut fiat hoc sacrificum secundum ordinem Melchisedec: fiat hoc sacrificum secundum ordinem Patriarcharum et Prophetarum tuorum. Ut quod, ab illis typice facientibus, Unigeniti Filii tui significantibus adventum, tua Majestas acceptare dignata est, sic hoc sacrificum respicere et sanctificare digneris: quod est verum corpus et sanguis D. N. J. C. F. T. qui pro nobis omnibus factus est Sacerdos et Hostia.*’

Every one in the remotest degree acquainted with the sublime fervency of that Mozarabic Ritual, must at once feel that—whatever the original phrase may have been—*quod est* is an interpolation: not only is the magnificence of the preceding Invocation lost in asking for a lesser thing after the great change had been wrought; but that method of addressing God—so usual in modern prayers—by which we inform Him of what has been done, or why it has been done, had no place there. The *quod est* was once *ut fiat*, or *ut sit*, or perhaps (though after the strength of the preceding clauses it is not so likely) *ut sit nobis*.

Wednesday, Friday, Palm Sunday, and Easter Day.—No trace; but the Passion Masses are not early.

Easter Monday.—This is one of the longest—it may be truly also said the most sublime—among the P. P.; and it has also some of the most evident traces of the Invocation. It is far too long to quote here; but, after referring to the offering of Abel, of Abraham, and of Melchizedec, it proceeds: ‘*Descendat hic, quæso, invisibiliter benedictio tua . . . et deferatur in ista sollemnia Spiritus tuus Sanctus.*’

The other days of this week with very slight traces.

Having thus taken the regular course of the Mozarabic year from the beginning of Advent to Easter, we may quote a few of the P. P. from other Festivals, without particularizing those which are without importance as to this inquiry.

Sunday after Ascension.—‘*Consolationem nobis S. Spiritus*

‘largiariis Cujus nunc præsentia apposita hæc tibi oblata
‘sanctifices.’

Whitsun Eve.—This, anyhow, is a remarkable P. P. ; but its wonderful briefness makes one feel that something, perhaps much, has been cut out.

‘Spiritus Sancte, qui a Patre et Filio procedis, *his propitius illabere holocaustis.* Quo qui a Patre es repromissus, sanctificationem *humanis* exhibeas præsentatus repleatque sponsionis ‘mercede, quos te promissum inspicis (?) expectare.’

Whitsunday.—This, again, is a most remarkable prayer. After alluding to the Incarnation as the act of the Holy Ghost, it proceeds:—

‘In cujus hæc, *similitudinem* Corporis et Sanguinis, munera ‘ingerimus ut plenitudinem debitæ sanctificationis, TE DEI-‘FICANTE, obtineant supplicamus.’

It is difficult to say what this does teach, if it be not the Eastern doctrine *pur et simple*. Very nearly as strong is the P. P. of the Sunday before the Fast of the Kalends of November.

‘Precamur, Omnipotens Pater, ut his creaturis superpositis ‘altario tuo sanctificationis munus infundas. Ut per transfusio-‘nem celestis et invisibilis Sacramenti *panis hic* transmutatus ‘in carnem, et calix transformatus in sanguinem sit offerentibus ‘gratia, et languentibus medicina.’

That for S. Matthias has the same expression about bread and wine: ‘In altare tuum panis et vini holocausta proponemus.’ So has that for S. Matthew.

On the Invention of the Cross, we read: ‘Hanc hostiam, *in similitudinem* corporis et sanguinis ejus tibi oblatam.’

In the *Missa pro seipso Sacerdote*: ‘Hæc hostia panis et vini qui a me indigno tuo servo sunt imposita altaris.’

These, then, are the more striking Post Pridies in the Mozarabic Ritual. And, very much altered as we know that sublime Liturgy to have been in the lapse of centuries, in the Arian domination, in the Mahometan tyranny, enough surely remains to make it all but certain that the older Missæ had an Invocation of the Holy Ghost, in the same place and with the same intentions, that the Eastern Church has it now. The very name of the prayer, by the way, shows how the service has been altered; the word Pridie not now occurring in the formula of consecration.

The case is very different if we turn to the Ambrosian Rite. Here no prayer is said between consecration and communion. That which, in its structure, bears the greatest analogy with the Post Pridie is the *Oratio super Oblatam*; but that precedes consecration. Whether it originally occupied the other

place, or whether any other collect was then said, would of course require a deep search among the monuments of those noble libraries of Milan to determine with any probability.

But when we turn to the Gallican Missal, we find a perfect analogy with the Mozarabic. Here the parallel prayer is called the *Post Mystrium*, or *Post Sancta*; and here, also, we shall find some strong examples of the Invocation.

On Holy Innocents' Day: 'Oramus ut hoc sacrificium benedicere et sanctificare digneris: ut fiat nobis legitima Eucharistia . . . in transformationem corporis et sanguinis Domini Dei N. J. C.'

On the Assumption—a very striking example: 'Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis benedictionis tuæ co-eternus et co-operator Paracletus Spiritus; et oblationem quam tibi de terrâ tuâ fructificante porregimus, celesti permutatione [sed legendum *permutatione*] te sanctificante, sumamus: ut *translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore*, proficiat mentes quod obtulimus pro delictis.'

On the Conversion of S. Paul: 'Ut emittere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum super hæc solemnia, ut fiat nobis legitima Eucharistia . . . in transformatione corporis ac sanguinis D. N. J. C. Unigenti tui.'

In the Passion of S. Leodigarius: 'Ut descendat hic benedictio tua super hunc panem et calicem in transformatione Spiritus tui S.; ut hæc benedicenda benedicas, sanctificanda sanctifices.'

And considering the constant parallel drawn between the Annunciation and this Rite, it is noteworthy in a Missa Dominicalis: 'Hæc omnia *obumbres* [sed legendum *obumbret*] Sancti Filii tui Spiritus.'

We have said enough, then, to show:—

1. That in some at least of the Mozarabic and Gallic *Missæ* a distinct invocation of the Holy Ghost does occur: so expressed as necessarily to imply a belief in no sense differing from that which always was, and still is, the belief of the Oriental Church.

2. That in many more cases the *Post Prædie*, *Post Secreta*, *Post Mystrium* have been tampered with; and may have been in all.

3. What was possible in two such Churches was clearly not impossible in the Roman Church itself.

The investigation must therefore now proceed to inquire what kind of influence was likely to have been brought to bear on the Roman Church in the first four centuries. This will involve a considerable digression.

There is, perhaps, no part of ecclesiastical history less minutely studied than that of the Church of Africa. In some respects it is unique. Its marvellous extent, its most tremendous schism, its subsequent and so sudden collapse, are unparalleled in Church annals. Let us see why it must have exerted the deepest influence on Rome—an influence far greater than Rome ever exercised on it.

And first, consider the enormous extent of territory which this, the largest national Church the world has ever seen, possessed. From the Atlantic stretching away to the Pentapolis—some 1,800 miles—it comprised, in order, beginning from the west, the provinces of Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæsariensis, with their (known) 123 sees; that of Mauritania Sitifensis, with its 47; that of Numidia, with its 174; the Proconsular (or Carthaginian) Province, with its 156; the Provincia Byzacene, with its 149; and the Provincia Tripolitana (so far, geographically speaking, the largest), with its 7. This will give us a total of 656—a number exceeding that of the combined Eastern, Roman, and Anglican Churches, at the present moment, in Europe. But some further things must be noticed.

1. That there are about 60 sees, the provinces of which are not known. We should then get 716.

2. Further: let it be remembered that the above are only those sees of which the name of some bishop has come down to us. Every student of the ancient *Notitiæ* is aware how many sees are in them given as sees, not one of whose prelates has transmitted his name to us. There being no such *Notitia* for Africa, and several very important cities being not included in the list (whereas many most unimportant country towns are), an addition must be made on this score. Morcelli gives a list of 35, in which he thinks it most probable that there must have been an episcopal see. Let us take half that number: we thus have a total of 733.

5. On the other side, something is to be held in consideration. Our lists of the African sees are chiefly (though, of course, not entirely) known from three sources:—the Councils of S. Cyprian; those in S. Augustine's time; and, standing apart from all the rest, the ever-memorable conference of Carthage—in its own way certainly the most remarkable assembly the Church ever saw—of June 1st, 411. As every one knows that the Donatists, though a most formidable minority, were never actually a majority in Africa, nor in any of its provinces (always excepting Numidia), this rule seems fair to be laid down: That when, in that conference, (1) the Donatist prelate said, '*Adversarium non habeo*' (i.e. he had no Catholic Bishop as his competitor); and (2) this see was never heard of before,

nor, except it might be as under another Donatist, after,¹ then it is to be considered as a 'faggot' see, not to be reckoned into the strength of the Church in any way. Now we have carefully reckoned up these, and they are thirty-nine in number. Making this deduction, we have 694 sees. But further, we must add the few sees which are only known as occupied (or pretended to be occupied) by a Maximianist in their council of 393, seven in number; thus we are reduced to 687 Bishoprics.

Before we go on, it may be as well to put down, in a tabular form, the numbers claimed by either communion in their death-struggle at Carthage.

<i>Claimed by Donatists (exclusive of Maximianists, Rogationists, &c.).</i>		<i>Claimed by the Catholics.</i>	
Present, or subscribed at a distance	268	Present, or subscribed at a distance	286
Subscribed, since dead	1	Claimed as absent	120
Claimed, as absent, or as vacant sees, more than the Catholics had as absent, say	130	Claimed, vacant sees	64
	<u>399</u>		<u>470</u>

It may be observed in passing, that this, the Catholic version, makes the numbers terribly near. But if the other branches of the Donatists had been allowed to count, the majority would most certainly have been reversed: the Maximianist claims only eighteen years before had numbered 393, and the result would have been altogether different.

But besides these 687, whose sees we know, there were undoubtedly other sees, far more important in position and numbers, of which we know nothing, so far as regards any actual Bishop. Let us put them down, with Morcelli, at about fifty. So we come back to what we have already said, that there never was so magnificent a National Church since the Ascension of our Lord, as that of North Africa. And we cannot but feel that there must have been something radically wrong in her whole system, when, notwithstanding all her glorious Martyrs, notwithstanding her having possessed the greatest Doctor that the Church Catholic ever knew, she was, in little more than a century and a half, so entirely swept away; so that, instead of some 700 Bishops, she should not possess 70: and now that, of all Christians in Algeria, not one should be a spiritual descendant

¹ In carefully going through Morcelli for this purpose, we made out (it had not, to our knowledge, been made before) a complete list of these sees. To spare any other ecclesiastical student the same labour, we give it in a note, adding with subjoined *M.* those other sees which we only know as having been created by Maximianists, and appearing in the Council of Cabarsussi, 393, where Primatius, Donatist Bishop of Carthage, was considered. [It will be found at the end of this Article. *N* prefixed, means, of the province, that stronghold of Donatists, Numidia.

of the Church of S. Augustine. When we remember that heretical, though apostolical, Churches, like the Nestorians, or the Jacobites, or the Christians of S. Thomas, have existed to this day,—especially when we remember how the Armenians, notwithstanding their (rather a verbal mistake than) heresy, form so powerful a Church now,—it does seem wonderful that God should have permitted the Church of Carthage utterly to perish. For we must remember that this has never happened but twice since the Ascension: in this case, and in that of the Church in Japan: and the latter can scarcely be said to have perished; because, undoubtedly, without any priests, without any sacraments, except that of baptism, there are in Japan multitudes of Christians at the present moment. And, what is certainly singular, no National Churches have, in proportion to their numbers, sent more Martyrs to glory than those two.

With respect to Japan, we may, perhaps, be able to see more than one reason; with respect to Carthage, if, in that wonderful speech of his about the Zambesi Mission, the Bishop of Oxford gave the true explanation; it is a most terrible lesson as to the 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' This great Church, stretching as it did from the Atlantic to Egypt, might have been designed in God's providence to be the means whereby the Morians' land should soon stretch out her hands to God. But, content with the blessings she had herself received, she made not the least effort to penetrate southwards: the civilised were converted; the savages were left to do and to believe as they would. And afterwards, as if to show what she might have done, the Mahometans, when they swept into Africa (first, undoubtedly by the sword, but also afterwards by fair preaching their doctrine), converted hundreds of thousands who ought to have belonged to the Church of Carthage.

But this is a digression. What is more to our present purpose is this: the enormous influence which that Church, even in the times of persecution, reckoning its Bishops at only 500 (and that is far under the mark), must, by the very fact of numbers, have exercised over that of Rome, whose immediate suffragans were nothing like half that number. And, in point of fact, we see that it did. We all know how a Spanish heresy, acquitted at Rome, was, so to speak, tried over again at Carthage, and condemned; and how the latter judgment has ever since stood good.

This is the first reason then why, if there is cause to believe that any change was made during the first three centuries, in the Roman Liturgy, it was a change probably owing to the influence of the great African Church. But there are also other reasons.

And first, one which is in itself most glorious to the early Church of Rome. Although, perhaps, North Africa offered as many Martyrs to Christ during the same space of years as did the Italian Church, yet the brunt of the persecution must of necessity have fallen chiefly on the Bishop of the Imperial City. And this the rather, because the Bishop of Carthage, though Primate of his own province, (the Pro-consular,) had only a very general leadership among those of his brethren who were at the head (for in them, as every one knows, there were no real Primates, but only senior Bishops) of the others. Hence it came to pass that, for one change in the see of Carthage, there were six or seven in that of Rome; a thing most glorious in itself, but not tending to establish the external influence of that Church which had the so far more rapid succession. In those first three centuries, election to the Roman see was almost certain death within three or four years; whereas S. Cyprian was the first Primate of Africa who attained the Martyr's crown. Let us compare the two, so far as we can. The earlier Bishops of Carthage are unknown to us; the Vandals only too faithfully destroyed all records. But, commencing with the first with whom we are acquainted, S. Agrippinus, and reckoning onwards; we find that between him and Cecilian, elected after peace was given to the Church, there were but seven Prelates who filled the see. During the same period, there were no less than eighteen who held the see of Rome. The comparative tenures of the one bishopric must so far have given the one a great advantage over the other.

And then again, as we have already said, the very early Roman Church, as may be seen from the last chapter of S. Paul's Epistle, was rather a little colony of Greek Christians among the Romans, than anything national. It is worth observing how, as the classical poetry of Rome is simply an imitation, too often a very poor imitation, of that of Greece; and as the Latin language never learnt its own strength, its own true deepness, till the Church, putting the new wine into the new bottles, taught it, what the Greek can never have, that wonderful power of rhyme; so no doubt the nation's turn towards the true faith at first hung on those Grecian foreigners. There is nothing from which we can learn more, so far as those early ages are concerned, than from the '*Graffiti*,' the scrawls with chalk, or whatever else which idle boys drew on the walls, that accidentally have remained to this day. In that most invaluable one so lately discovered at Rome, where a Christian is represented as kneeling before a Cross on which the Crucified One has (according to the then prejudice) the head of an ass; the inscription is: 'Aristomnes worshipping his God.' So, whether

this Aristomnes were a real personage (and if so, one who has, no doubt, long since worshipped his God where His servants *shall* serve Him), or whether it were merely a name chosen at random, this at least is proved: that, in those earliest times a Christian, living at Rome, was most likely to be a Greek.

Now, on the other hand, the intense nationality of the Church of Carthage is one of its most distinguishing features. It is true that, even as late as the age of S. Augustine, some of the remoter towns and villages used Punic as their hearth-language, and not Latin; so that, for such places, bishops and priests who could speak Punic were especially looked out. But that does not of necessity make a Church less national than it makes a nation less united; exactly as in that dreary last century the brightest spot in the English Church was that which is furnished by the islanders who could then only speak Manx. Here, therefore, again the Church of Carthage must have exercised wonderful influence over that—then rather *in* than *of*—Rome.

And the next reason is the strongest of all. Look down the noble line of those who held the Chair of S. Peter till S. Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century. There is not one theologian among them who has won to himself a famous place in the Church's annals, with the single exception of S. Leo. And had not he (no doubt for that occasion especially inspired by the Holy Ghost) written his ever memorable Tome to S. Flavian, before the Robbers' Meeting at Ephesus, and insisted by his legates at Chalcedon that our Lord should be declared not only to be *of* Two Natures, but *in* Two Natures, his fame would simply have rested on a few beautiful sermons. But, in the meantime, what theologians had not the African Church raised up! Tertullian; who, until he fell into his miserable heresy, was undoubtedly the deepest divine whom the Church had possessed. S. Cyprian; who, with all the marvellous beauty of his exhortations 'not to fear them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do,' could not make them so beautiful as his own martyrdom; then the Doctor of all earthly Doctors—unparalleled, unless S. Thomas may compare with him in learning, and S. Bernard in love, the great Bishop of Hippo; and also one who, dwarfed by S. Augustine, would otherwise have been thought a great light—S. Alypius; and later among the noble army of Martyrs and Confessors in the Vandalic and Arian persecution, S. Fulgentius; to whose highest heights it may be a question whether S. Augustine himself ever attained. And all these on the one side, and only one on the other.

Besides which, there seems to have been something so peculiarly searching and shrewd in that African genius. Of all Latin books the works of Tertullian and (those few who have

looked at it will know) the Golden Ass of Apuleius are the very hardest to translate. But why? Simply because they, each in their way, take us into a new region of thought: the works of Tertullian, so far as the Latin language is concerned, into that of mystical teaching; the horribly wicked romance of Apuleius into that of the romance which was afterwards to be so purified and so ennobled. And besides these, be it remembered, Minutius Felix even in times of persecution wrote Latin with an elegance second only to that of Cicero; and Commodianus was the first to do that of which he could little have seen the artistic consequences (prosaic as his own verses are), to compose hexameters by accent and not by quantity.

And besides others who might have been, we know there were two Popes who *were*, Africans, S. Victor and S. Melchiades. They must have exercised some influence on the then infant Roman Church. And Tertullian, at that time in all the fresh new life of Christianity, standing out so wonderfully against the old effete fables of gods whom nobody believed in, was probably the greatest genius in the world, certainly visited Rome once about the year 200, it may have been more than once. And the effect of his eloquence and genius there, who can estimate?

Then we have come to these four conclusions: that the early Roman, like every other, Church, had in her liturgy the Invocation of the Holy Ghost after the words of Consecration; that as other Western Churches certainly once possessed it and as certainly have since lost it, so she might have done; that if so the influence which induced her thus to act came rather from without than within; and that the Church which possessed most of that influence over her was the African. Now let us see why there is reason to believe that the African, of all Churches, should be the one which would make any great innovation on the really most primitive doctrine.

Only first one word; lest we should seem to be undervaluing all which that Church did and suffered. No one can think of S. Perpetua and S. Felicitas, no one can remember how that sentence was received, 'Thascius Cecilius Cyprianus is condemned to die by the sword,' nor those martyrdoms, so terrible even to read of, under the Arian Huneric, nor that, perhaps the best attested of all ecclesiastical miracles, where the two hundred Confessors of the Consubstantial, after their tongues were cut out, spoke as plainly as before, and that to the end of their lives (all except one, who afterwards fell into a sin of impurity, and then lost his speech), without marvelling at the grace which the Holy Ghost must have bestowed on North Africa. When we look at the Martyrology, as Morcelli has given it, of the saints of the North African Church—if we

have reckoned right, ten thousand and twenty-five in number¹—and, when we remember also, how in those later persecutions not only Confessors for the true faith went joyfully into exile—the most miserable exile—but how even then, in the latest period of that Communion, one woman, to whom it was said that her husband, under torture, had denied our Lord to be true God (it was said falsely, for he had died a martyr), replied, ‘That is a lie, and you know it is a lie; but, were it true, I love the Consubstantial far more dearly than I love him;’ or that other woman who, when the wonderful band of Bishops and Confessors were sent to live or to die, as the case might be, in those savage deserts, was leading, among the rest of the Catholics following them, her child to share their lot; said, when he began to cry: ‘Courage, my little man; do you see all these Confessors of Jesus Christ going into exile, and are you baby enough to cry?’ and the child dried up his tears at once; no one could speak irreverently of that African Church without great ignorance or great presumption.

At the same time, we cannot but feel that, even from its very origin, there was something different in this Church from other Churches. The word which perhaps would best describe its nature is *crotchety*.

We see this, in its effects, in that remarkable man, Tertullian. We see how he, being a married man himself, so exalted the perfection of the higher state of chastity as to condemn second marriages as horrible sins; as to give in to all the fancies of the Montanists; as to deny the power of the Church to absolve from apostasy or adultery; and lastly, how he made a still stricter sect for himself, which died out less than a hundred years after his being taken from the world.

Next, whereas the almost universal rule of the Church, up to that time, had been, that schismatical or heretical baptism was good and valid; the African Church, arguing on what we should now call Scriptural principles, declared it, in more than one Council, to be invalid; and that two at least of those Councils had for their president such a saint as Cyprian. Again, the singular ecclesiastical discipline by which, though Carthage was always the Primatial see of the Pro-consular Province, the other provinces never had a true Primate: this was utterly unknown, it need hardly be said, to any other Church. Once more, to speak of a smaller thing; that custom, against which Tertullian, yet a Catholic, uses some harsher and plainer words than need here be quoted, by which women were accustomed to go to church,

¹ It was not badly said to us, by one whom we had asked to count up this number, that it could not but recall to memory that text of the Lord making up His jewels.

and even to receive Holy Communion, bare-headed. And nowhere did that abuse so much prevail by which those Virgins who had dedicated themselves to God were, under the appellation *συνεῖσακτοι*, allowed to live with Priests and to take care of their houses (till S. Cyprian tore up the abuse by the roots), as in this Church.

And then, after all, though the schism of the Donatists¹ was the greatest that ever rent the Church, there must have been something essentially wrong in the Church which could be so rent. Whether Cecilian, Primate of Carthage; had really, before his consecration, in that fierce persecution, surrendered the Sacred Books, God only knows; according to all human testimony (but then it must be remembered that human testimony now comes all from one side) he had not. But that so many African Bishops and Priests *had*, makes the accusation not, *à priori*, improbable. And when he saw the tremendous schism that his retention of his see was occasioning in Africa, how glorious it would have been if he had done what S. Chrysostom did when exiled from his see by the civil power, and urged by his friends not to resign it; how glorious to have said, 'The Church of God existed before me, and certainly will exist after me; and, my successor being a Catholic, I will create no schism.' And it is wonderful to imagine what the state of that Church must have been during the hundred and more years that in almost every small town there were two Bishops, the Catholic and the Donatist; each using precisely the same Liturgy, each holding precisely the same faith; the only ground of the schism being—whether Cecilian had or had not been a *traitor*.

At the same time every one must allow that the offer more, than once repeated by the Catholics to their Donatist opponents, was a very noble one. In the first place, had Cecilian even apostatized during the persecution of Diocletian, he would have been none the less *true* Bishop of Carthage. And, therefore, it was a great thing to concede, or rather to press the offer, as the Catholics did, that, either where there were two Bishops, as in most places there were, each should rule his own flock, that flock being thenceforward in communion with the other, to the end of his life; and that then the survivor whether, when the pro-

¹ It is singular, how little either Donatus, whether he who was elected Bishop of Carthage in opposition to Cecilian, or the—by far, it would appear, the more important personage—Bishop of Casæ Nigræ, had to do with the source of the great schism. They quietly vanish from the scene, so that even Morcelli can find no record of them after 312. It shows also how sensitive men were then, as they are now, about a mere name, that the followers of Donatus should have bitterly complained of their being called Donatists, instead of the adjective by which other schismatics have usually been termed, Donatians.

posals were made, Catholic or Donatist, should succeed to the whole charge, that both should resign, and the then Catholics and Donatists, uniting in one, should elect a new Bishop between them. And, probably, had it not been that the Donatists in the province of Numidia were so completely in the ascendant, and that Numidia was the most important of all the provinces, not excepting the Pro-consular, that offer might have been accepted. There was certainly a disposition on the other side to entertain it. But in Numidia, while many Donatist Bishops said in the conference, 'I have no adversary,' there was only one Catholic Bishop who was able to make the same assertion.

Another crotchet of this Church was its hatred of the Monastic Life, when first it became generally known. Salvian tells us that while it was flourishing in Egypt, if, to quote his own words, 'any one in a monk's dress, and pale with fasting, and with closely cut hair, had come into any large town in Africa, but most of all into Carthage, he would have been hated and reviled.' Every one knows the difficulties which S. Jerome experienced when he founded the first Sisterhoods; but those difficulties did not amount to so much as this.

Thus we have seen that the early Roman Church was, and probably more than we know, influenced by that of Carthage; and, that of all Churches, Carthage was the most disposed to innovate. If then we have reason to believe that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost after the words of consecration did once exist in the Roman, or rather Petrine, Liturgy; as they did, and do still, in all the four other Apostolic families; we have also reason to believe that the influence which removed it came from Africa; and we do no injustice to that Church which would have invalidated, if it could, schismatical or heretical baptism, when conferred in right form and with right matter; and which for a time must have rendered the question, to all earnest-minded men, one of some degree of uncertainty.

The next step is to inquire whether in the writings of Tertullian, S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, S. Fulgentius, Arnobius, S. Optatus, and others, we can find any traces which may look like such a tendency to omit that part of the liturgy. But, as we said when we began the present article, the whole subject could not be embraced in one number of *The Christian Remembrancer*; and we therefore, here, for the present, dismiss the question of which we have been speaking. But we hope hereafter to resume it.

There are still three things on which we have something to say before we conclude.

In an article on the *Filioque* Controversy, in the number before the last, we made inadvertently a mistake which we

are anxious to correct. We believed, with reference to the American Church, that any of her *Priests* was at liberty, in saying the Apostles' Creed, either to omit the clause, *He descended into Hell*, or to substitute for it, *He went into the place of spirits*. But one of the most eminent Bishops of that Church has pointed out to us that the fact is not so. The law is, that, not the Priest, but the Church, may authorize the omission or the change. Whether by 'the Church' be meant the parish or the diocese is, he tells us, a disputed question; but, most happily, one that matters very little, since in point of fact the liberty is never used. Having done that wrong to the American Church, we are only too glad to express our regret.

Next; we would especially call the attention of all theologians, and most particularly of those who are hoping and working and praying for our full communion with the East, to the noble Edition of the Epistles of Photius, which stands at the head of this article. We hardly know whether it is more honourable to the editor to have bestowed the honest labour he has bestowed on the work, and on the whole, in writing about those most troubled times, to have kept his temper so well; or to the publisher to have brought out in so handsome a form a book which, in a worldly sense, can hardly be expected to bring him any profit.

The Epistles of Photius have been, of course, without any great difficulty, accessible to any English Priest who desired to procure them, in the edition of our own Bishop Montague. But though that be not a scarce book, it had to be hunted up; and its awkward size, and the contractions so unpleasant to the delicate eyes of the Greek scholars of this generation, would in themselves have made a new edition desirable. But the present editor's work has added infinite value to any former one. We have, in the first place, 122 pages of prolegomena with respect to the history of the first dangerous schism between East and West; and a thorough exposure of the romance which it pleased the Abbé Jager to call a Life of Photius. The Epistles themselves are divided into five books. The first contains those which are dogmatical or hermeneutical; the next, those exhorting to good life; the third, consolatory letters to friends in affliction; the fourth, those written for the sake of rebuking vice; and the fifth, such as could come under none of the previous heads. Photius, of all the great and saintly men who have ever lived, is, perhaps, *the* one who has had, in this world, the scantiest measure of praise. The ecclesiastical historians of our own Church, taking their account of him at second-hand from Roman writers, have spoken of him as a fierce Protestant would speak of S. Thomas of Canterbury, or Innocent III. To our own

shame be it said that, though tolerably well acquainted with the more important of his dogmatical and historical epistles, and always honouring and reverencing him for the great part he took in the Church work of his own time, we had never read one of his domestic letters till the present edition almost forced them on our notice. We had rather entertained the idea about him that most people have of our own Laud, that, raised up by God to do a hard stern work in the Church, and doing it, he must himself have been a hard stern man; and therefore we had never thought it worth while to read his Consolations. But certainly he, like those other Saints, like S. Gregory VII. who have seemed so harsh because they would not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left in following that which they knew or believed to be the simple path of duty, had the most exquisite sources of tenderness in his heart. There are three letters of his, than which S. Bernard himself, the Doctor of Love, never wrote anything more lovely. That to the Bishop of Nicomedia, on the death of a young ecclesiastic; to a certain Superior of some Sisterhood, by name Eusebia, on the death of her sister; the third (and the most beautiful of all), to his brother Tarasius on the death of a daughter of the latter, and therefore the writer's own niece. Even the most bitter enemy of Photius, Jager, cannot refrain from saying that 'these letters deserve to be quoted at length, as some amongst the brightest gems of Christian consolation.' One passage, anyhow, we will give here; and if it should be, as it probably is, that they are the first words of Photius (except so far as regards his polemics) that have ever appeared in English, we shall be the more thankful. We shall do more justice to the writer, if we make our translation rather free.

'But she was taken, you say, before her time. Never let me hear such a speech again: a speech that ought not to have been spoken, and still more ought not to be thought upon. Before her time! And how then, at her birth, was she not thought to have put an end to her mother's pains before her time? But she was born when God willed and in the very right moment. Are we to sit as judges of the right time at which we are to depart to our Creator? He That formed us—oh yes! brings us into the world at the right time. Perhaps you suppose that He is ignorant of the right time in which to take us to Himself. He created her flesh; He moulded her in the womb; He brought her forth to light; He went on guarding her from babyhood to girlhood, to the bridal chamber, to full age. None of these things were out of time; and is it only to be that when He changes her mortal for an immortal life, that then we shall begin to talk of its being out of time? God forbid that such a hard saying should proceed from any tongue that is trying to speak piously; from any heart that is endeavouring to think soberly! *This* might be a subject for lamentations, this for many tears; that man should have such a weary weight of reasonings piled upon him; but never, never, that any one should change corruptibility for incorruptibility. Depend upon it; we have no reason to

mourn for her that has escaped from her body of mortality ; but we have for those that are slaying their immortal souls ; not for her whom the heavenly bridal chamber has now received into its own dear bed, but for those who are embedding their souls in dead hopes.

‘ Let me ask who they are that ought to grieve for the departed ? However, I will not tell you myself ; I will summon the Preacher of the whole world to announce in his own words the heavenly decree :—“ I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that are asleep, that ye also sorrow not, even as the rest, they that have no hope.” It is Paul who proclaims these words with his trumpet, he that was taught in the heavenly school, he that embraced the whole world by his preaching. It is the disbelief of the words that came from the mouth of Christ that is the cause of grief over them that have departed ; it is the ignoring the hope of the Resurrection ; it is to be incredulous of the might of the mystery of Christ. Come ! let us cast off this grief ; lest, if we should give way to this *sin*, we may truly have to bewail this dear child as lost to us. Now she is happy and comforted in Abraham’s bosom, and there, in her gladness and her joy, in a very little time, we may see her ; but if, further than God permits, we lament for the girl, we ourselves should be chased away from that beautiful sight. You wish, do you ? to see your daughter again ? Then throw off this grief ; show yourself, in your thankfulness for her, worthy of the joy *There*. But if we *will* keep in love with our lamentations, we shall deprive ourselves of the loved one. The joy there knows nothing at all about weeping ; the bridal chamber there, that place of exultation and gladness, will not endure to be turned into a place of them that mourn ; nor will He have them committed to His hands with such tears whom He Himself has chosen as inheritors of that unspeakable joy. The Workman judged best to form again His work for immortality ; and are we to envy the child’s happiness ? and are we to grudge at His determination ? and are we to subject the Lord’s good love to her to the hypothesis of our ignorance ?

‘ Well ; once on a time the great King David had a child that was sick, and that sickness pointed to the tomb ; but he, regarding the sickness as an affliction, fell on his face, and with tears endeavoured to obtain God’s mercy, abstaining both from food itself and from every other attention to his body. But when the child had departed, he forthwith caused his grief also to depart. Up to that time he besought that his own child might remain with him ; but when he perceived that his Maker had decreed his departure, he dared not to insult the decision of That Judge by his grief ; but, proving himself superior to all sullenness, the words he spoke were words of thanksgiving, and he resumed his usual food. So with us.

‘ Is a child, relation, or friend, sick, and does the sickness seem to be pregnant with death ? Why, then I beseech of God that the disease may pass away ; that He would allow the loved still to remain with the loving. But does He think a change from this life the better ? Then it is our parts and duties, into whose charge, as guardians, He gave that child, to be satisfied with that which He has done ; and not, by this grief and these wailings, to upbraid the good judgment of her Creator. And be it that any fiend is lying in wait for us, and, as it once was regarding Job, he searches us out again, and God permits His servant to undergo the inquisition and proves his patience, to the end that the Adversary may be put to shame, and opens the course for the race that the Foe may be confounded and the athlete be crowned,—why, neither then should we make the day, that ought to be the day of our trophy, the day of our lamentations, nor the day of our contest a day of tears. No, by those who through their endurance have attained their crowns : ah ! and the crowns which are so glorious and

amaranthine. Why, such things would be unworthy of any generous soul like your own; of any well-established will; of any other kind of courage.

'So then, let us stand to it like men; let us stand to it with a good courage; as soldiers of the Heavenly King, let us have a brave wrestle with the Enemy; let us not disgrace the witness which He who has proposed the prize is ready to bear us; let us not, by our cowardice, strike hands with the impudence of our enemy. And if, in any former time, we have ever played the man, let us not become women now; let us not have stirred up the rage of the fiend by our former bravery; and then at last, when we ought to conquer by endurance, be found slothful and wanting. Be sure the foe is very easily thrown when he sees any one patiently enduring temptation; he is pretty quickly off from his attack when he sees a man firmly based on the foundation of courage. And then the Giver of the Crowns is at hand, Who will reward him that has agonized, with the Diadem which shall be won by the strife. And then also He will no longer permit the Enemy to make his attacks. Ah, no! He will drive him far away, even if he should shamelessly endeavour to persevere; will drive him and all his arts and plots. Yes! these afflictions He will change for a thousandfold more joy and blessedness.'

And this is the man—the man who could write so—that Ultramontanists and Protestants agree in describing as utterly eaten up by ambition, and caring for nothing but to cling to that see which, they all agree, he so willingly resigned.

So much for Photius. Only, once more; we do trust that those who take an especial interest in our future, and, as many hope, our near, re-union with the Eastern Church, will avail themselves of this republication of his letters to study the history of the earliest separation; the first time when there has seemed to be a beginning, so far as regards earthly hope, that the most solemn and dear prayer of our Lord—that *they all may be one*—would be, so far as outward communion is concerned, fulfilled throughout His whole Church. And more especially—if we may say so without presumption—it seems to us that the Committee of Convocation appointed with regard to the question, ought to be well acquainted with this book, and especially with the introductory essays.

It need scarcely be said that this article, as well as all those that have appeared with respect to the Eastern Church in the *Christian Remembrancer*, has had in view the future re-union. That re-union which, we trust, in the providence of God, will be in these latter days; that re-union which *we* may never live to see in this world, but towards which we may all still labour. And at the present moment there is, we suppose, a greater earnest of that which may be as regards that hope, in what is going on elsewhere, than ever has been till now. Every one knows the most bitter and inveterate hatred which has separated for more than 1,400 years the Orthodox Eastern from the Armenian Church; a hatred scarcely to be rivalled by that which the most ferocious Protestants feel towards Rome. Anyhow, we have no such

rubric in our Prayer-Book as there is—*à-propos* of nothing—in the Greek Mencea; ‘On this day the thrice-accursed Armenians begin to observe their abominable fast.’ And what is going on now? This: that the two Churches, originally separated merely from a defect in the Armenian language, and having for some 200 years yearned to embrace each other again, now really mean and are preparing to do it. The last Easter visit of the Armenian Patriarch to him of Constantinople, instead of a mere hollow formality, was—as every one who knows anything about the East is aware—a real brotherly conversation: and ‘How shall we best set about getting over our disagreements?’ The matter has proceeded to such a length that even the secular papers of the Levant discuss it with interest; and all, so far as we have seen them, on the side of Union; while the no less brilliant than loving articles contributed by the present large-minded Metropolitan of Chios in furtherance of the good work, to the leading (so to say) religious paper, deserve, and we hope will find, a translator here. With God nothing shall be impossible. And so we end with the text which has been nearest to our heart during the whole of this paper:

‘Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them; that they may be one, even as We are One: I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me.’

[List referred to at page 483.]

Advocatensis, N.Apissanensis, N.Aquensis Byzacenæ, Arensis Byzacenæ, N.Ansugabrensis, Bauzarenensis, Bellanensis (*M*), Betagbarensis, N.Bofetanæ, Botrianensis, Buzensis, Camicilensis, N.Camanensis, Casarum Fanensium N.Casarum Silvanæ, Casensis, N.Bastalensis, Celerenensis, Cemerimanensis, N.Cresimensis, N.Dianensis, Dusensis, N.Edistianensis, Erummenensis (*M*), N.Fissanensis, Guzabetanæ, Horreæ Aninicensis, Jommetensis, Lacus Dulcis, N.Laritanæ, Lucimagnensis, Macomadiensis Rusticianæ, N.Manazenensium Rugiorum, Mandassumitanæ, Merferebitanæ, Midicensis, Milidiensis, Munatianensis, Murrensis, Nasaitensis, N.Nicibensis, Niguzubitanæ, Oriensis, Panzerensis, Priscianensis (*M*), Putiziensis, Robantensis (*M*), Rusubicarensis, Samurdatensis (*M*), Stabatensis (*M*), Tibuzabetensis, Tisaniensis, N.Turrus Rotundæ, N.Vageatensis, Vatarbensis, Verronensis, N.Villavictorianensis, Visensis, N.Zertensis.

*Note to p. 240 of the present volume of THE CHRISTIAN
REMEMBRANCE.*

Our statement at p. 240 :—‘ Their organs [*i.e.* the organs of that section of the clergy who have otherwise made themselves conspicuous for excessive ritual] boast of an attempt to get up a pro-celibacy league among the clergy, and we know that circulars have been sent round inviting them to join it, and to place themselves under the command of a head who has invested himself with very despotic powers—’ having been contested, or rather contradicted, by the ‘Superior of the Celibate Society’ to which reference is made, we think it to be due to that gentleman, as well as to ourselves, to place on record the ‘Rules’ of the body to which we adverted.

‘ PROPOSED RULES.

I.

The Society to be called the “SOCIETY OF CELIBATES.”

II.

All office-bearers shall be Priests who have taken the Vow of Celibacy for life. The officers at first shall be President and Secretary.

III.

A Meeting shall be held each year on the 2d July, being the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, when the *Blessed Sacrament* shall be celebrated at some London church, of which due notice shall be given by the Secretary. When the Feast of the Visitation falls on a Sunday, the Meeting shall be held on the following Tuesday.

IV.

The election of officers for the ensuing year shall take place at the Annual Meeting. Members who are not able to be present may send their proxies to the President.

V.

The Society shall be considered in no sense as a private one.

VI.

The object of the Society shall be to combine clergy and candidates for Holy Orders who desire to devote themselves to the service of God in a celibate life.

VII.

No one shall be admitted as a Member of the Society under the age of twenty-one years, except by special permission of the President.

VIII.

No person (excepting those who have previously taken vows) shall, on entering the Society, be permitted to take a life vow before having passed a noviciate of at least two years. Provided always that any Priest, having passed the age of thirty-five, and having from the beginning of his clerical life stedfastly purposed to give himself to God in the state of celibacy, shall, on placing in the hands of the President a declaration to this effect, be allowed to take a life vow at once.

IX.

All persons on first entering the Society shall be considered as in the noviciate, subject to the preceding Rule.

(1) The Vow of Celibacy shall be taken at first for two, or at least one year.

(2) At the expiration of this period it may be renewed either for life, or for a period of five or seven years, or such longer term of years as will bring the novice to the age of thirty.

(3) After the second period of noviciate, the vow must be taken for life, or the Society left. No one shall take a life vow under the age of thirty.

X.

The following form of vow shall be used by the Society:—

“I promise and vow to Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, before the whole company of Heaven, that I will live in celibacy and in chastity of body and mind during [..... years henceforth], or [unto my life's end]. So help me God. Amen.”

The following certificate shall be signed by the Priest before whom the vow is made, and forwarded to the President:—

“I,, a Priest of the Holy Catholic Church, hereby certify that, being a [Priest, Deacon, or candidate for Holy Orders], has this day made in my presence a vow of celibacy and chastity, in the above form, for

“Witness my hand”

XI.

The above vow must be made before a Priest; and the form having been signed by the person making the vow, and testified by the Priest before whom it is made, must be sent to the President of the Society. Any person absolutely unable to find a Priest before whom he may make his vow, and very earnestly desiring not to defer it, may ask leave of the President to sign the above form, and forward it to him, with a declaration that he had made the vow at his Communion, and is prepared to renew it before a Priest on the first opportunity: his noviciate to date from the day of his declaration.

XII.

Persons on entering the Society shall be requested to make an offering towards its expenses; and the incumbent at whose church the Blessed Sacrament is celebrated on the occasion of the Annual Meeting shall be requested to give the Offertory for the same purpose.

NOTICES.

THE third and last volume of Mr. Perry's 'History of the Church of England' (Saunders and Otley) brings the narrative down to our own times; but the concluding portion is somewhat hastily piled together. The level and unambitious style and general good sense and feeling, together with accuracy and fulness, which have all along distinguished this work, are not wanting to its conclusion; and the book forms a standing repertory for reference.

A new edition of a book long out of print, and one of the pleasantest in our literature, Archbishop Trench's 'Sacred Latin Poetry' (Macmillan) reminds us what advances in this study, and in the taste for Hymnology, have been made since its first appearance in 1849.

Dr. Pierotti's 'Customs and Traditions of Palestine' (Deighton and Bell) scarcely sustains the reputation made by the author's studies on the topography of Jerusalem.

In Clarke's series we have to note the opportune appearance of Hagenbach's valuable 'Manual on the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Rationalism.' The volume forms a useful adjunct to the studies now incumbent on the Clergy in connexion with the outbreak of something much worse than the extinct phase of 'Free Thought.'

Keil and Delitzsch's 'Commentary on the Pentateuch' (Clarke) we propose to examine more fully on a future occasion. Meanwhile, it is indispensable on the Colenso controversy. And the translation of Lange's 'Commentary on the Acts' (Clarke) has reached the second volume.

'Sketches from the Life of the Rev. S. C. Bird,' and 'Memorial of the Rev. W. Bull,' (Nisbet) are a pair of biographies: one of a dignified 'Evangelical' clergyman, one of a 'distinguished Dissenting minister.' These are dull books, and there is a cognate quality in them above their dullness. On the whole, we were more pleased with the 'patriarch' of Newport-Pagnell than with the Chancellor of Lincoln.

No doubt there is an object important, if latent, in the publication of Brodrick and Fremantle's 'Judgments of the Privy Council,' with the Bishop of London's Preface (Murray). The conclusion, to our minds, is that the Privy Council, and the Civil Courts generally, may be fair when there is no great amount of what is called Public Opinion brought to bear on their legal decisions; but that in all cases where there is much excitement, a so-called expediency is not without its palpable influence on their Lordship's decisions. And what seems to be true of the Judgments is true of this particular collection of them.

Mr. Howard's publication on the 'Christians of S. Thomas' (J. H. and J. Parker), is a valuable contribution to our liturgical stores, and is creditable not only to the author's research, but to the Indian Church in which he is a missionary.

To Mr. Foulkes's curious, and in many respects important, volume, 'Christendom's Divisions' (Longman), we must give a fuller examination, and we trust in the ensuing quarter. The fact of its publication, coupled with the suppression of the *Home and Foreign Review*, is significant in many ways.

Mr. Gosse's 'A Year on the Shore' (Strahan), is a pretty book, and a pious well-intentioned book; but we have had almost a surfeit of sea-anemones, and crawling, slimy sea-slugs generally. Mr. Gosse might reasonably have rested on his laurels.

'Norway: or the Road and the Fell' (J. H. and J. Parker), by Mr. C. Elton, is above the average of traveller's notes, and, only that it tends to popularise the last European home of simplicity and salmon, is well worthy of all commendation.

'Personal Names in the Bible' (Strahan), by Mr. Wilkinson, of Derby, wants compression, but exhibits much scholarship and research.

We place next in order the 'Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament' (Rivingtons), by Mr. Webster, not only because every one remembers the Greek Testament in which Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson were formerly associated, but because the opportunity offers of saying that Mr. Webster is a scholar who has done much with too little encouragement, and that his various works have been always marked with learning and care.

'The Fractional Family, being the First Part of Speech—Mathematics—Matter' (Sampson Low), by Arthur Young, is an odd sort of communistic theory, partly that of Fourier and Owen. Those who care about the matter may compare it, if they have nothing else to do, with S. Simonianism; for ourselves, having other subjects to pursue, we feel but a languid interest in a work whose 'primary object is to exhibit the Passional Soul-System of man as a Trinity in Unity of Affective, Distributive, and Sensitive Passional attractions.'

Mrs. Smythe's 'A Summer in the Fiji Islands' (J. H. and J. Parker), is a creditable book—creditable both to the authoress and the artist, for Mrs. Smythe is both; and so long, and it will be very long, as books of travels are popular this volume will retain a character which makes it suitable as much for those interested in missions as in geography.

'Philosophy or Truth' (Masters), takes high if not superior rank in the literature called out by 'questions of the day.' Mr. S. C. Madan, the author of this volume, is not a popular writer, but he is one of the most deeply learned of living divines: and more than this, he is eminently wise and cautious. Any reference, even the most desultory, to the new speculations of our own times, must be incomplete without this volume. If

those hasty persons who are always assuring us that it is the business of the English clergy to confute, rather than it is the function of Convocation to condemn, the writings of the Essayists and Bishop Colenso, were at the trouble of finding out even the titles of the immense mass of literature which this subject has called out within the last twelve months only, much of their ingenious and ignorant taunting would be found to be superfluous.

Mr. Blackader has printed, chiefly, we believe, as a private undertaking (Simpkin), an edition of the Bible, which, in several particulars, deserves high commendation. For example, the text is divided into paragraphs, and the rhythmical books are printed in parallelism. Then the marginal readings, which the editor very properly remarks are 'an integral part of his version,' are retained, and the variations of the ancient versions and a comparison of the Vatican Codex are given. As to the notes, opinions will differ; Mr. Blackader's are partly original and partly selected. They are, at once, too few for a commentary, and too many and too brief to escape the imputation of distracting the attention of a reader. In other words, the exegetical portion of this edition is moulded to an unsatisfactory scale. But, after all, it is not the authorized Bible, as it does not contain the Apocrypha, nor the Translators' Preface. Some of these defects it is proposed by Mr. Blackader to remedy in a subsequent publication, but then what becomes of the claim of the present publication to be *the* Holy Bible?

Mr. Ludlow has earned the right to be a teacher on a subject which he has made his own, 'Woman's Work in the Church' (Strahan). There is scarcely anything in this most interesting volume which we are not able to follow.

INDEX TO VOL. XLIX.

(NEW SERIES.)

ARTICLES AND SUBJECTS.

A.

- Aikin, Miss [see *Female Liberalism*].
Aristotle [*Lewes on Aristotle's Scientific Writings*], 290—331.

B.

- Burnet [see *Sanders*].

C.

- Children's Employment Commission [*Reports of Commissioners*], 332—356.
Church Politics and Church Progress [*Manchester Church Congress, &c.*], 204—246.
Cobbe, Miss [see *Female Liberalism*].

D.

- Daniel, the Book of [*Boyle on Daniel—Pusey on Daniel*], 1—38.

E.

- Egerton [see *Spiti*].

F.

- Female Liberalism [*Memoirs of Miss Aikin—Works by Miss Cobbe*], 78—107.

H.

- Harford [see *Wilberforce*].

L.

- Latitudinarianism [*Papers, &c. by Deans of Westminster and S. Paul's*], 376—409.
Liturgical Invocation of the Holy Ghost [*Photius's Epistles*], 475—497.

P.

- Palestine and Syria [*Works by Bonney, d^r Vogüé, Lewin, &c.*], 182—203.
Parker, Theodore [*Life of, by Weiss*], 249—289.
Pastoral Office, The [*Burgon on Pastoral Office—Blunt on Pastoral Office*], 410—450.
Progress, Fallacies on [*Westcott on the Canon of the New Testament*], 108—123.
Public Schools Commission [*Report of Commissioners, &c.*], 164—181.
Pusey, Dr. [see *Daniel, Book of*].

R.

- Rome of the Future [*Handbook of Rome, &c. Guizot, &c.*], 39—56.

S.

- Sanders and Burnet [*Sanders on the English Schism*], 123—163.
Spiti [*Egerton's Tour in*], 357—375.
Syria [see *Palestine*].

W.

- Wilberforce, Harford's Life of [*Recollections of Wilberforce*], 57—77.

Z.

- Zendavesta, The [*Bunsen, Bleeck, &c.*], 451—474.

SHORTER NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

JANUARY.—Gregory Smith's *Modern Scepticism*—Mrs. Gatty's *Parables from Nature*—De Bonnechose's *History of France*—*Projet d'Union entre les Eglises Gallicane et Anglicane*—*Order in the Church*—Allix's *Churches of Piedmont*—*Ten Letters to a Statesman on the Affairs of the Church in Italy*, by Five Ecclesiastics.

APRIL.—Perry's *History of the Church of England*—Archbishop Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*—Dr. Pierotti's *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*—Hagenbach's *Manual on the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Rationalism*—Keil and Delitzsch's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*—Lange's *Commentary on the Acts*—Sketches from the Life of the

Rev. S. C. Bird—*Memorial of the Rev. W. Bull*—Brodrick and Fremantle's *Judgments of the Privy Council*, with the Bishop of London's Preface—Howard's *Christians of S. Thomas*—Foulkes's *Christendom's Divisions*—Gosse's *A Year on the Shore*—Elton's *Norway: or the Road and the Fell*—Wilkinson's *Personal Names in the Bible*—Webster's *Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament*—Young's *The Fractional Family*, being the First Part of *Speech—Mathematics*—Matter—Mrs. Smythe's *A Summer in the Fiji Islands*—Madan's *Philosophy or Truth*—Blackader's Edition of the Holy Bible—Ludlow's *Woman's Work in the Church*.

